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THE AMMASSALIK ESKIMO

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ETHNOLOGY OF
THE EAST GREENLAND NATIVES

EDITED BY

WILLIAM THALBITZER

IN TWO PARTS

FIRST PART

PUBLISHED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE CARLSBERG FUND

COPENHAGEN

PRINTED BY BIANCO LUNO

1914

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THE AMMASSALIK ESKIMO
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE EAST GREENLAND NATIVES

FIRST PART

CONTAINING THE ETHNOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESULTS

OF

G. HOLM'S EXPEDITION IN 1883—85

AND

G. AMDRUP'S EXPEDITION IN 1898—1900

AS PRESENTED IN VARIOUS PAPERS

BY

G. HOLM, SØREN HANSEN, H. RINK, J. HANSEN (HANSÊRAK)

JOHAN PETERSEN AND WILLIAM THALBITZER

EDITED BY

WILLIAM THALBITZER

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In this volume of "Meddelelser om Grönland" are combined the ethnographic results of three Danish expeditions to East Greenland, namely: (1) The expedition of Captain GUSTAV HOLM, the discoverer of Ammassalik, carried out in 1883—85, (2) Captain G. AMDRUP's expedition, entitled *The Carlsberg Fund Expedition to East Greenland*, carried out in 1898—1900, and (3) W. THALBITZER's voyage and wintering at Ammassalik in 1905—06, carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Commission for the Direction of the Geological and Geographical Investigations in Greenland, the expenses being defrayed by the Carlsberg Fund.

The bulk of the volume consists of a new edition, translated into English, of the ethnographic portion of G. HOLM's *Den Östgrönländske Expedition* (The East Greenland Expedition), which appeared in Danish in "Meddelelser om Grönland", vols. IX and X, Copenhagen 1888—89. The issue of this English edition, containing new illustrations and fresh information, was primarily occasioned by the publication of the ethnographic results of the Carlsberg Fund Expedition. The circumstances which led to this were as follows.

After my return from Ammassalik in 1906, the task was allotted to me of describing AMDRUP's ethnographic collection. The first part of this description, comprising AMDRUP's archæological finds from the parts of East Greenland north of the Ammassalik district, was published in "Meddelelser om Grönland" vol. XXVIII, 1909, among the other published matter relating to the same expedition. It then remained to describe and illustrate the rest of the same collection, especially the objects from the extinct or "dead house" at Nûalik, in the Ammassalik district. This collection forms a rather extensive supplement to G. HOLM's former collection from Ammassalik, which is in the National Museum at Copenhagen. Desirous of procuring as full and exhaustive an account of the ethnography of this district as possible, I laid before the Commission for the scientific investigations in Greenland a plan of wider scope, in accordance with which the

description of AMDRUP's collection was to be published jointly with an English edition of HOLM's *Ethnological Sketch of the Angmag-salik Eskimo* along with the anthropological papers, which had appeared in "Meddelelser om Grönland" as the results of his famous expedition, and with new illustrations of his collection. At the recommendation of the Commission, the Carlsberg Fund, with great liberality, granted the means for the execution of this plan. In support of my proposal I had advanced, firstly, that the original edition of Captain HOLM's book was out of print and that the illustrations of his ethnographical objects in the original edition were no longer quite satisfactory; secondly, that it was desirable for various reasons that Captain HOLM's important work, which had hitherto been published only in Danish, should be translated into English, and thereby be made accessible to international science.

It should be borne in mind that the east coast Eskimo remained unknown to Europeans a long time after the discovery of the Eskimo of West Greenland. The 18th century colonists on the southernmost part of the west coast only occasionally learnt a little about the Easterners, either by rumour, or when a travelling party of natives from the East coast came in their umiaks and kaiaks to the west coast to barter. The first Europeans who endeavoured with some success to penetrate up along the east side of the country in the teeth of the ice current, in order to investigate this coast and its inhabitants, were P. OLSEN WALLÖE in 1752 and the naval officer V. A. GRAAH in 1829—30; the latter got as far as 65° N. lat. But it was reserved for Captain HOLM to work his way up to the great fjords Sermilik and Ammassalik, where there dwelt a more numerous population than at any other place on the east coast, unknown to the world, and who had never even seen Europeans before the arrival of this expedition in 1884.

G. HOLM's work on the Ammassalikers is based on his personal experience and observation, and contains the most comprehensive representation of the ethnology of the Greenlanders which at present exists. OTHO FABRICIUS' minute description of the hunting weapons of the West Greenlanders, which appeared in 1810 and 1818 in two small papers in "Det kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter", is still valuable, nay even classic — in fact these two papers are far in advance of their age, in virtue of the concise technological treatment of an important point of the Eskimo ethnography; the subject of these papers, however, is of but limited scope, and its treatment is in various respects out-of-date. Nor do RINK's otherwise meritorious works on the Greenlanders supply sufficiently detailed information as to the ethnography of the Greenlanders. Besides one

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often feels in RINK's works on the culture of the Eskimo, that they are based less on personal experience, than on the study of literary sources, or on the old Greenland tales. What renders Captain HOLM's work so valuable, is its direct relation to a group of heathen Eskimo in Greenland who had been quite untouched by modern civilization. The accuracy of his observations and the truth of his descriptions of the life of the Ammassalikers are in every respect borne out by my own impressions, gained during a year's sojourn among the same population, though after the lapse of 20 years. His work can be supplemented, but there are no corrections of any importance to be recorded. I am for the moment disregarding the fact that his mode of spelling the East Greenland names and words confounds the East Greenland and the West Greenland dialects. This confusion was mainly due to his West Greenland collaborators, the interpreter and steersman.

Parts I to VI of the present work correspond pretty closely to the contents of "Meddelelser om Grönland", vol. X (containing the contributions to the ethnology, anthropology, language and folklore of the East Greenlanders). Part VII, however, contains new contributions of some considerable extent, namely illustrations of HOLM's, AMDRUP's, JOHAN PETERSEN's and other ethnographical collections from Ammassalik, together with my own comments on the East Greenland forms of implements and the material culture in general of the population. However, a small number of the illustrations in this work will be recognized from the original edition; among them a few of the excellent woodcuts (portraits of the natives) with which it was furnished. They originated from photographs made during the first wintering at Ammassalik in 1884—85 by the mineralogist of the Expedition, H. KNUTSEN. The drawings of the Eskimo objects from the "dead house" were executed, after AMDRUP's return in 1901, by one of the members of his expedition, the painter and draughtsman E. DITLEVSEN (most of them are reproduced here in Part VII). The remainder of the illustrations are made from photographs taken on the spot by JOHAN PETERSEN, the Danish colonial governor at Ammassalik (from the time of the foundation of this colony till now), or by myself during my journey in East Greenland; also from photographs of the collections made at Copenhagen by various establishments. In the original edition all the ethnographic figures were collected on plates in a separate part of the volume. In this book I have adopted the same principle, in so far as I have brought most of the ethnographic illustrations together in the last paper containing my description of them.

I have treated the older papers as historical documents, leaving

them entirely unaltered, even in the spelling of the names; but some few additions and amendments have been made by the authors who are still living. — I have been fortunate enough to induce Captain HOLM to add an account of his journey, as an introduction to the present translation of his *Ethnological Sketch of the Angmagsalik Eskimo*. Moreover, he has enlarged the chapters on the ethnography, by embodying in the text most of the notes which in the original edition were given in connection with the plates. Furthermore, several extracts have been added from a part of the Danish edition mainly concerned with the physical conditions of the country, which it was not thought necessary to have translated as a whole; I particularly refer to some few remarks bearing on ethnological questions contained in the general report of the expedition in “Meddelelser om Grönland” vol. IX. A climatological survey also has been added in the chapter on the physical geography of the Ammassalik region.

Part VII of this volume forms a continuation of my previous *Description of the Amdrup Collection*, from the regions north of the Ammassalik district. In the course of the preparation of this work, I have been in charge of AMDRUP's ethnographical collection. This scientific treasure at first was housed in a cellar of the building of the Carlsberg Fund Institution; but, as towards the end of 1909 the cellar was required for other purposes, I was forced to look out for other premises. I had the good fortune to be offered accomodation for it in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, where the collection remained from December 1909 to October 1913, when it was finally transferred to the National Museum, its original destination. My cordial thanks are due to Dr. H. O. LANGE, head librarian of the Royal Library, for this kindness.

Further I desire to express my gratitude to Captain HOLM for his inestimable assistance in the revision and proof-reading of this volume. I also wish to extend my sincere thanks to Mr. JOHAN PETERSEN, colonial manager at Ammassalik, for much valuable information regarding the natives and their language.

The English translation of Parts I to VI was made by GRENVILLE GROVE, Formerly Scholar of Hertford College, Oxford, and of Part VII by H. M. KYLE, D. Sc.

København 1913.

W. Thalbitzer.

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I.
ETHNOLOGICAL SKETCH
OF
THE ANGMAGSALIK ESKIMO
BY
G. HOLM

1911

Translated from the Danish edition which was published in "Meddelelser om Grønland" vol. X., 1888. The present edition has been revised by the author.

P R E F A C E.

This account is substantially a translation of “*Ethnologisk Skizze af Angmagsalikerne*”, which was written in 1885 after the return of the Expedition from East Greenland, and was printed in “*Meddelelser om Grønland*”, Vol. X; but it has been supplemented by several particulars which are not given in the Danish text, as having previously been mentioned in “*Beretning om Konebaads-Expeditionen til Grønlands Østkyst 1883—85*”, or in other papers in “*Meddelelser om Grønland*”, Vol. IX and X. I have also in the present description made several minor additions.

PREFACE OF THE FIRST (DANISH) EDITION WRITTEN IN 1887.

The draught of the following “*Ethnological Sketch of the Angmagsalik Eskimo*”, was written by me at Angmagsalik in the spring of 1885, with the assistance of Mr. HANS KNUTSEN. We had in this work the advantage that when we were not certain of the correctness of our views in various respects, we were able to confer with the people themselves through the medium of our excellent interpreter JOHAN PETERSEN, just as we were thereby enabled constantly to supplement our observations by making enquiries of the native population.

Almost the entire content was written in my diary little by little, according as we became acquainted with or witnessed the various episodes as well as many minor traits in the lives of the natives. The whole of this ethnological sketch of the Angmagsaliks must accordingly be regarded as our immediate and direct impression of the people among whom we lived.

Dr. H. RINK, our great authority on the Eskimo, has been obliging enough to look through the manuscript and make his comments on it. This has been of great advantage to me, as I have thereby been enabled to explain some of the actions of the natives by giving the motives, or I have modified my account of certain events, but I have not been able to make any changes of

importance in the view of the natives I have obtained by personal intercourse on the spot.

From the diary of the head man of our native crew, JOHANNES HANSEN (HANSERAK), I have made a few short extracts, which have been used to supplement my description. I desire in passing to point out that in Hanserak's Diary there are many excellent jottings, which show how admirably he has understood the character of the Angmagsaliks, and it would be a desirable thing if some part of it was one day to be published¹⁾.

The Greenlandic names here, as in „Meddelelser om Grønland“ Vols. IX and X, are spelt substantially in accordance with the usual practice on the West coast of Greenland; however, I have departed from it to some slight extent, in order to bring them more in line with the pronunciation of the natives. Thus, instead of the letter *u* I have employed the letter *i*, instead of *o* I have used *e*, and instead of the soft *s* I have employed *j*, e. g.: Tasiusarsik, Ikatek, Nukajik. But, in order to avoid perplexing the reader, who might fail to recognize familiar names from the West coast in their new garb, I have refrained from going to the extremity of writing the names just as they are pronounced. For this would involve nothing less than changing practically all the consonants, as the language of the people of Angmagsalik is softer than that of the West Greenlanders. Thus it would often be necessary to replace *p* by *b*, *t* by *d*, *k* by *g*, *f* by *p* or *b*, *s* by *j* or *l* and *k* (*κ*) by *r*. In many words it would be necessary, in order to represent the East Greenland pronunciation, to omit several letters e. g. *Amasalik* instead of *Angmagsalik*, but in these cases too I have followed the West Greenland orthography.

¹⁾ A Danish translation of HANSERAK's Diary, made by Mrs. SIGNE RINK, appeared in 1900 („Vestgrønlænder Kateket Hansêraks Dagbog om de hedenske Østgrønlændere.“ Hagerups Forlag. Copenhagen 1900).

I.

NARRATIVE OF THE VOYAGE — MEETING WITH THE NATIVES OF ANGMAGSALIK — WINTERING AT ANGMAGSALIK — RETURNING SOUTH — THE RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION.

In the years 1883—1885 an Expedition under my command investigated the southerly part of the East coast of Greenland as far as about 66° north latitude. We were enjoined more especially to investigate whether the old “Østerbygd” (Eastern settlement) of the Northerners might possibly be located in the northernmost part of this coast which the dangers of the Polar current, with its heavy drift ice, had hitherto deterred Europeans from visiting. As Greenlanders from the East coast had related, while on visit to the West coast, that somewhere far to the North there was a large inhabited place called *Angmagsalik*, and as people from up there had once travelled by boat to the southernmost trading station on the West coast, there seemed to be no reason why we too should not be able to get up to them, provided we had natives to guide us.

Moreover there was a fair likelihood that Angmagsalik, on the good things of which the natives had dilated with glowing enthusiasm, might turn out to be the very place where the old Northerners had formerly dwelt. Angmagsalik accordingly formed the most northerly object of our voyage.

The Expedition set out from *Nanortalik*, the most southerly trading station of any size on the West coast of Greenland, in the native boats called *umiaks*¹⁾, with native crews. In travelling with Greenlanders, these umiaks are far preferable to European boats. They are spacious, easy to carry, and they can be repaired without much difficulty when they have suffered wreckage. At the close of each day's journey the boats were unloaded and dragged ashore, and tents were erected.

¹⁾ An open boat, which consists of a light wooden frame covered with sealskins, and is rowed by women. The Danish name for this kind of boat is *Konebaad*. Hence this Expedition is known as “The Konebaads-Expedition”.

The members of the Expedition were T. V. GARDE, First Lieutenant (now Captain), and the scientists, HANS KNUTSEN from Christiania and PETER EBERLIN. We had also two young half-breed Greenlanders with us as interpreters, namely the brothers JOHAN and HENRIK PETERSEN, and a native missionary JOHANNES HANSEN, called HANSERAK, as a head for the crew. The native crew consisted of about thirty Greenland women and men, distributed in four umiaks, which were accompanied by four kaiaks.

During the first summer a large depot was established some distance up the East coast at *Iluilek*, and all the fjords on the most southerly part of the coast were investigated. The winter of 1883—84 was spent at *Nanortalik*.

The Expedition once more left the West coast in the beginning of May 1884, and was equipped in such a way that half of the Europeans and one *umiak* crew should be able to pass the winter on the East coast; but we had to take our chance of making a good capture of seals both on our voyage and at the wintering place.

The journey up along the East coast was very laborious, on account of the drift ice which blocked the way. We repeatedly came upon inhabited places. The natives received us everywhere with great hospitality, and accompanied us for shorter or longer distances on our way north. At the end of July, we came to *Tingmiarmiut*, which was about half-way. A depot having been established here, the greater part of the members of the Expedition turned back. This part of the expedition was to examine carefully the part of the coast we had already traversed, particularly the deep fjords, and then once more to winter at *Nanortalik*, and go to meet us with new supplies of provisions in 1885.

The main expedition now consisted, besides myself, of Knutsen, Johan Petersen, Hanserak, the Eskimo Samuel, and six Eskimo women as rowers, in two *umiaks*. We managed to get to accompany us on our way north a boat from Sermilik, the head-man of which was called *Ilinguaki*. This exceedingly capable and amiable man was our guide to the district of Angmagsalik; without his guidance the Expedition would scarcely have succeeded in getting up there. He had been for several years on a voyage south and was now returning to his home.

On account of the difficulties with the ice we did not get to Angmagsalik before the end of August. But then we could congratulate ourselves on having attained our goal. We had not found the slightest trace of ruins of the Northerners, but we found here a comparatively large Eskimo population which had not been previously

in contact with Europeans. It now devolved upon us to study this population.

MEETING WITH THE NATIVES OF ANGMAGSALIK. — Our first meeting with the people of *Angmagsalik* was most curious. The men who came running from the tents had no trousers on, but merely wore the very small drawers (*natit*), so that our women rowers were quite dumbfounded at the apparition; but the sight of us *Kavdlunaks* (Europeans) must certainly have made a still stranger



Fig. 1. *Ilinguaki* (H. Knutsen phot. 1885).

impression on the natives. They had imagined us as supernatural beings like the “inland-dwellers” and the “dog-men” which are pure products of imagination. They stood at some distance from us gazing at us in amazement, clapped their hands in sheer astonishment, and burst out into greetings of welcome, such as “It must surely be a dream that I should see *Kavdlunaks*”.

They were, however, not quite so amazed as might have been expected, for their *angakoks* (necromancers) had so often told them about all the marvels they had experienced during their ceremonies, that they were not very astonished that a little now fell to their lot too. In the last few years, moreover, many curious objects had been found

washed up by the sea, and the angakoks had on the strength of this foretold that *Kavdlunaks* would be coming up there. After they had entered into conversation with our fellow-travellers, they soon lost all fear of us, and we had them soon swarming about us; everything we had with us, even the veriest trifle, had something marvellous about it in their eyes.

When we had pitched our tents, they all came to us with presents, now with bear's flesh and blubber, now with dried seal's flesh, or entrails and blood, now with sealskin thongs, sinews or sinew thread. Of course they received from us presents in return: sewing-needles, nails, pieces of iron hoops, pieces of red ribbon, etc. The exchanging of gifts gradually passed into bartering, which in the long run caused us no little inconvenience, as it was often impossible to satisfy their wishes.

They marvelled greatly over all the wonderful things they saw, when they visited us in our tents. We showed and explained to them such inventions as watches, the compass, guns, glass, mirrors, quick-silver, a magnifying-glass, matches etc. At each new object they were shown, our visitors broke out as by one consent into exclamations of amazement. The magnifying-glass impressed them particularly, for they could see in it how finely our garments were woven, and what large mailed animals they could get hold of by merely pulling up their hands to their heads. The only thing they immediately realized the usefulness of were the matches; they saw at a glance their superiority to their fire-making apparatus, which required two persons to make fire.

WINTERING AT ANGMAGSALIK. -- On the 1st September we arrived at the place in Angmagsalik Fjord at which I had settled to winter, viz. *Tasiuarsik Kitdlek*. It had a capital situation, lying as it did at the extreme point of a tongue of land behind which a little fjord, *Tasiusarsik*, bounded by high, steep, picturesque mountains, cuts into the land. The place had a very free situation: the *Sermilik* mountains and the promontories which projected out into the sea were seen on the west, and between the North-East and South-East we had a view of the jagged mountains of the Angmagsalik fjord, and could see right away to Cape Dan. One had only to climb a little way up the mountains to obtain a view of the whole inhabited part of the Angmagsalik fjord.

An old overgrown site of a ruined house, which consisted merely of a depression in the ground, was dug out and built up into a winter dwelling for us. The walls were built of turf and stones; the roof was formed of several pieces of heavy drift-wood, between which was laid lighter wood; most of the latter was taken from one of our

umiaks, which was in such a sorry state that it was no longer fit for use and was not worth repairing, and accordingly had been discarded and taken to pieces. The wood-work was covered with large sods, upon which in turn the skin covering of the discarded umiak had been laid. The interior length of the house was 28 feet, the breadth 11 feet, and the height $5\frac{1}{4}$ feet. It was divided into three rooms, the two outer ones serving as living-rooms; one of them was occupied by Knutsen, Johan our interpreter and myself, the other by Hanserak, Samuel, and our six women rowers. Along the back wall there was in each of these rooms a platform made of stone and turf and covered with skin. It did duty as a sleeping-place. Each of the living rooms was provided with a

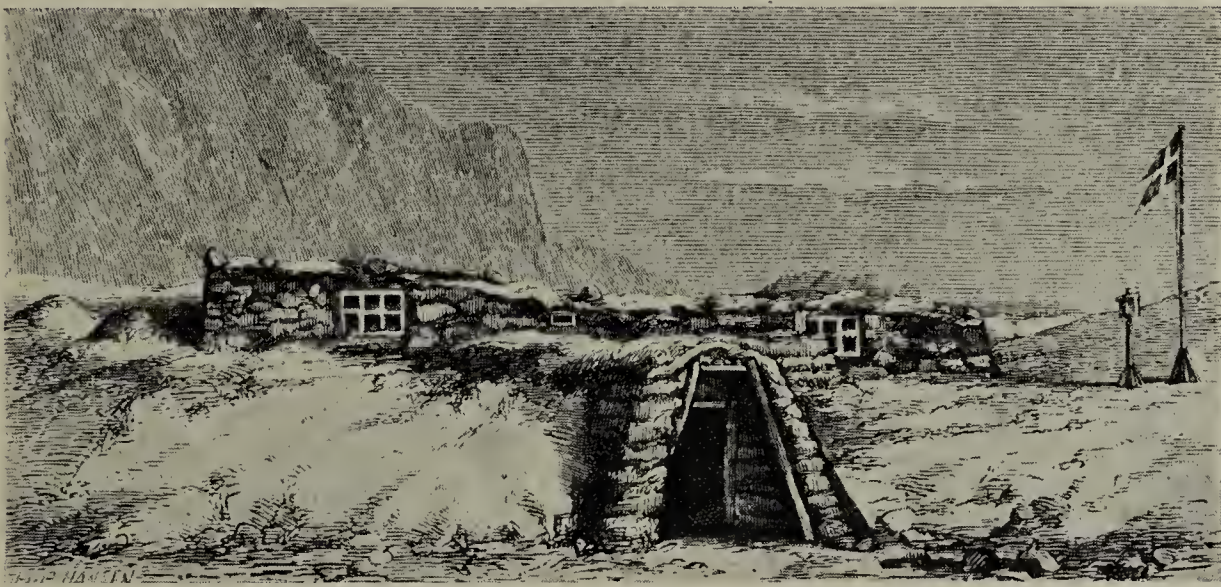


Fig. 2. The house of the Expedition at *Tasiusarsik kitdlek*. (Knutsen del.)

window, and the walls were hung with skins. The floors were strewn with gravel, upon which in our room bottom-boards from the umiaks were laid. Doors there were none; but before the openings into the centre room, canvas curtains were hung.

From the centre room, which was used as a provision chamber and store room, a long, low, narrow passage-way led out into the open. Like the rest of the house, it was constructed of turf and stones, and it was made long and narrow in order to prevent the cold from penetrating. We were obliged to have the greater part of the work completed before frost set in. But as soon as the roof was finished, we started on the 13th September off afresh on our journey of exploration.

The goal of our journey was the most northerly inhabited place, namely *Sermiligak*. The weather was very stormy and rainy, but the ice laid no serious obstacles in our path.

From a high mountain top on an Island on the east side of the *Sermiligak* Fjord the country was occupied in the name of the

king of Denmark, and called *King Christian IX Land*. The Island was named *Erik the Red Island*. From a mountain 2080 feet high in an island to the north we had a magnificent view over the islands along the coast to the north-east. This island was named *Leif Island*.

We then visited the most fertile places in the Angmagsalik district, namely *Ikatek* between the Sermiligak Fjord and the Angmagsalik Fjord, *Norajik* at the bend of the Angmagsalik Fjord, *Kingak* and *Kingorsuak* in the interior of the Angmagsalik Fjord. In no place did we come across non-Eskimo ruins, but only a large number of old Eskimo houses. Old Eskimo houses were shown me in no less than 40 places in the Angmagsalik fjord itself. The most fertile stretches up here are barren in comparison with almost any part of the Julianehaab district, in which there are old ruins left by the Northerners. In old house remains there were a number of small pieces of wood from the timber-work of the houses, sometimes even very heavy timber. Drift-wood is fairly abundant, and wood is not used for fuel, as the East-Greenlanders never cook except over lamps fed with blubber. This explains why no fire-places are met with along the southern part of the East coast.

The natives of *Angmagsalik* had never seen or heard of non-Eskimo stone-remains of any kind whatever. Nor did they possess any legends of struggles with *Kavdlunaks* in days of old; but they had heard something vague about their ancestors having slain our forefathers and burnt their houses, doubtless a fragment of a legend which had floated up to them from the south, which was also the way in which they obtained accounts of the West-Greenlanders' previous relations with Europeans.

We visited almost all the inhabited places along the *Sermilik* and *Angmagsalik* fjords, and were received with the utmost hospitality. We found everywhere a great abundance of blubber-bags and seals, some of them dried, some of them frozen and preserved as provisions for the winter. We did a good deal of bartering, and carried off many blubber-bags and seals.

Wherever we came, we found the natives moving into winter quarters. When we got to *Norajik*, the inhabitants, who numbered twelve families, were moving from five tents into their large house.

When our women rowers saw how all the people of Angmagsalik were moving into houses, although they had very snug tents made of double skin and many lamps burning in them, while our tents were only made of canvas, they began to grumble very much at the cold. As their clothes also were in a pitiable state, we were obliged to make up our minds to take possession of our house.



Fig. 3. The entrance of Angmagsalik fjord viewed from a little island near Cape Dan. *Tasiusarsik kittlek* is situated to the right under the high mountains in the background (north). *Tasiusak* is to the left in the background (south). (W. Thalbitzer phot. 1906).

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On the 30th September we returned to *Tasiusarsik*. The building work was carried on vigorously, so that we were able to move in on the 3rd October, when the house was approaching to completion. A raging snow-storm made it extremely unpleasant to live in tents.

Later on in the autumn we made a journey over to the opposite side of the fjord, partly in order to make geographical surveyings and visit the inhabited places there, partly in order to furnish ourselves with timber from an abandoned house. The latter was at *Nunakitit*, one of the many small islands off *Kulusuk*. The house had not been inhabited since 1881–1882, when many people had died in it; their bodies still lay both in the house and outside it on the beach. In the house there was a good deal of heavy timber, of which, having obtained permission from the nearest heir, we took as much as we could conveniently carry in the *umiak*.

We had fine weather on this excursion; but, as there was no vestige of ice outside the coast, there was a heavy swell and high breakers. This was the last of our excursions in 1884. The *umiak* was carried right to the house and placed with the bottom upwards on four heavy posts, on to which it was lashed in order to be used as a provision-chamber and drying-room during the winter.

We had obtained by purchase¹ from the natives supplies of winter provisions, consisting of 13 bags of blubber, 12 packets of dried meat (each packet from one seal) and twelve whole seals. Moreover, we obtained promises of several things, which were afterwards in the course of the winter brought us on sledges. Immediately after our arrival at Angmagsalik, we obtained a good deal of salmon and bear's flesh, but later on, ptarmigan was the only food we had to relieve the monotony of seal's flesh. It was not till towards the spring that we occasionally had mussels, sand-gapers, sea-snails and shrimps, eider ducks, gulls and narwhal-*matak* (skin).

As to fish, we had, except for salmon in the autumn, and *angmasat*¹) in the spring, only some rose-fishes.

Twenty minutes' walk from our house was one of the houses of the natives, inhabited by 38 persons. All through the winter, as long as the hunting prospects were bad, we received frequent visits from these natives. Their visits to us as well as our visits to them gave us an excellent opportunity of becoming acquainted with their mode of life, customs, religion, the language and tales of the people, so much the more as our excellent interpreter was soon conversant in the language. Even if the weather was ever so bad,

¹) *Mallotus villosus*, or caplin (capelan).

they came over to see us, that is to say, when they could get to us over land. The East-Greenlanders did not venture to go out into the rough surf near the coast; one man who ventured to do so, namely the best hunter in the fjord, capsized in the breakers. Our kaiaker, Samuel, on the other hand was always ready to go out hunting in his kaiak, and pretty often came back with capture, whereas the East-Greenlanders remained at home and hungered. In the course of the winter Samuel took about 40 seals, and the natives frequently came to beg meat from us.

When our neighbours had been some time without hunting, their winter supplies of provisions gave out, and they began to hunger. They soon began to find their way in the long dark nights to our bread-sacks, which were stowed away under our umiak, and altogether they stole about 50 pounds of bread from us. We could, of course, hardly blame these starving people for taking of what in their eyes must have appeared to be incredible riches, but, as we were obliged nevertheless to put a stop to it, I forbade the natives for a time to come to our house. When the prohibition was removed, those who had been the greatest pilferers no longer ventured to come and see us, naturally because they felt certain that the others, who had undeservedly suffered on their account, must have informed us who the thieves were.

When the winter hunting on the solid ice began in the month of February, the daily visits of our neighbours gradually fell off, but then the other natives from *Sermilik* and *Sermiligak* and the interior of the Angmagsalik fjord came to pay us visits and barter with us. We bought from them especially ethnographical objects, and gave them in exchange iron ware, stuffs, tobacco, beads etc. They were not deterred from visiting us by having to trudge eight or ten hours over high mountains, deep snow and pack-ice in the bays, even in spite of their having fallen through the ice at places where there were currents under the ice at a temperature of from 20 to 25 degrees (C) below zero.

When the Greenlanders came to visit us, we took anthropological measurements, following the directions given by Prof. Virchow in "Anthropologie und prähistorische Forschungen". The people were most willing to allow themselves to be measured without anything on but their drawers (*natit*). We only succeeded in getting hold of a few skulls, as the natives have a practice of throwing their dead into the sea.

The natives of Angmagsalik that winter had only very few dogs for driving their sledges, nearly all the dogs having been killed for eating during the recent period of famine. We were therefore

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Fig. 4. The boulders at *Kingak*. (W. Thalbitzer phot. 1906.)



Fig. 5. Flotilla of native boats approaching. (J. Petersen phot.)

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Fig. 6. Part of *Sermilik* fjord filled with drift-ice from the sea. (J. Petersen phot.)



Fig. 7. Eskimo settlement at *Tinilekilak* in *Sermilik* fjord. House, tents and boats on the cliffs. (J. Petersen phot.)

unable to make long excursions on sledges, as the only surviving dogs were in constant request for hunting. However, before the ice broke up in the inner waters in the spring of 1885, we made a sledge excursion in order to investigate a spring called *Unartek*, which we were told was a hot spring. We were informed that it was so hot that the eyes of a sea-scorpion turned white when they were dipped into the spring, and that the heat proceeds from a man who has been boiling salmon down there since the beginning of the world.

On the 1st of June we went by umiak up to *Kingak*, where the catching of *Angmagsat* was going on. Even before the *Angmagsat* come in, many people assemble here on account of the excellent seal-hunting on the winter ice, and occasionally people live here during the whole winter. When we arrived, practically the whole population of the fjord had assembled there, and had pitched their tents on the snow or the black rocks. In the evening drum-dances and games went on. Here there are some large boulders (loose rocks) with quite smooth sides, and beautifully striped. On the perpendicular sides of these stones are cut foot-steps which are used by the young people in playing catch over the stones (Fig. 4). A small bay close by is surrounded by an extensive salmon weir.

RETURNING SOUTH. — The Expedition started from Angmagsalik on the 9th June 1885. As we had only one boat for the home journey, we had, in order to have room for everything in her, made her broader, before covering her with skins. Even then it was a very tight squeeze; she had to take 10 people in her as well as tents, sleeping-bags, clothes, accoutrements, instruments, provisions, besides pretty large collections, the ethnographical one particularly taking up a great deal of space.

We managed with much ado to cut our way and pole our boat along the coast, inside the pack-ice, thus arriving at *Sermilik* on the 25th June. The skins of the boat as well as her wood-work had, however, suffered far too severely, considering the small headway we had made. There was therefore no possibility of travelling further homewards, before the ice drifted away from land.

On the 30th June there arose a strong land gale, which towards evening developed into a regular hurricane. We succeeded only by dint of the greatest exertions in rescuing our tents, boats, and baggage from being blown away. The native tents were overturned, and the poles snapped, as they had not betimes

taken the precaution to strike the tents in order to save them. The heavy drift-ice was of course everywhere carried far out to sea, so that on the 4th of July we left Sermilik bound on our homeward journey under as favourable conditions as we could well desire.

Ilinguaki accompanied us in his *umiak* to the large ice-fjord Ikersuak. He received from us as a parting gift a little Danish "Dannebrog" flag with instructions how to use it. His foster-son *Kitigajak* received from us so much ammunition for the rifle we had given him, that the supply could last at least two, perhaps three, years.

In several places there were many scattered ice-bergs and vast fields of ice which had recently frozen together. As a rule the ice-bergs formed a barrier for the ice-floes within, and thus in some places we were forced to work our way through heavy ice. The journey, however, proceeded quickly; we sometimes rowed day and night in order to be able to rest the next day and allow the sun to dry the boat-skin, and also for the purpose of taking observations.

Between Pamiagdliak and Cape Løvenørn we met three boats from the Angmagsalik district that had wintered at *Umivik*. The people informed us, that there had been good hunting at *Umivik* during the whole winter, so that the people had not suffered from want of food; amongst other game they had taken 8 bears. The same storm which had driven the ice away from Sermilik had carried the ice away from land not only here, but, as we afterwards heard, along the whole coast, thus allowing the coast to be passed everywhere. The natives were not at all surprised at being able to travel along the coast so early in the summer, but declared, on the contrary, that the last year had been a unusual bad ice-year. They went in fact so far as to say that they had never before experienced so much heavy ice as the previous year, and that that was the reason why they would not travel with us up northwards.

On the 16th July the two sections of the Expedition met at *Umanak* and travelled together south. The drift-ice frequently placed serious obstacles in our way, but never of long duration, and we arrived again at *Nanortalik* on the 18th August 1885.

RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION. — I shall now summarize briefly the most important results of and information obtained by the journeys and investigations of the Expedition in 1883—85.

1. The map made by GRAAH of the East coast of Greenland was revised and extended; we had obtained fresh knowledge of the fjords and mountains of the coast, as well as of the extension of the Inland-ice and the glaciers.

A map was made of a part of the coast which had not been mapped before. We named it "King Christian the IX Land".

2. Physico-geographical investigations were made not only on our journeys but also, more especially in our winter-quarters at *Nanortalik* and *Angmagsalik*.

The meteorological observations at Angmagsalik were of particular interest on account of the excellent situation of that place. A meteorological station has afterwards been erected near this place.

Geological and botanical investigations were made on the East coast, and considerable collections of minerals and plants were taken home.

3. Our experience was, that the East coast of Greenland was not so inaccessible for journeys either by boat or ship as we had previously supposed.

It will generally be found possible by keeping inside the drift-ice to make one's way along the coast in a boat in the months of July and August. We, like all our predecessors, began to journey too early in the year, and therefore had a great deal of trouble with the ice. No one, however, has undertaken this journey since us — now 25 years ago.

The reason why the many previous attempts to reach this part of the East coast by ships failed, is that the expeditions tried to land too early in the year. A. E. NORDENSKIÖLD succeeded in landing in 1883 in the month of September.

In the autumn it is always possible to bring a ship to land at *Angmagsalik* without having much difficulty with the ice. In 1894 there was established a missionary and trading station, which is visited once a year. This station served as a basis for the subsequent investigations of the northerly part of the East coast, so ably made by Captain AMDRUP, and in which King Christian IX Land was extended up to Scoresby Sound, at a latitude of about 70 degrees.

4. The Expedition travelled along and investigated the East coast of Greenland as high north as it was conceivable that the "Østerbygd" (Eastern settlement) of the old Scandinavian Northerners might have been situated, without finding the slightest traces of previous non-Eskimo habitations, and without coming across anything in the appearance, customs, mode of life, legends etc. of the natives to indicate previous connection with Europeans.

When Dr. K. J. V. STEENSTRUP simultaneously proved from the study of old maps that the "Eastern settlement" must have lain in the Julianehaab district, and how the erroneous idea that

it should have lain on the East coast had arisen¹⁾, the question of the situation of "the Eastern settlement" might now be regarded as settled once and for all.

5. We found at *Angmagsalik* a branch of Eskimo who had not previously been into contact with Europeans. We investigated the mode of life, customs, language and legends of this tribe, and brought home from there a collection of ethnographical objects.

In 1894 I went to *Angmagsalik* with the screw bark the "Hvidbjørnen" for the purpose of establishing the missionary and trading station just mentioned. The latter was placed under the command of my former interpreter JOHAN PETERSEN, now colonial governor, and of the missionary RÜTTEL. These two men have worked with rare energy, perseverance and patience for the civilisation of the natives. Some of the people have now been christened, and murder, polygamy and other heathen practices are now rare, if not entirely abolished.

II.

CLIMATE — DRIFT-ICE — SEA — THE LOOK OF THE COUNTRY — PLANTS — ANIMALS.

CLIMATE. — The account of the inhabitants of the *Angmagsalik* district was introduced in the 10th volume of "Meddelelser om Grønland" by some remarks on the natural conditions in which these people live. As far as the climate is concerned, these remarks were based on observations made on the expedition, supplemented with such information as could be obtained from the natives. Since that time a meteorological station has, as has already been mentioned, been established at *Angmagsalik*, and regular observations have been carried on since October 1894.

In the accompanying table are given the climatological data which can be deduced from the observations taken up to the year 1902. Although the observations of nine years cannot give exact average figures for a climate like that of *Angmagsalik*, they will, however, be sufficient to give some idea of the climatical conditions under which the East Greenlanders live.

For this table and the account which follows of the climatological

¹⁾ K. J. V. STEENSTRUP: Om Østerbygden. Meddelelser om Grønland IX (1889).

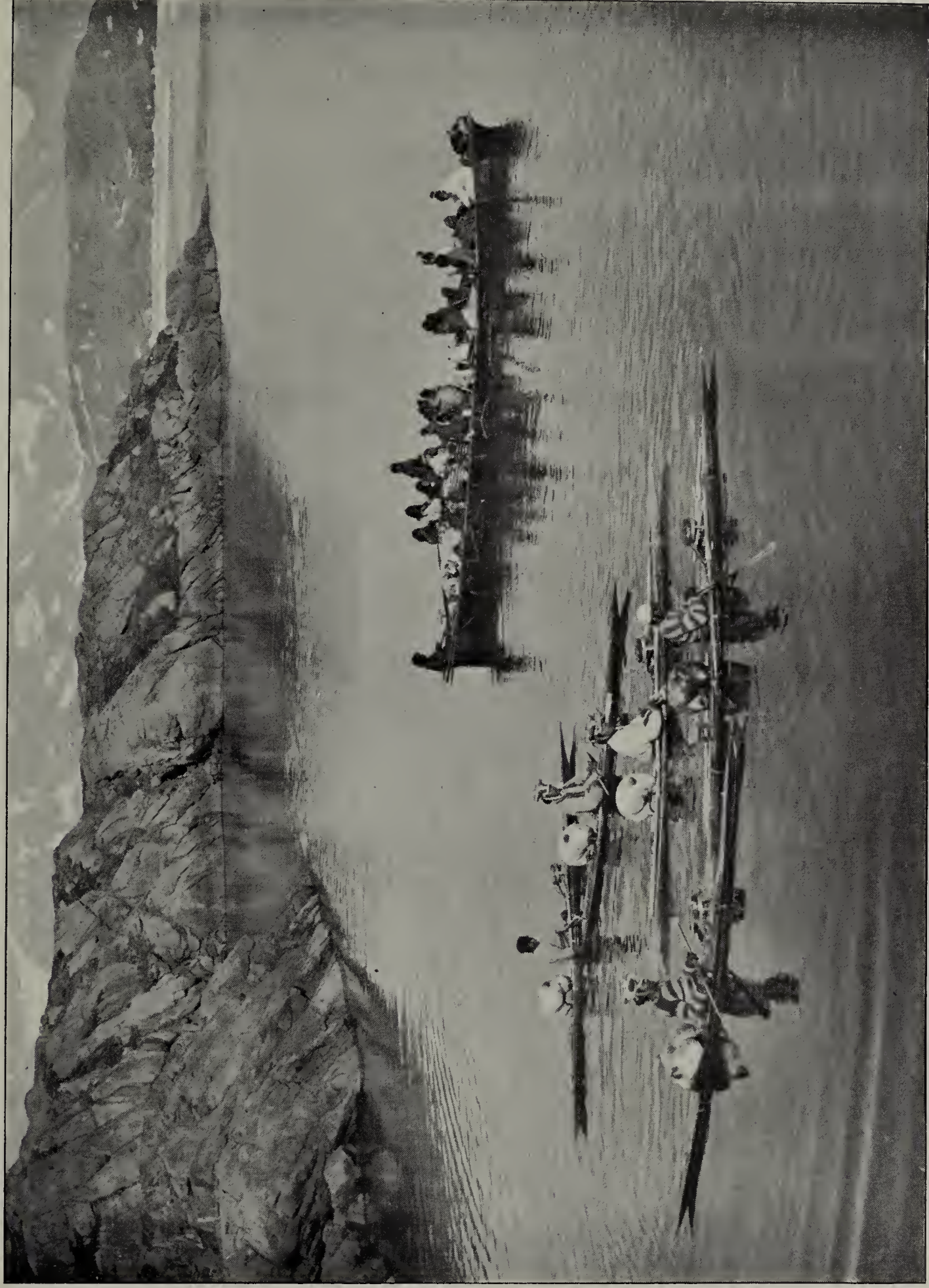


Fig. 8. Native boats in the harbour of the Danish colony *Angmagssalik* in Tasiusak fjord. (J. Petersen phot.)

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Fig. 9. The Danish Missionary and Trading Station at Angmagsalik. Autumn.
(J. Petersen phot.)

ANGMAGSALIK



Fig. 10. The same in winter. (J. Petersen phot.)

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conditions and of the heavy drift-ice off the coast, I am indebted to the Director of the Meteorological Institute, Captain C. RYDER.

The sea off Angmagsalik, the *Danmark* Strait, is, as we know, one of the paths for the numerous storm centres which move in a north-easterly direction from the western part of the Atlantic. As a consequence of this, the barometer at Angmagsalik is subjected to great and sudden changes, and during the years in which observations have been taken has varied between 708.8 mm and 789.4 mm. Changes of over 20 mm in 24 hours occur frequently.

Frequent and violent storms might be expected as a consequence of these great and frequent changes in the atmospherical pressure. Unfortunately, however, the trading-place where the observations are taken is not favourably situated for wind observations, as it lies surrounded by high mountains on nearly all sides, and to this circumstance is partly due the high percentage of "calm" viz. 56 for the whole year, shown in the table. This figure would certainly be somewhat lower, if the observations had been made on a less sheltered spot further out by the coast. Thus for the six months' observations from the "Konebaads-Expedition" the percentage for "calm" is only 6, and during the same period of time "storm" was registered on an average 9 days in the month. But it was certainly an unusually rough winter. The velocity of the wind can be very great in storms, over 30 metres per second, but as a general rule there is only a light breeze. In the summer months southerly winds prevail, in the autumn and winter, on the other hand, northerly winds; the latter, however, are often succeeded by easterly and westerly winds.

The mean temperature of the air is in the months May to September above freezing-point, highest in July, viz. $6^{\circ}2$ C. In the other 7 months the mean temperature is negative. February is coldest, $-10^{\circ}8$. In all the months of the year both frost and thaw may occur. In the months July to September the temperature may rise to a pretty fair height; thus during a Föhn-gale, $25^{\circ}2$ was noted in July. The lowest temperature, $-30^{\circ}7$ was observed in February. As is generally the case in these regions the temperature may show considerable oscillations in a short time. Thus during Föhn-winds rises of temperature of up to $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ in two hours have been observed, and rises or falls of 3° or more an hour are of frequent occurrence. The number of frosty days has on an average been 263 a year.

The atmospheric precipitation has only been observed for five years, the first measuring apparatuses having disappeared in a storm after having been in use only a short time. The number

		January	February	March	April	May	June	July
Atmospheric pressure (reduced)	Mean	748·4	755·0	755·5	757·4	761·5	760·6	758·1
	Maximum ..	89·4	88·5	83·8	81·1	83·7	79·4	72·2
	Minimum ..	13·3	13·2	21·4	17·3	36·6	33·7	40·0
Temperature of the air (Celsius)	Mean	— 8°·9	—10°·8	— 8°·0	— 4°·7	0°·5	4°·9	6°·2
	Maximum ..	8°·9	15°·2	10°·8	10°·9	13°·2	19°·7	24°·8
	Minimum ..	—28°·9	—30°·7	—27°·4	—25°·4	—15°·7	—4°·4	—2°·7
Amount of clouds 0—10	—	6·8	5·8	6·3	6·4	7·0	6·4	5·7
Frequency of the wind in percentage	N.	12	8	6	6	4	3	2
	N. E.	9	6	8	5	5	4	3
	E.	7	5	5	6	6	5	6
	S. E.	2	2	2	2	3	5	6
	S.	4	3	3	6	10	18	23
	S. W.	2	2	2	1	2	2	1
	W.	12	10	10	9	7	3	3
	N. W.	6	6	5	4	2	2	2
	Calm.	46	58	59	61	61	58	54
Force of the wind	Scale 0—6..	0·8	0·6	0·6	0·5	0·5	0·5	0·5
Number of days with	Wet weather	17	13	16	15	15	12	11
	Rain.	2	1	2	3	7	11	11
	Snow	17	12	15	14	11	2	"
	Fog	1	1	1	2	7	8	7
	Frost	31	28	31	28	25	10	5
Number of nights with the Aurora Borealis		8	10	10	4	"	"	"

of days on which precipitation occurred was on an average 176, more or less evenly distributed over all the months of the year, though fewest in June to August. The greatest precipitation is that of snow. The amount of precipitation varies in different years and in the different months. Thus one year had 1445 mm, another

al Elements.

ast	September	Oetober	November	Deeember	Winter	Spring	Summer	Autumn	The year
0	754.4	755.7	753.2	747.9	750.4	758.1	759.6	754.4	755.6
5	76.0	86.0	79.1	83.5	89.4	83.8	79.4	86.0	89.4
9	25.8	23.5	08.8	11.0	11.0	17.3	32.7	08.8	08.8
6	3°.1	— 1°.9	— 5°.6	— 6°.9	— 8°.9	— 4°.1	5°.6	— 1°.5	— 2°.2
2	21°.2	13°.4	12°.7	8°.2	15°.2	13°.2	25.2	21°.2	25°.2
7	—7°.4	—13°.3	—23°.4	—24°.9	—30°.7	—27°.4	—5°.7	—23°.4	—30°.7
7	6.9	6.8	7.2	7.3	6.6	6.6	5.9	7.0	6.5
2	7	14	15	13	11	5	2	12	8
2	7	5	7	9	8	6	3	6	6
3	5	5	4	7	7	6	6	5	6
3	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2
9	10	5	3	2	3	6	20	6	9
2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	6	13	9	10	9	3	7	7
2	2	5	5	7	6	4	2	4	4
1	63	57	49	49	51	60	58	56	56
4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6
0	16	16	16	19	49	46	33	48	176
0	13	6	3	3	6	12	32	22	72
,	5	13	14	17	46	40	2	32	120
7	3	2	1	"	2	10	22	6	40
3	16	28	29	30	89	84	21	73	267
,	6	9	7	7	25	14	0	22	61

only 556 mm; one October had 310 mm, another 18 mm. On certain days the precipitation can be very great; thus 7 months of the year have instances of a precipitation of 50—100 mm in 24 hours. The greatest precipitation measured in 24 hours was 125.5 mm in May 1903.

The amount of clouds is on an average 6.5 (according to a scale 0—10).

Fog was observed 40 days in the year, mostly in the summer months.

Thunder was during the whole period over which the observations extend only observed once, in December 1903.

The Northern Lights occur 61 nights a year.

THE GREAT ICE AND THE SEA. — A factor which plays an important part in the life of the natives of Angmagsalik is the state of the "Storis"¹⁾ along the coast.

As a rule, the coast as a whole is freed from drift ice in August or September, sometimes even at the end of July. The coast then remains free from ice until well into November. During these months, however, scattered masses of ice and narrow ice-belts occur along the coast.

When the new drift-ice comes in November, it may freeze together into congealed masses which are fixed immovably at the coast; but, as a rule, the storms always break the ice again, and then breakers are found along the coast. During the following months the ice drifts away from or towards land according to as different winds prevail, but the breakers cease, and the winter ice settles on the fjords, and may for shorter or longer periods freeze together with the drift-ice. As a rule, however, there is often a strip of open water several nautical miles broad along the land.

The ice does not usually lie close into land before April, and the ice-belt then becomes so wide that as a rule one cannot see open water from the mountains. In the course of June and July the ice begins gradually to diminish in quantity and to open a little more, so that the swell comes in to the coast.

These general rules as to the state of the "Storis", however, do not apply to all years. Thus sometimes the ice may pack by the coast in the beginning of the winter, freeze fast there, and remain lying there till towards spring; in other winters, again, the ice comes close into the coast only for short periods.

The „Storis“ forms no great impediment for the natives to traffic, as it generally moves in a southerly direction at some distance from land. Now and then, indeed, it may be pressed into land, but it always goes out to sea again as soon as a calm or a land-breeze sets in. When the Storis freezes fast off the coast, it

¹⁾ "Storis" (great ice) is the name generally given to the heavy ice-masses which come from the polar sea and drift down along the East coast of Greenland.

provides very favourable conditions for sledging and hunting on the smooth fjord ice; if, on the other hand, it is pressed right up into the fjords and freezes fast there, it puts an end to all hunting and brings famine in its train.

When there is no Storis out at sea, the breakers are so strong that only the more protected waters are covered with ice. Strong cross currents nearly always keep holes in the ice open both at the mouths of the fjords and in the inner channels between the islands, and this, too, even when the ice lies packed right up to the horizon, and severe cold and calm weather prevails. Even in the more protected waters, in places where strong cross currents occur, the ice in spring melts away very quickly, so that there are large openings far away up the fjords while the outer part of the fjord is still frozen over.

The difference between high water and low water is at the time of spring tide $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet, at neap tide 4 feet.

The sea is everything to the people of Angmagsalik; for the animals which live in it supply the people with food, clothes, light, warmth etc. The polar current which goes south along the coast carries drift-wood, wrecks etc. with it in towards the coast. The wood most frequently met with is fir. The trunks will sometimes be found to be whole trees which have been torn up by the roots, sometimes to be hewn timber; and it is no rare thing to see drift timber with a length of 20 feet and a diameter of 1 foot. Debris from wrecks, boats, and casks often come drifting ashore, and this is the source of a great part of the metal objects of the natives. Thus, for instance, 40 years ago a deserted ship has actually drifted past, and two kaiak loads of iron were obtained from it. Similarly from the wreck of a boat which was washed ashore in the autumn of 1883, there was obtained a number of small pieces of iron as well as a large brass mounting, which has now been divided into a number of pieces to furnish mountings for hunting implements. Besides wreckage, under which head we may reckon oars, hooks, a heavy piece of timber with an iron bolt, and a pickles jar, — two Norwegian glass-floats, a cocoa-nut, and a bamboo cane have been found during the last few years.

The drift-ice frequently carries along with it stones of different kinds from those which occur in the country, and in former times such stones were used for cutting and scraping implements. The natives still use a red clay-stone, which is pulverised and mixed with water, and is then rubbed into wood in order to dye it. Pumice-stone, which the sea also carries with it, is used for preparing skins.

THE COUNTRY. — The surrounding country of Angmagsalik is a decidedly mountainous region, within which the inland ice has been dammed up. The country is high and rocky, and the mountains fall away steeply down to the sea, while the coast is much indented. The three main fjords are: the 20 miles long *Sermiligak*, the 36 miles long *Angmagsalik*, and the 60 miles long *Sermilik*, which are connected with straits partially cutting off large islands, on which mountains over 2000 feet high are carried along right out to sea. Towards the bottom of the fjords the height of the mountains rises to over 6000 feet. Many small glaciers are to be seen everywhere on the mountains, but "calving" glaciers occur only at the bottom of *Sermiligak* and *Sermilik*, and only one of them, namely the one which comes from the west arm of *Sermilik*, sends out large icebergs into the sea, for it comes from the "inland ice" itself. The "inland ice" formerly covered a more extensive part of the land than it does now, as is sufficiently evidenced by striation, undulating valleys, which are undoubtedly ancient seats of glaciers, and smooth rounded islands. There are comparatively few plains and valleys of any extent, so that the only places suited for habitation are short stretches of coast, or low islands and headlands.

The minerals are chiefly gneiss and granite. The only useful mineral found is pot-stone, from which the natives here, like those on the West coast, make pots and lamps. It is obtained especially in the south, at *Pikiutdle* and *Inigsalik*. Other useful minerals have not been found in the rocks.

PLANTS. — When the snow melts in spring, the country is seen to be covered with a quite luxuriant vegetation, consisting chiefly of heaths and mosses. The country has no trees, the wood of which can be turned to account; only the more favoured spots have a little willow copse and dwarf birch.

Although the natives live almost entirely on animal food, they eat a number of plants which, although of small value from the point of view of nutrition, nevertheless have their importance, as rendering the food of the natives less monotonous than it would otherwise be.

The following edible plants may be mentioned:

- Tugdlerunat — *Sedum rhodiola*,
- Nukut — the root of the same,
- Nutugkat — sorrel (*Oxyria digyna*),
- Kuaralik — angelica (*Archangelica officinalis*),
- Nunat — dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale*),
- Pukugak — black crowberry (*Empetrum nigrum*),

Tungujortit, also called Kigitarnat — bilberry } (*Vaccinium*
 Kugdlungasit, also called Sanit — bilberry leaves } *uliginosum*),
 Ivsormitait, also called Tungusungitit — *Polygonum viviparum*.

The sea-weed kinds eaten are:

Imertigkat — red seaweed,
 Misarkat — clover seaweed,
 Suvdluitit — *Alaria Pylaii*,
 Miserarnat — bladder-weed (*Fucus vesiculosus*).

It should also be mentioned that fine hair-like sea-weed is used for cleaning, and that gramineae of various kinds are used to form a padding for boots.

Not merely the plants given above, but other plants and bushes as well have special names in the language of the natives. This shows that the inhabitants have an eye to other aspects of the vegetable world in their country than material usefulness. It cannot be said, however, that their interest in plants is very keen; the vigorous animal life along their coasts has monopolised their interest to such an extent that their attention has been diverted from the comparatively inconspicuous and scanty plant-life of their country.

ANIMALS. — The dog is their only domestic animal, and it is used for driving sledges. It is of medium size, with a somewhat pointed head and erect ears, and a very curly tail. The fur is thick, and as a general rule, white with a few black or brown spots. Quite white dogs with a more rounded head are by no means rare.

The chief hunting animals are the same kinds of seals which are found on the West coast, except that here the bearded seal and harbour seal are comparatively more numerous. The latter, like the ringed seal, is found here the whole year round, whereas the crested seal and the Greenland seal only come at certain seasons of the year. The last-named seal is said to have diminished considerably in numbers¹⁾.

Narwhals are common at the end of winter and in spring, at which time they go in and out of the fjords.

Walruses are rare. Whales, which formerly were very numerous, are now extremely rare.

The polar-bear is common and makes his appearance periodically with the drift-ice, and in winters when there is not much ice, he will not come in great numbers. The natives say that when they first come

¹⁾ In spring one sometimes comes across dead seals on the drift-ice with the skin and blubber removed.

in the winter, they are very fat, but they then retire to dens where they remain for a month, and leave them in a very lean condition. The bears, however, go out a few times to catch seal during the period they are in their dens. These dens are made in the snow up on land, and are 20 to 40 feet long, so that the bears have room to pace up and down in them. The he-bear's den lies near the shore, while the she-bear has her den further up on land. Here are born cubs no bigger than puppies a month old, and they remain with the mother till they are fully grown. When the mother is pursued, and she has her cubs with her, she carries them in her mouth.

White and blue foxes are found in large numbers. The white are most valued, their skins being used for caps. The blue skins are used mostly for frocks.

On the northerly stretch of coast, at *Kialinek*, it is said that the animals most hunted are narwhals and bears, which here are found the whole year round.

At one time Angmagsalik could boast of musk-oxen, called in the native language *pangnek*¹⁾, reindeer, and hares, which latter have the same names as on the West coast; but these animals have now been exterminated. A musk-ox was some years ago found in the sea at *Sermiligak* drifting among the ice. At *Sermilik* a long-haired white reindeer was found in the sea. Mention is also made of an animal which is known as *parpaligamik uniakagtagdlik*. It is described as an extremely dangerous animal, whose weapon is a tail of iron (see Tales Nos. 38 and 39)²⁾. Some persons speak of having seen a fabulous-looking animal, resembling a fox, but of a reddish colour and able to fly. It is called *avangiarsik*³⁾.

Not many birds or fish are caught at Angmagsalik. There are plenty of ptarmigan and ravens, and the ptarmigan in winter often come in flocks down to the inhabited places. As to large land birds, eagles and owls are rare, whereas hawks are pretty common.

Among sea-fowl the following may be mentioned: eider-ducks, wild geese, gulls, auks, ducks, loons, black guillemots, and sometimes also swans.

The grandfather of a now living man caught an *isarukitek* (great auk — *Alca impennis*) which was related to have been a huge

¹⁾ On the West coast it is called *umingmak*; *pangnek* denoting a full-grown reindeer buck (Greenlandic Dictionary by Kleinschmidt p. 272 and 395).

²⁾ "Legends and Tales from Angmagsalik". Part V in this volume.

³⁾ Rink informs us in "Eskimoiske Dialekter" p. 21 that the name of the squirrel is known to the Greenlanders. In the same place *avingak* is translated: "lemming, mouse or rat", whereas Kleinschmidt translates it: "mole" (Greenlandic Dictionary p. 63). Boas: The Central Eskimo, p. 641: *avingak* "lemming".

bird that had quite small wings with short feathers, and that it could keep as long under water as a Greenland seal.

As to fish, the following deserve to be particularly mentioned: angmagsat (capelans), sharks, salmon, sea-scorpions, wolf-fishes, sea-perch, cod and halibut.

The natives obtain the three last-mentioned fishes only when the crested seal brings them up to the surface.

Other edible sea-animals worth mentioning are: mussels, sand-gapers, sea-urchins, sea-snails and shrimps.

III.

NAME — DISTRIBUTION — PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS —
CLOTHING — DWELLINGS — IMPLEMENTS — HUNTING.

NAME OF THE TRIBE. — That group of the Eskimo which the East Greenlanders who live further south call *Angmagsalingmiut*, from the most populous region on the Angmagsalik fjord, travels over the coast between the 65th and 68th degree of latitude on the East coast of Greenland.

By *Angmagsalik* is understood, strictly speaking only the place where *angmagsat* (plural of *angmagsak*) are caught, namely the region about *Kingak* in the interior of the Angmagsalik fjord, where there are no permanent dwelling places; though at the season of the year when *angmagsat* are caught, people gather here from the whole surrounding district. The name, however, is used by other East Greenlanders to denote the whole district from which people go to hunt *angmagsat*.

The name *Angmagsalik* is no longer used by the inhabitants themselves, as, a man of the name of *Angmagsak* having died, and the natives not daring to pronounce the name of a dead person, the fjord was renamed *Kulusuk* from the inhabited region on the large island at the mouth of the fjord, where the greater part of the inhabitants live. As, however, the district is known along the East coast and the most southerly part of the West coast under the name of *Angmagsalik*, and as this name, of course, is quite familiar to the inhabitants themselves, we thought ourselves justified in retaining it.

The inhabitants call themselves *Inik* or *Ták* "man". They do not know the word *Kalâlek*, which is the name given to them-

selves by the southern West Greenlanders and the people of Labrador in contradistinction from other Eskimo tribes.

DISTRIBUTION. — The three neighbouring fjords, *Sermilik*, *Angmagsalik*, and *Sermiligak*, are their chief places of habitation. In each settlement there is only one inhabited house, the size of which varies according to the number of families. At *Sermilik* there were in the winter of 1884—85 4 inhabited places, namely *Ikatok* (58 souls), *Sivinganarsik* (31), *Sivinganek* (31), and *Akerninak* (12), all situated on the east side of the fjord, forming a total population of 132 souls. At *Angmagsalik* there were 7 inhabited places: *Tasiusarsik* (35), *Kangarsik* (34), *Norsit* (25), *Umivik* (19), *Ingmikertok* (37), *Kumarmiut* (28), and *Norajik* (47), 225 souls in all. At *Sermiligak* there was that winter only one inhabited place, namely *Nunakitit* with 14 souls.

In summer the people live in tents and go about in boats to the best hunting-places, now to the outer coasts to take seal, now to the inner waters to catch angmagsat and salmon.

Journeys, which often last a year or two, are made from this district both in a northerly and southerly direction. They go north to *Kialinek* to hunt narwhals and bears. In 1882 two *umiaks* with 30 persons went up there, and were never heard of any more. A third boat which had also undertaken the journey returned to *Angmagsalik*, when they found how poor the hunting was up there in summer. The other two boats, not being covered with skin, put off their return to next year, and it is believed that they starved to death¹). In former times many people had died of starvation up there.

They go south to *Inigsalik* and *Pikiutdleik*, where they overwinter in order to supply themselves with pot-stone. Some of them make still longer journeys to *Igdلولuarsuk* and *Akorninarmiut* in order to trade with the natives who live further south. A boat from *Sermilik* was in 1883 on the West coast, but this was an exceptional case. In 1882 this boat went together with two other boats from *Sermilik* to *Igdلولuarsuk*. After wintering here, young people from all three boat-crews went in one boat to *Nanortalik* in order to trade; a boat from *Igdلولuarsuk* went along with them. On their homeward journey they only got as far as *Anoritok*, where they then wintered in 1883—84. In 1884 they proceeded together with us on to *Igdلولuarsuk* where the two other boats joined us, and went to *Umivik*, where they wintered in 1884—85. In the summer of 1885 they at last managed to get back to *Sermilik*. They had

¹) Cf. „Meddelelser om Grønland“, vol. XXVII, p. 93.

thus been travelling 4 summers. In 1884--85 accordingly 42 persons were wintering at *Umivik*. On the coast between *Sermilik* and *Umivik* there was no one wintering that year. The total population in the autumn of 1884 was thus 413 souls, if we assume that those who went up north had died. Out of the 413 souls, 193 belonged to the male sex and 220 to the female sex, or 114 women to every 100 men. (See "List of the Inhabitants of the East coast of Greenland" in part III).

The articles of trade are bear-skins, skins of harbour seals, and implements of narwhal tusk, which are sold to the natives further south to be taken to the West coast. They receive in exchange old iron ware, hoops, and cast-off garments of European make, which the people living further south have obtained by barter from the West coast.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS. — The people of Angmagsalik are of middle height, slenderly built, and well-proportioned. They have an oval face, marked features with prominent noses, which in general are regular and well-formed, though sometimes crooked. Some have prominent cheek-bones and slightly oblique eyes and a flat nose. The mouth is powerful, often somewhat protruding and with rather narrow lips. The teeth are small, of uniform size and well set, the teeth of the upper jaw fitting exactly onto the teeth in the lower jaw; but they decay prematurely, and the teeth of old people are worn off right down to the gums. As to their eyes, the colour of the iris is dark brown. The colour of the hair is black or black-brown. The men have thick, glossy, coarse and abundant hair, which as a rule is worn long, never being cut. We have never seen anyone who was bald, and only a few old people whose hair was greyish-white. The hair of the women is very thick, and finer, but also shorter, than that of the men. The growth of hair in other parts of the body, too, is pretty luxuriant. The men have sometimes rather well-developed beards, the young men, however, generally pull out the hairs of the beard. They have also hair in the arm-pits, sometimes on the breast and arms as well, and both sexes have hairy pubes.

The people of Angmagsalik have a large rounded breast; the neck and nape are well-formed. The neck looks short on account of the well-developed breast. The belly is well-formed and not very prominent. The navel is large, a natural consequence of the primitive way in which the navel-string is cut. The women's breasts are often pointed and begin to droop at an early age. The arms are finely developed, but

the legs are not well formed in proportion to the rest of the body. Notwithstanding this, they display really admirable strength and endurance on long toilsome walks.

The hands are small and chubby with white nails, which are often kept very long. Some have long, narrow, bony fingers. The feet are small and well-shaped, but often rather broad and flat and with a low instep. The men's gait is elastic, light, and with outwardly turned feet; their run, on the other hand, is heavy, waddling, with stiff arms, crooked knees, and short, hasty steps. The women's gait is heavy, waddling, with the body slightly inclined forward. They are quite bandy-legged. The arms are held stiffly out to the sides with elbows turned in.

The colour of the skin on the uncovered parts of the body is yellowish-brown. On the rest of the body the colour is lighter, with a bluish tinge. The women are lighter than the men. The pigmented parts, viz. the sexual organs and the nipples, have a dark blue-black tone. New-born babes have a blue-black spot on the loins. This spot gradually spreads, disappearing, however, when they get older. The skin is very soft and fine in the parts of the body which are covered with clothes when they are out in the open air.

Dr. SØREN HANSEN has worked up the anthropological measurements made by the Expedition and the materials brought home in "A contribution to the Anthropology of the East Greenlanders" (part II).

LANGUAGE. — The language of the people of Angmagsalik is much softer than that of the West Greenlanders. In speaking, they often stress the final syllables of the words and pronounce them with a higher pitch, and as, moreover, several vowel sounds are different from those of the West Greenlanders, there is a considerable difference in the sound of the two dialects.

While studying the East Greenland dialect, HANSERAK made in a copy of KLEINSCHMIDT'S "Den grønlandske Ordbog" (Greenlandic Dictionary) annotations in Greenlandic as to the words which are different in the Angmagsalik dialect. Dr. HENRY RINK, the well-known authority on Eskimo life and language, has worked up this material in "The East-Greenland Dialect" (part IV).

TATTOOING. — Nearly all the women are tattooed, having a couple of short lines between the eye-brows and one just below the root of the nose, and also a few short lines on the chin. The arms and hands and, to some extent, the legs are more or less tattooed with rectilinear figures and small strokes, which often cover considerable areas. Some women are also tattooed on and between the

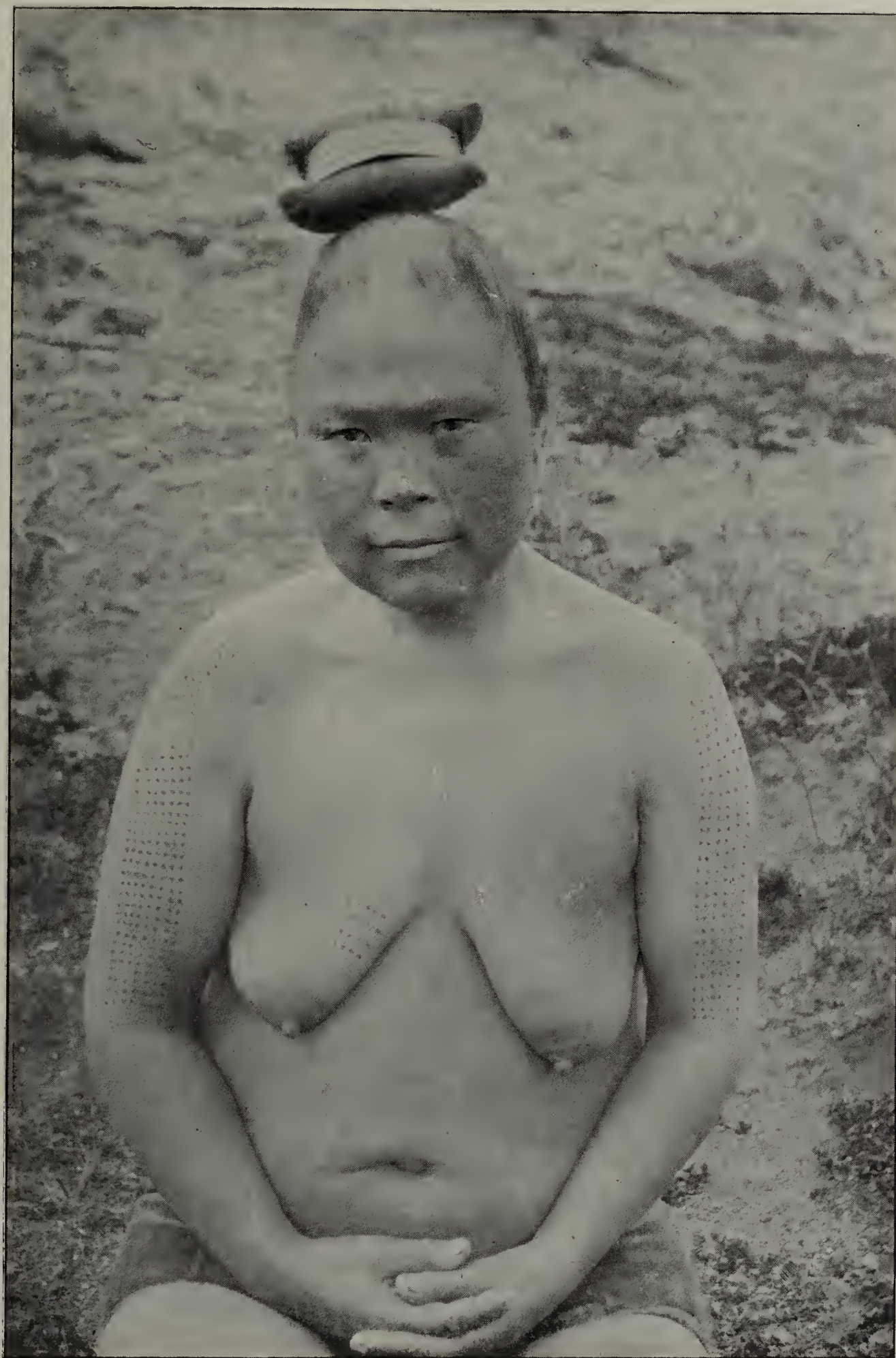


Fig. 11. Tattooed woman, the wife of *Akernilik*. (J. Petersen phot.)

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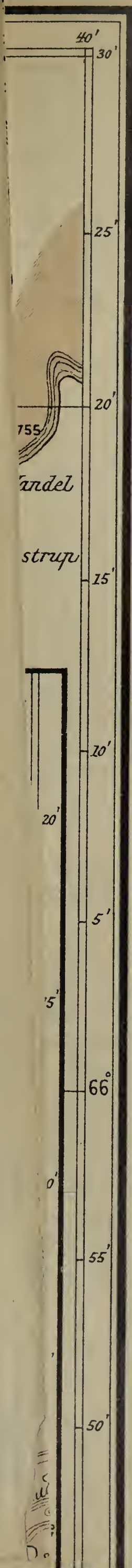


Fig. 13. Tattooed legs of a woman. (J. Petersen phot.)



Fig. 12. Tattooed arm of a woman. (J. Petersen phot.)

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breasts. They will tell you as a rule that they tattoo themselves for their own pleasure, and as a kind of decoration, but they also seem to have some notion that it will render them more skilful in their work. The tattooing takes place as soon as the women are grown-up.

The men are very seldom tattooed, and then they only have a few small lines on their arms and wrists 'to enable them to harpoon well'. Sometimes they have also a few lines in the face by way of ornament. It happens also now and then that tattooing is resorted to in serious cases of sickness.

The tattooing is performed by sewing through the skin with a sinew thread smeared with soot.

CLOTHING. MEN'S DRESS. — The men wear a long frock-like garment put on over the head, *anorak*; it is made of sealskin with the hair inwards, and reaches down over the hips (fig. 17). It is provided with a hood for drawing over the head, and at the bottom it is as a rule somewhat pointed, both at the front and at the back. The *anorak* is so wide over the breast that the arms can easily be drawn out of the sleeves and held close to the body, which is very often done when it is cold (figs. 16, 17, 28, 36). The frock is very soft and of a yellowy-white colour, bordered with strips of bear, dog, or new-born seal skin, and has often also white unhaired skin sewed into the seams. Sometimes the frock is made of fox-skin, over which is placed thin seal-skin, which is sewed on in strips of white and dark skin (fig. 16). Raven and auk skins too are said to be used for anoraks.

Over this frock is worn in bad weather or in the *kaiak* a gut frock of the same cut, made of intestines of seals split open and sewed together (*ikiak*, fig. 298).

Next to the skin are worn quite diminutive drawers, only a few inches high, which fit closely to the loins and just manage to cover the sexual parts (figs. 18, 62 and 291). They are made of sealskin with the hair outward, and are as a rule nicely embroidered. They are called *natit*. When the natives are at the settlement, they seldom wear any other breeches but these, even in the severest cold. But, when out *kaiaking* or hunting, or when away from their home, they wear above them another pair of breeches, made of seal skin or bear skin, the fur side outward. They are very low in front, barely covering the pubes, but run up higher behind, and are held in place by a cord above the hips, outside the *anorak*. They are fastened below the knees over the boots by a string. (figs. 16, 17, 63, 294).

The foot gear, which generally reaches up over the knees, consists of the inner boot or stocking with the hair inside, and the outer boot, which as a general rule is made of 'waterproof skin'¹⁾, though in winter time hairy boots with the hair out are often worn. In summer, however, they sometimes wear half-boots, of which only the 'inners' reach up to the knees, while the boots themselves reach half-way up the legs and are richly embroidered (fig. 299).

The soles of the upper boots are made of hard tanned bearded-seal skin, and are well bent over the foot, reaching to the top of it (fig. 294).

In winter they wear outside the *anorak* a hooded outer frock, with the hair out and with a thick bear-skin border both along the bottom and about the face (figs. 14 and 294). The fur reaches a good way down over the hips, and at the back ends in a flap. Just above this flap is seen in the skin the seal's tail, which has first been split and then sewn in. The upper frock is sometimes made of bear skin, and can be held round the face and wrists by means of strings in loops of skin sewed along the borders (fig. 300). In winter they often wear bear skin breeches (fig. 26); and, when hunting on the ice, they wear over-shoes of bear skin (fig. 300), and sealskin mittens with one thumb and with the hair outward (fig. 312). The left mitten is sometimes made of bear-skin (fig. 300).

In the *kaiak* they wear in winter, or when the sea is rough, outside the *anorak* the above-mentioned gut frock, and over it again a hooded *kaiak-jacket* of 'waterproof skin', which is often prettily embroidered and decorated with artistically cut buttons and beads (fig. 296). At the bottom of the jacket there are draw-strings in a loop along the border, just as for the face and wrists. The jacket is tied round the face and on the hands, and when the man sits in the *kaiak*, the bottom of the garment is extended over the hoop of the man-hole of the *kaiak*, and fastened around it. A brace which passes through a ring on the shoulders is attached to the back of the jacket. When the man sits in the *kaiak*, the brace is tightened by means of a ring on the front side of the jacket, thus keeping the lower part of it free from folds, where water would otherwise be apt to collect. Behind the hood are two little cords, with beads strung on them, which when tightened keep the edge of the hood tight round the face.

The gut frock is frequently used not only in the *kaiak*, but also on land, especially in damp weather. These frocks are either clear

¹⁾ By 'waterproof skin' is understood an unhaired skin on which the black epidermis is allowed to remain on.

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Fig. 14. Sannersak (*Paningingiváá*) man from Angmagsalik, age about 70 years. (Knutsen phot. 1885.)

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Fig. 15. *Milagtek* and *Alusagak*. (Knutsen phot. 1885.)



Fig. 16. *Suvdluitek* and *Alusagak*. (Knutsen phot. 1885.)

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Fig. 17. *Atakak* and his wife *Sauingasek*. (Knutson phot. 1885.)

and transparent, or white and dull. In order to render the guts white and dull, they are put out to freeze, so that they are dried by the cold before they are prepared.

In summer, when the kaiak-jacket is not in use, they wear in the kaiak a beautifully embroidered half-jacket (fig. 299). It is sewed of waterproof skin, and, like the kaiak-jacket, the bottom of it is extended over the hoop of the man-hole (fig. 102). The braces, which are cut out of seal's teeth, are passed over the shoulders and fastened in buckles on the front side of the jacket. Buckles are seen in fig. 42 (cf. figs. 299, 335, 340). Sometimes the kaiaker wears, besides this, a hooded half-jacket formed like a cut-off *anorak*, which is sewed of white unhaired skin (fig. 299). It reaches just far enough for the lower edge to be covered by the kaiak half-jacket, which it is used together with. The kaiak mittens are made of waterproof skin.

The so-called 'spring coat' *kardligpâsalik*, was used in olden times in whaling. It is a combined garment, made of waterproof skin, with frock, breeches, mittens and boots in one. We have never seen a 'spring coat'; but the natives say that there are some few persons who still wear such a garment, out of superstition.

In summer, when the hood is not drawn over the head, the men wear in the kaiak very pretty-looking caps of whole white fox-skins, with the tail hanging down the back. Sometimes a cap like this is fitted with a peak of wood, which is generally prettily decorated with ornaments of bone and painted red or sooted; but the peaks may also be of skin and embroidered (figs. 314, 315).

They also wear caps with broad crowns, stretched round a wooden ring and having peaks of skin. In former times they had caps of a similar form, made of the skin of new-born seals (fig. 51 c, 314 a); now they are comparatively seldom seen, having been superseded by European stufs, over which a narrow red ribbon is placed crosswise over a broad white ribbon (fig. 315 b, c).

Finally, they also wear caps of a high calotte form, very richly embroidered (fig. 51 a, b).

In place of caps they often wear only peaks or eye-shades (figs. 316 to 322). They are often painted red, and very richly adorned with cut ornaments of bone. The latter, called *ingekitak*, are carved out of a single piece of wood. They are worn to protect the eyes from the sunlight which is reflected from the ice.

In winter time, when sledging, they wear snow-goggles made of a piece of wood and fashioned to fit the face over the eyes. The

goggles are either carved in the form of a mask, or merely admit the light through a narrow slit (fig. 323).

The long hair is kept in place by a kind of halter, which is ornamented with fish otalites, or beads of fox bone, or of the vertebrae of *angmagsat* (fig. 324). As a general rule, the hair is worn long and has never felt the touch of any cutting instrument, it being in fact regarded as dangerous to lose any of one's hair. Some, however, have their hair cut short from their childhood, either only on the forehead, or else round the whole head. This is done with knives made of shark's teeth (fig. 187), superstition not allowing them to bring iron in contact with their hair. Those who have their hair cut have no flaps on their frocks; the claws on the flippers of the seals they take are cut off and thrown into the sea, and the ears and tails of their dogs are cut off while they are puppies. The bearded seals which are caught by persons whose hair is never cut, have a few strips cut out of each flipper, which are left hanging down on the skin.

Crosswise over chest and back the men wear a harness-like arrangement of rawhide cord in which are put amulets (fig. 18 and 348), placed on the chest and on the back. As a rule, the amulets consist of splinters of wood, though sometimes of small carved human figures¹). Sometimes also they wear armlets on the upper arm as amulets (fig. 349). They believe that this will ensure them a long life.

In the houses and tents the men wear only the small drawers (*natit*) besides 'halters' for the hair and amulet straps.

WOMEN'S DRESS. — The women's upper-frocks (*amaut*) have about the same cut as those of the men, but are much wider over the back and have much larger hoods, in which the babies are carried (figs. 19 to 28 and 303 to 309). At the top of the hood is often attached a cord with which the hood can be drawn over the baby sitting in it (fig. 37). The frock is always worn over the breeches, and the points or tails at the front and back are much longer than those of the men. They are sometimes as much as a foot long, and they are meant to be tied together between the legs in snowy or cold weather. A long string on the breast of the frock is meant to be tied round the back to prevent the child in the hood slipping down. Women who have no children have frocks the cut of which is more like that of the men's, but their hoods

¹) Similar amulet straps were seen by Nelson on an Eskimo at Bering Strait. 18th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. p. 435.

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Fig. 18. *Sanin:uiudk*. Wearing amulet thongs, *nadil* and boots. (Knutsen phot. 1885.)

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Fig. 19. *Sanersak's* wife and daughter. (Knutsen phot. 1885.)

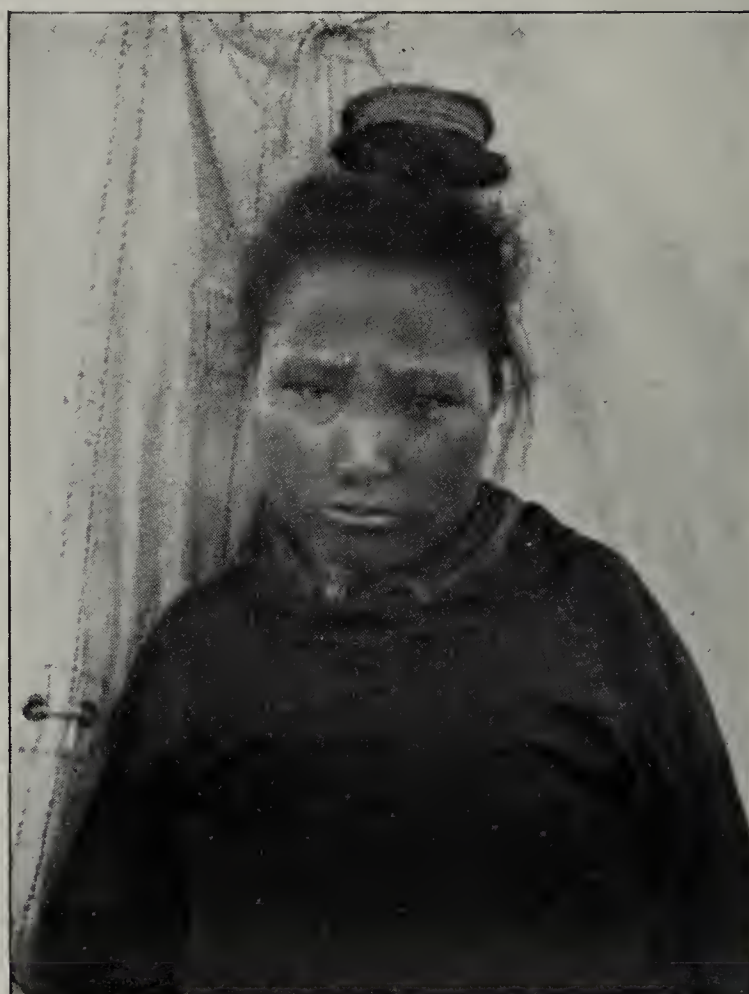
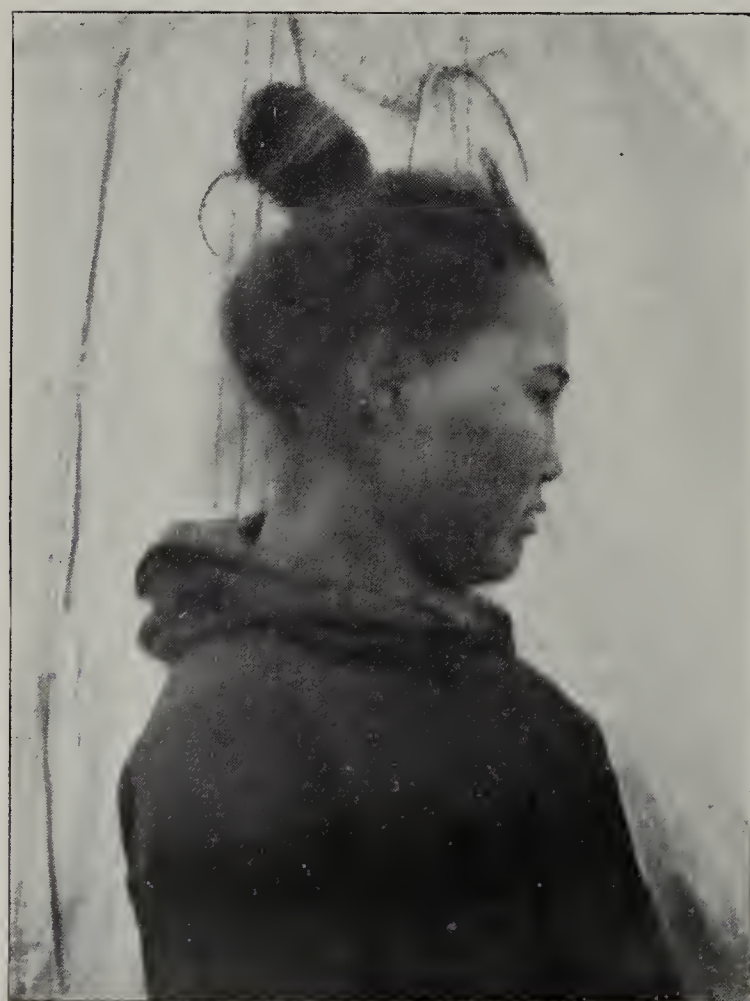


Fig. 20. *Napa*, woman from Sermilik, about 25 years old. (Knutsen phot. 1885.)

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Fig. 21. Women and children outside the tent. (Knutsen phot. 1885.)

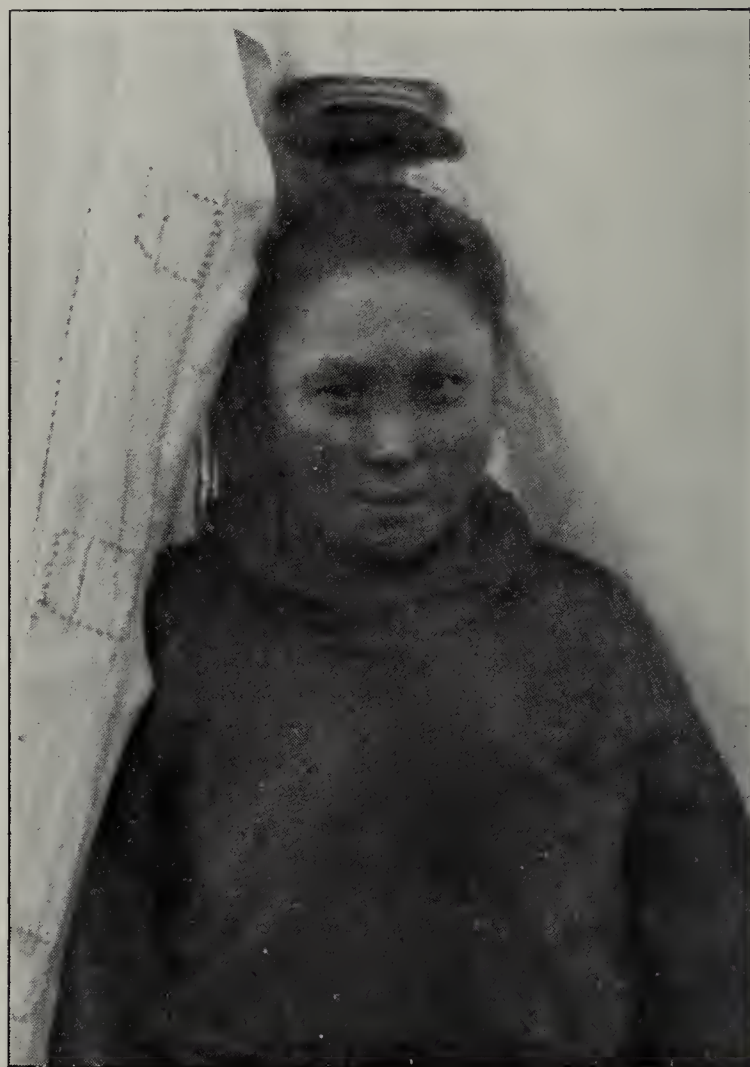


Fig. 22. *Ukak*, woman from Sermilik, about 25 years old. (Knutsen phot.)

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Fig. 23. *Ekinga*, Suvdluitek's wife, wearing *natit* and boots, in the front room of the tent (in front of the entrance curtain). (Knutsen phot. 1885.)



Fig. 24. *Alekajik* and *Oline*. (J. Petersen phot.)

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Fig. 25. Native women and children. (J. Petersen phot.)



Fig. 26. *Maratuk* and his sons, the latter dressed in bearskin breeches.
(J. Petersen phot. 1906.)

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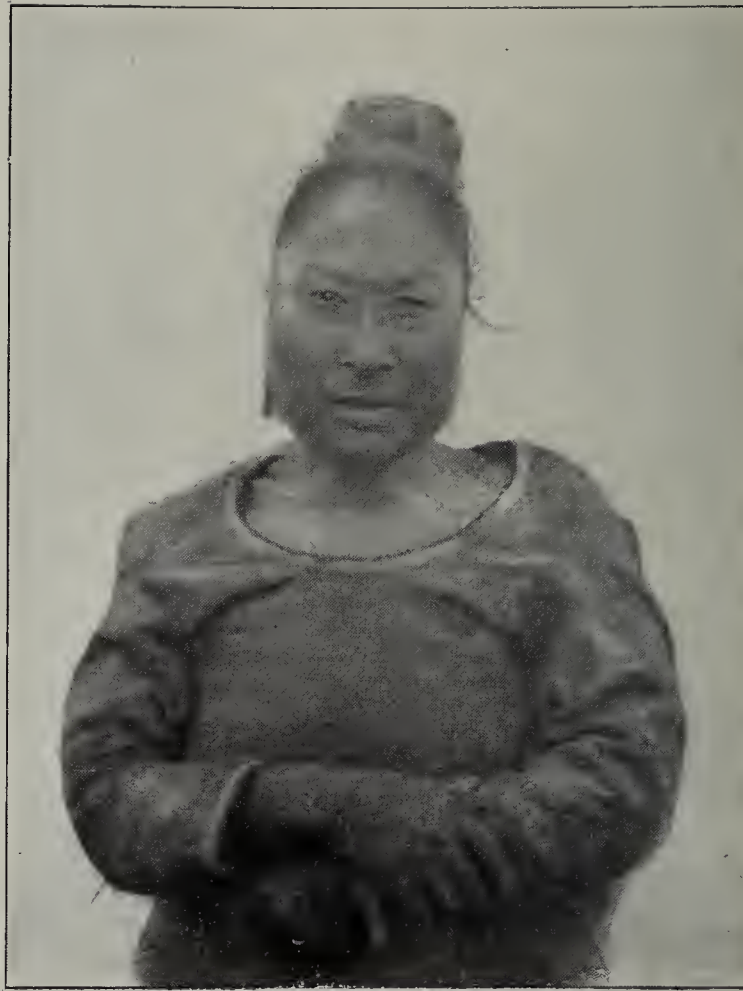


Fig. 27. *Tok*, woman from *Tingmiarmiut*, about 35 years old, married to *Ilinguaki*, at *Sermilik*. (Knutsen phot. 1885.)



Fig. 28. *Akitikujök* and *Natalia* with their children. (J. Petersen phot. 1900.)

are always pointed, but barely large enough to be passed over the head (fig. 17).

The inner frock with the hair inside has exactly the same cut as the outer frock, and both are very tastefully sewed with white skin in all seams. In front on the breast there is some embroidered work from which strings depend. Such strings, often ornamented with beads, are also to be seen on the back both of the men's and the women's frocks, and are merely ornamental. Above the inner skin frocks, the women sometimes wear in damp weather beautifully embroidered gut frocks.

The outer breeches lie above the hips, but reach only a little way under the fork (figs. 24, 34). It is only on long journeys in severe cold that the naked loins are wrapped about with a piece of skin. When at home they do not wear these breeches, but merely a piece of three-cornered skin, which covers the sexual parts, and is kept in place by straps over the hips. From the straps there often depend by way of ornament a number of bands, on which beads are sometimes strung. These small women's drawers are always worn inside and are called, like those of the men, *natit* (figs. 23, 24 and 293).

The boots reach up over the knees, and have the form of large riding-boots with very wide uppers and with a notch in front at the top. Both the inner and outer boots are edged with bear skin or dog skin. The foot of the boot is like that of the men (figs. 28, 304, 309, 311).

The women do up their hair in a broad head-dress, which is tied with a strip of skin, from which strings of beads hang down over the hair (figs. 28 and 328). On the forelocks are strung small beads, which hang down over the forehead (fig. 17). Beads are sometimes worn on the hair of the temples in front of the ear (fig. 27).

When it is cold, they wrap round their heads a skin, which is often beautifully embroidered. They sometimes use the grain side of a bearded seal skin to make a kerchief of this kind. It is black and has the appearance of cloth (fig. 327).

The women wear their amulets either in the hair-dress, in the flap in the front of the frock, or in a ribbon round the upper arm or ankle.

By way of ornament they wear in their ears a piece of carved tooth, often triangularly shaped, which usually hangs on a string of beads, or has beads hung on it (figs. 27 and 329, 330). Around their neck they wear a necklace of skin from which beads hang far down over the breast (fig. 325). Sometimes they also wear bracelets of skin embroidered with beads (fig. 349).

Their costume when at home consists merely of a head-band, necklace, and *natit*.

The small beads just spoken of consist of the vertebrae of angmagsat, of which some are undyed, while others are dyed with blood (fig. 349). The beads are so small that it requires a magnifying-glass to see what they are made of. Larger beads are made sometimes of stone, especially of a green stone from *Kujutilik*, sometimes of the teeth of seals or the small bones in a fox's foot. Now-a-days they often wear glass beads, which the natives obtain from the West coast; but it is only the tiny beads, no bigger than angmagsat vertebrae, which they set a value on.

The women are as a general rule comparatively cleanly, and always have their hair beautifully done up. The men are more dirty and slovenly. All washing, whether of hair and skin or of clothes, is done in urine tubs. The combs are often admirably carved in bone or ivory (figs. 331, 333).

CHILDREN'S DRESS. — As long as the children are carried out-of-doors, in the hood on their mother's back, their dress consists merely of a long frock. When they are too old to be carried on the back, their dress is like that of the grown-ups, only without *natit*, and the girls have no head-dress. (Figs. 21, 25, 28 and 310).

DRESS MAKING AND SKIN DRESSING. — The skins for the clothes are dressed in urine tubs, and they are softened by being rubbed, stretched, and scraped with stone or bone (skin-scrapers: figs. 223 to 228). The teeth are an important instrument in the preparation of the skins, as they hold the skins in their teeth, while they are being scraped and stretched.

The clothes are sewed with iron needles and sinew thread. Needles are first cut out of pieces of iron hoops, and are then hammered lying on a stone, with a stone-hammer (figs. 215 to 217). Some needles are of brass. The eye of the needle is made with a very fine iron point fixed in a handle (figs. 232 and 235). It is bored from both sides by a turning movement of the hand and even pressure. The needle, having been hammered out once more and ground on a stone, is then ready for use. They have needles of all sizes, ranging from very large flat needles for kaiak mountings to very fine embroidering-needles, in which one can barely see the eye (fig. 233). All the needles, except the very large ones just spoken of, are rectangular. The making of needles is a women's occupation.

Sinew thread is made from the sinew of tail, back, or flipper and also of the necks of seals, or of narwhal sinews. It is plaited and twisted into thread of all thicknesses, ranging from cord for sewing *umiaks* to thread for embroidering. The single strands are ravelled out with the fingers, after which they are rolled over the cheek, and the ready-plaited sinew cords are then smoothed between the teeth. Implements for the plaiting and twisting of sinew cords are often beautifully carved (figs. 239 to 248).

Other implements used for sewing are bodkins of narwhal tusk (figs. 230, 236, 237); creasers for crimping skins (fig. 231), and sewing-rings or thimbles, cut out of the skin of bearded seals (fig. 252).

Sewing-needles are protected by sticking them in a needle-guard, a three-corned beautifully embroidered skin (figs. 249, 250, 251). From the lower edge of a skin of this kind there often depend thimble holders, which are carved in bone in the form of an elongated double hook (fig. 247) and sinew-thread holders, which consist either of a large bone hook or of a bone stick with a carved bird placed movably at the end (figs. 242 a, b, c).

The most important women's implement for all kinds of work is undoubtedly the curved knife (*ulo*). It is generally formed of a piece of iron hoop, which is joined by two legs of bone to a wooden handle (fig. 223). In one of the knives a coloured stone has been inserted into the handle (fig. 223 d). From the West coast the natives have obtained a women's knife of European make. The superfluous iron on the upper side of this knife has been cut away to be used for needles (fig. 223 g). A whetting iron inserted in a handle of wood is used for grinding knives with (fig. 218 c). A few specimens of women's knives of stone are still to be found (figs. 223 a, b).

DWELLINGS. — In winter the natives of Angmagsalik live in houses built of turf and stone. A house of this kind consists only of one room, which is from 24 to 50 feet long, according to the number of families who live together, and from 12 to 16 feet wide (fig. 31). The houses are, as a general rule, built on sloping ground close to the sea, and with the front side, in which the windows and passage-way are placed, facing onto the sea. The direction of the house is a matter of less consequence to them than a suitable site and easy access to the sea (figs. 29, 30, 64, 65).

The walls are built in part subterraneously, and the back wall, the top of which is often flush with the surface of the ground, is a little longer than the front wall. The ridge of the roof, which is of stout drift-wood, extends along the whole length of the house and rests on props. The maximum height of the house is 6½ feet.

The house at Tasiusarsik Kangigdlek.

(Fig. 31.)

Interior length of back wall	8·8 m
do. do. do. front wall	7·9 m
do. breadth	4·6 m
Greatest height	2·1 m
Length of the passage-way	7·9 m
Breadth of the platform	1·9 m
Height do. do.	0·5 m

Distribution of the housemates on the platform.

	Number of persons
1. <i>Igsiavik</i> with his wife	2
2. <i>Kutuluk</i> with his wife, son, daughter and foster-daughter .	5
3. <i>Utuak</i> with two wives and seven children	10
4. <i>Pitiga</i> with his wife and child	3
5. <i>Adlagdlak</i> with his wife, child and foster-child.....	4
6. <i>Narsingertek</i> with his wife and six children	8
7. <i>Nakitilik</i> (widow).....	1
8. <i>Sanimuinak</i> with his wife, two children and a foster-daughter	5
All told...	38 ¹⁾

Kutuluk and *Nakitilik* are brother and sister.

The wife of *Igsiavik* is *Kutuluk's* daughter.

Narsingertek and *Sanimuinak* are *Nakitilik's* sons.

Pitiga is *Adlagdlak's* son.

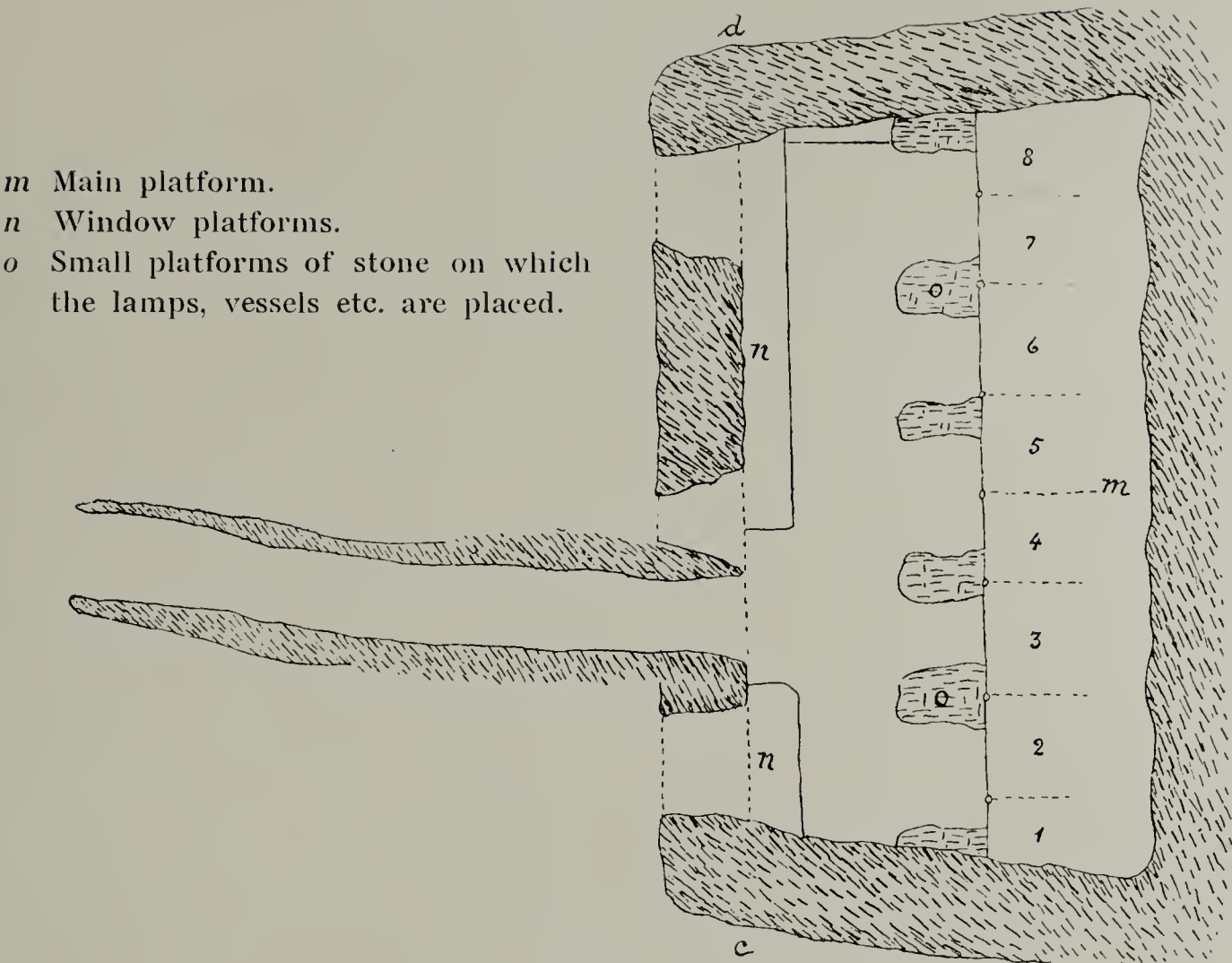
Thus there are three old heads of families in the house, viz.: *Kutuluk*, *Adlagdlak* and *Utuak*.

Kutuluk is the headman of the house.

The inmates of this house live in the summer in five tents owned by *Kutuluk*, *Utuak*, *Adlagdlak*, *Narsingertek* and *Sanimuinak*. *Nakitilik* lives with her eldest son *Narsingertek*.

The tent-owners have also umiaks, except *Utuak* (who was obliged last year to leave his umiak at a place where it was stolen by another) and *Narsingertek*.

¹⁾ In this number are included 3 children which were born during the winter after the census in part III had been taken.



The dotted line *a—b* shows the surface of the earth.

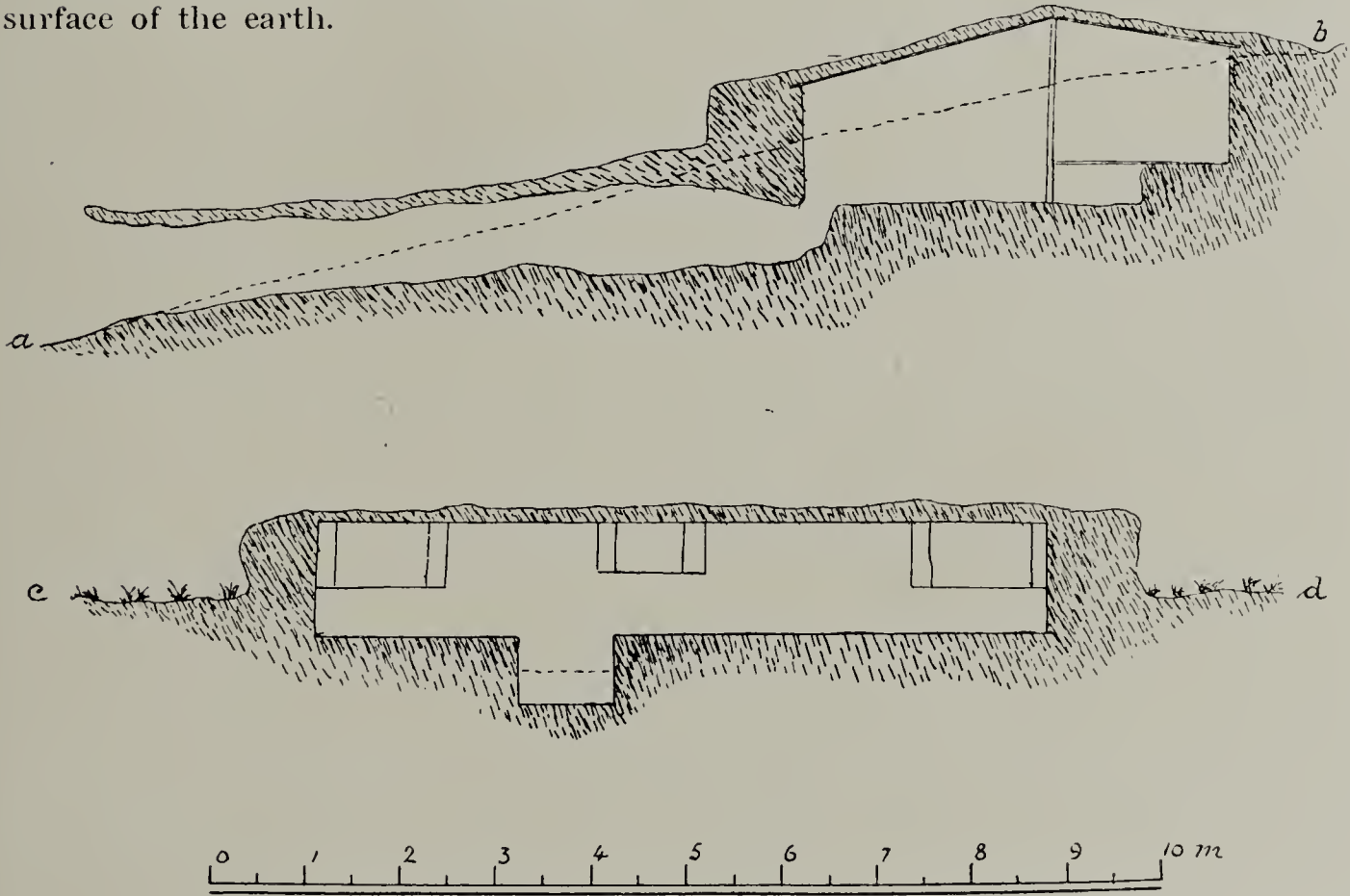


Fig 31. Ground-plan of the Eskimo house at *Tasiusarsik kangigdlek*.
(Drawn from Plate XXIII in "Meddelelser om Grønland" vol. X.)

From the ridge of the roof stout drift-wood is extended to the walls, with a good deal of lighter wood between. The wood is loosely arranged and is covered over with large sods with the grass undermost; on top of this again is cast a layer of earth, which again is covered with sods with the grass uppermost, and the whole is then covered with old skins.

On the front side of the house is the passage-way and three windows of translucent guts, the smallest of which is generally placed over the passage-way, while the two others are arranged on either side of it. The passage-way is in the middle of the wall of the house, but is slightly at an angle to the facade. It is from 20 to 30 feet long, and in the middle of its length only 3 feet high. The entrance door-way itself, however, is high, and is often formed of the frame-work used for the entrance to the tent. The bottom of the passage lies a few feet deeper than the floor of the house; hence there is a step for getting up into the house. The roof of the passage-way does not rise much above the floor of the house. The passage-way is built, like the house, of sods, stones, and timber. The floor of the house is paved with large, flat stones, whereas the floor of the passage is often the hard rock itself.

The interior of the house is generally lined with skins. The back part of the interior of the house is occupied by a wooden platform $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and 6 feet broad, supported on a bedding of stone and turf along the back wall. At the front of the house and by the end-walls there are narrow platforms, or benches made of planks, and the front bench is carried into deep window alcoves. The main platform is occupied by the married people and their unmarried daughters and small children. It is divided among the different families, each family being assigned a space of from 3 to 5 feet in breadth according to the number of persons. A breadth of 4 feet on the platform is considered space enough to lodge a family consisting of husband, two wives and six children.

Along the front of the platform stand the props which support the roof ridge, and on each of these is fastened a piece of skin reaching $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the platform; the inner end of the skin hangs on a strap of seal-skin from the roof. These skins form the partition between the family rooms, but they do not hang quite close by the wall, but leave a passage along the back of the house which enables one to pass from one compartment to another. The platforms are covered with skins and are used both for beds at night, and as places for the women to sit and work at during the day time. The married people lie at night with their feet towards

the wall, whereas the unmarried women lie at the foot end¹⁾. The unmarried men and big boys, and also casual guests, sleep on the window platforms.

FURNISHING AND IMPLEMENTS. — Coverlets are made of seal or dog skin with an edging of bear skin along the upper border. Every spring, when the inhabitants move into tents, they make new coverlets, generally out of the outer frocks they have worn in the winter. The coverlet is used with the hairy side in, and over it are sewn all kinds of old garments with the hairy side out. A whole family is covered with the same coverlet, and the clothes they wear in the day time are used as a pillow.

Every married woman has her lamp standing on a little platform of stone in front of the sleeping platform and at one side of the compartment where the family live, so that two neighbours have their lamps standing on a common platform. The lamp is an oblong flat vessel, cut out of polstone, and it rests on a lamp-stool, consisting of a hollowed block of wood, which itself stands on three or four legs on the platform (figs. 258, 260). In the lamp-stool is collected the overflowing train-oil. As a wick is used fine chopped moss, which is laid along one edge of it. Blubber is put in the lamp, the latter is inclined slightly towards the side where the wick is placed, and with the aid of a lamp-trimmer of iron with a wooden handle, the wick is kept burning with a bright flame, 1 or 2 inches high. The lamp not only serves to give light and warmth, but is also used for cooking. As they have no fire-places in the open air, all food is cooked over the lamp, both when the people live in tents and when they live in houses.

Before the lamps stand the water tubs, which are of excellent cooper's work (figs. 276, 278 to 280). The staves are pegged to the bottom and joined together with wooden nails, which pass obliquely from one stave into another. Along the upper edge staves are joined two and two by a bone mounting. The tubs have a cross-piece, which is attached to two prolonged staves. The water is obtained from a cut-out piece of frozen snow, which is placed between the cross-piece and the edge. The melted water is scooped

¹⁾ In "Brudstykker af en Dagbog holden i Grønland i Aarene 1770—1778" by Hans Egede Saabye we find on page 112: "The platform is their bed; but their marriage bed is under the platform". This observation is confirmed in "Udtog af Missionær P. Kraghs Dagbog" 1st part, page 30, in which it is stated that a number of Greenlanders slept under the platform. For our own part we have not observed or heard of this custom; I ought, however, to mention that a woman told me she often had to sleep on the stone floor, as she could not stand the heat on the platform.

up with a water-ladle with a long handle (figs. 263, 264). The ladles are made of wood, horn, or the like. Sometimes they use a drinking-tube of wood with a mouth-piece of bone (fig. 274). One tub had a suction pipe, which passed through one of the slaves, and which carried a mouth-piece of bone at the top (fig. 280 b, cf. 279). I think that the water-tubs as a general rule can hold half a barrel of water.

Over the lamp hangs down from the roof a drying-frame of wooden sticks (fig. 260), from which the cooking pot hangs in such a manner, that it can be brought to rest just over the lamp, when wanted, and afterwards moved back. The pots are deep, oval vessels, cut thin out of pot-stone (figs. 257, 258). They are hung by seal thongs, affixed to holes drilled in the stone. In the pots they use dippers, ladles and spoons of different shapes and sizes, either cut out of wood (figs. 269, 271, 272) or made of the shoulder-blades of bears (fig. 265). — The drying-frame is used for drying boots and other articles of apparel. Other apparatus on which various objects are hung for drying, are placed under the roof, wherever there is room for them.

The room under the platform is used for keeping skins and provisions which the people have brought into the house. This is also the place for the urine tubs, blubber buckets, and meat-trays.

The urine tubs are of different size (figs. 282 to 284), but as a rule smaller than the water tubs. They are similar in make to the latter, but have no cross-piece, and are used for the preparation of skin.

The blubber buckets (fig. 286) are made of thin boards bent into oval forms and pegged or sewed together, and fastened with wooden nails onto a bottom piece, which is thick at the edge. These buckets are found in many shapes and sizes, and are formed of deal boards scraped thin, which are bent by being heated over lamps, after having been steeped in brine. They are carried by raw-hide handles, on which beads are strung.

The meat dishes are cut out of a single piece of wood. As in the case of the tubs, small pieces of bones are laid in their upper edges to prevent them from getting frayed (fig. 285). They are found in all sizes, and are similar in shape to our clay dishes. We have seen a meat or blubber trough of this kind made by hollowing out a pine trunk. It was three feet long and 1 foot broad. Small bowls are made in the same manner as large buckets and vessels, or else of whalebone (fig. 286). A small box is made of the jaw of a narwhal, and has a wooden bottom and lid (fig. 287 b).

For carrying tubs and vessels which are too large for the arms to clasp, is used a carrying strap, consisting of two bear's teeth at-

tached at either end of a piece of seal thong. This strap makes up the space where the arms fail in passing round the objects (fig. 336).

In front of or under the sleeping platform are the men's boxes, in which they keep everything belonging to their implements (figs. 288, 289). They are used as foot-stools by the men, when they sit on the platform and work. The boxes are made of stout boards joined with wooden nails. The lid may be sunk in the upper edge of the boards, and the lock consists of a pin passing through the box into the lid (fig. 289 e), or the lid may lie on top of the box and be attached by seal thong hinges, and the lock consists of a buckle gripping two ivory pins on the box (figs. 289 a, b).

As the people of Angmagsalik have evidently only recently passed out of the stone age, their cutting implements are extremely primitive. Thus, for the making of hunting implements, umiaks and kaiaks they only use a knife made of a piece of hoop, and, often only 1 inch long (figs. 181 to 185; 204). The knives can also be used for hollowing out things. The natives can with the aid of their teeth instantly bend a knife, so that it can serve as a hollowing implement, and just as rapidly straighten it out (fig. 183). In order to economise iron, a piece is often riveted on, when the knife has worn down too much to be used (fig. 182).

Stone knives are not used as working implements by the present generation, and only old people can remember their parents having used them; one can, however, still find them lying in their boxes, even good specimens with the handle on, which have been preserved as a memorial. One knife, which is made of a hard stone, has tiny teeth round the edge, like a saw (fig. 204 b). The knife handles are often of natural bone (figs. 204, a—e). Sometimes the stones were used just as they were, as they lay on the beach; sometimes they were roughly hewn into chips; a few were prettily polished. They told us that in old times people could work wood and bone, make umiaks and cut ornaments, in short do everything with stone knives, as well as they now do with iron. Wood, of course, was only worked by scraping.

In carving large objects, a wooden plate is placed on the knees, to prevent one cutting oneself (figs. 192, 193). The same purpose is served by finger-stalls made of skin, which are placed on the thumb of the right hand (fig. 192). They are made like the toe of a boot, and are embroidered in the same way; sometimes they are made like two boot toes placed together.

The drills consist of a bow with a rawhide cord with which the rotation of the pointed shaft is produced, and a mouth-piece

or cap to guide the shaft. Formerly they had bone points on their drills, but now they use iron points, made from nails. The bow is often made of the wing-bone of a swan, or of the bone of some other large bird; when it is of wood, it is generally prettily inlaid with ivory. The mouth-piece is made of a natural knuckle-bone with a hollow, or else of wood with a lining of bone laid in (figs. 70, 191, 203).

The drills are sometimes used for boring single holes in wood, sometimes also for splitting bone or ivory, which is done by boring a line of holes quite close to each other. When, on the other hand, a large piece of drift-wood is to be split, it is done by means of wooden wedges.

The saws are small, and as a rule made in the form of bow saws. They are made of hoops or tinplate, and they are used for sawing in bone or ivory (figs. 188, 199).

On the props which separate the platform rooms, hang the women's knives, combs, needle-guards, thimble-holders, hooks for sinew thread, implements for twisting and plaiting thread and cords, bags for the lamp moss (fig. 253), etc.

FIRE-MAKING. — To the house inventory belongs the fire-making apparatus. Fire is produced by turning a hard wooden stick rapidly round with the aid of a piece of rawhide cord, while at the same time pressing it down into a cavity in a block of wood, by means of a handle or cap in which there is a bone bearing fitting the upper end of the stick. There must thus be two persons for making fire, one causing the stick to rotate, while the other presses it down into the cavity. Both of them press their feet on the wooden block to keep it steady, and use all their force to the work. As soon as a spark is produced in the wood-dust thus formed in the block, they fan it into a bright glow with their hand, whereupon the glowing wood is scraped out into a peculiar kind of moss, in which fire is fanned. In this way a fire can be made in an incredibly short time (figs. 69, 256).

STONE SETTINGS. — Outside the house are stone-settings for the blubber bags. Sometimes there is also a little toy house for the children, with passage-way, platform etc. Here the children have their lamps burning, and here they practically live in winter time.

Travellers who are unable to reach the usual wintering-places often are obliged to build houses in desert tracts. These houses are small and are constructed only of stones, without the use of turf, either because there is no turf to be had in such places, or

because the house has been built so late, that the ground has frozen or is covered with snow. These stone-houses have been made tight with snow which has been thrown up around them. Remains of houses of this kind have been found at *Igtutuluk*, *Nuerniagartek* and *Ukievirajik*.

It is said that the people have sometimes built snow-houses for working in, but I do not feel sure whether they do not mean snow mounds under shelter of which they work.

TENTS. — From the latter half of April to the end of September, the people of Angmagsalik live in tents; only nearly related families live together in such a tent. It is erected over a wooden bar, resting upon two upright standing poles; from this long laths are extended in a semi-circle either direct to the ground or to a rampart of earth (figs. 66, 67, 68). The diameter of a tent is 10 to 15 feet, and the height circa 8 feet, but the greater part of the interior is only a few feet high. The tent is covered with large seal skins sewn together, the innermost of which has the hair adhering and turned inwards. On the top of it are laid waterproof skins, which in general consist of three breadths, in such a way that the breadth below is overlapped considerably by the one above it. That part of the skins which is on the ground is kept down with large stones. From the cross-bar which forms the entrance, hangs a curtain of gutskin, which is often beautifully striped, the guts being prepared in different ways, and thus having different colours. The interior of the tent is arranged like the house, the back part being turned into a platform about 5 feet broad. In front of it stand lamps and water tubs, and along the tent wall stand the boxes. In the covered room beyond the curtain stand urine tubs. A tent like this, when warmed with lamps, makes a very pleasant place to live in. When the people of Angmagsalik moved into tents in the spring, they were erected on the snow. In fact some people said that the first night after they had moved into tents they had literally frozen. This did not astonish me, as the platform was raised only six inches above the ice. When we hear that at this time it was 10 degrees below zero (Celsius) at night, and that the natives notwithstanding this stripped to the skin as usual, although the lamps had not warmed up the tent in the day time, we cannot help wondering at the hardness of these people.

BOATS. — The boats (*umiaks*) are flat-bottomed and consist of a light wooden framework (figs. 32, 81). The separate parts are joined by groovings and rawhide lashings. The floor timbers lie with the grooving down over the keelson, and the ribs are joined by tenons

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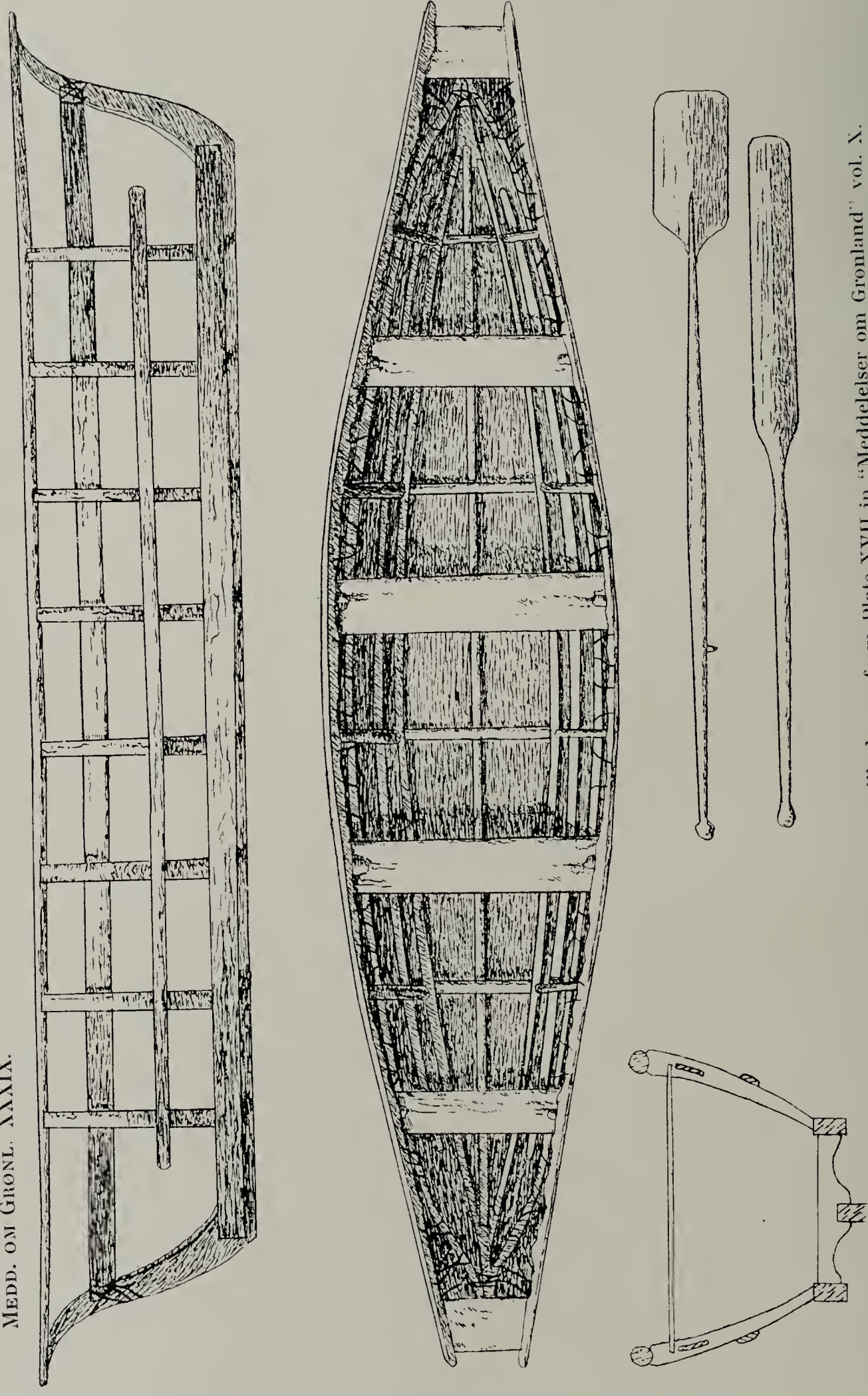


Fig. 32. Plan of an umiak from Angmagsalik drawn from Plate XVII in "Meddelelser om Grønland" vol. X.

to the bilge-streaks. The side streak to which the skin covering is lashed passes through holes drilled in the ribs. The framework is covered with bearded-seal skin, specially prepared for the purpose. When the blubber has been removed from the skin, the latter is rolled up and preserved till the hair and the grain are loosed. The grain and hair are then removed, and the fat is scraped off the other side of the skin with a shell or a sharp stone. The skin is then dried. When the boat is to be covered, the skins are thoroughly moistened in brine, and sewn together with plaited sinew thread in two seams. The covering when soaked through is stretched as tight as possible over the frame with the aid of rawhide cords, so that when dry, it is as tight as a drum skin. After this the covering is smeared again and again with boiling train-oil, until the skin can absorb no more oil, so that the oil at last covers the whole like a layer of varnish. After having been in constant use for several days, the covering becomes water-soaked, and the boat must then lie on land one day with the bottom upwards, in order to dry. — An 'umiak cleaner' consists of a piece of a bear's jaw, with the tooth adhering, at the other end of which a bear's claw is fixed (fig. 83). With this implement the covered umiak is cleaned along the keelson and the floor timbers.

The boats are rowed by women, but are generally steered by a man. The dimensions of a large umiak are:

Length.....	26 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet
Breadth at the bottom.....	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ —
— — top.....	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ —
Height.....	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ —

The skin covering of an umiak of this size consists of seven bearded-seal or Greenland-seal skins. Several boats are so small that only five skins are used for the covering. The natives use very short, broad-bladed oars. In rowing, they are held in place on the gunwale of the boat with seal-thong loops. As a general rule two persons row on the same thwart. The oars are lifted high up in the air, and the natives take very short rapid strokes. It is not uncommon to have only two women rowers to one umiak. The steering oar has a long slender blade and is held freely in the hands, almost perpendicular, being merely rested against the gunwale of the boat. Sails are not known.

The umiaks are used for the natives to travel about in in summer with all their property.

In a skin boat like this, which is often overfilled with women, children, dogs, tents, blubber bags, skins, goods and chattels, and

many other things, the Greenlanders travel in the ice-filled waters where a rushing stream often grinds the ice-floes against each other; where one has on one side the ice-filled, or, as it may be, rough open sea, without the shelter of islands or rocks, and on the other a steep rocky coast, where they can only land at certain spots, which occur few and far between, just where the coast flattens out sufficiently to allow baggage to be landed and boats to be hauled on shore.

Skin-boats, however, have in these waters great advantages over other boats. In the first place, they hold a good deal on account of their flat-bottomed form. They are easily hauled up on land, or, as it may be, onto the ice; they are light to carry; and in case of injury, for instance, a hole in the skin — which may very easily happen, when the ice is sharp and compact — the damage can immediately be redressed by stopping a piece of blubber in the leak, and it can be quickly repaired with needle and thread. Even if the boat is crushed between the ice so that some of the framework breaks, it can still be used, if only the skin keeps tight. The Greenlanders manage their frail umiaks with admirable ingenuity and endurance even under the most adverse conditions.

Both *umiaks* and *kaiaks*, and also to some extent the tents are each spring provided with new skins.

In winter the umiaks are laid with the bottom upwards on heavy wooden props, or on stones, which raise them high over the ground. Under the boats are kept kaiaks, hunting implements, skins, and provisions which they have taken from the provision chambers for household use (figs. 84, 85).

The "List of the inhabitants of the East coast of Greenland" (part III) shows the number of tents, umiaks, and kaiaks they possessed, compared with those of the West coast.

SLEDGES. — In winter they use sleds driven by dogs both for travelling and hunting. The sleds are long and narrow, with broad uprights at the back. The separate parts of the sled are lashed together by rawhide cords, and under the runners they have a bone tire (figs. 36, 71, 72).

The dimensions of a sled of average size are:

Length	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ feet
Breadth at the bottom	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ —
Height	$\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ —

The runners diverge from each other outwards. The height of the uprights is 2 feet, and the breadth at the upper edge of the

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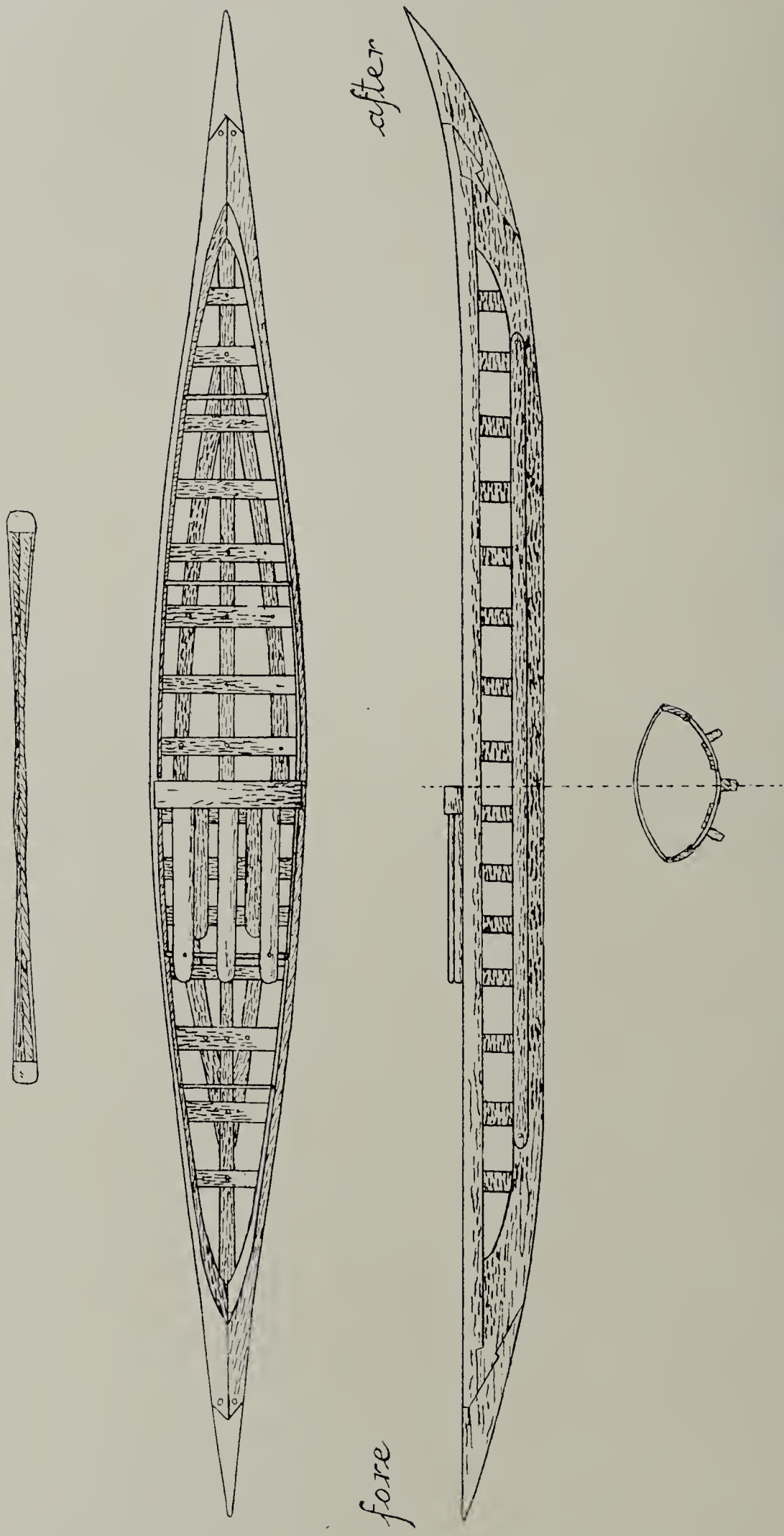


Fig. 33. Plan of an East Greenlandic *kaiak* drawn from Plate XIII in "Meddelelser om Grønland" vol. X.

sled somewhat over 1 foot. A sledge of this kind is driven by from three to eight dogs harnessed abreast. They are guided by the whip (fig. 74), the long lash of which is strung at the inner end with beautifully cut, large ivory beads. At the lower end of the handle there is an ice pick of bone, and at the upper a hook of bear's tooth. When a rest is made during the drive, the sledge is turned round, and one of the front paws of the dogs is stuck in under the harness, so that they can only move on three legs. The dogs are treated in a cruel, not to say barbarous, fashion. They told me that a dog which was given to biting was cured of it by having first been half throttled with a seal thong, after which the sharp ends of its teeth were hammered off with a stone. As a rule, dogs are only eaten in times of famine, and in this case they are killed by hanging. In summer, when the natives have no use for the dogs, they are sent to a little desert island, where their piercing howls can be heard at a very great distance.

In spring sledging and boating are often combined, the boat being placed on two sleds bound together (fig. 35). In this manner the inhabitants of two tents travelled in the spring of 1885 as early as May from *Sermilik* to *Inigsalik*.

KAIAKS. — The people of Angmagsalik subsist by hunting, especially seal hunting. In summer all hunting is done from kaiaks. A kaiak is made of a frame of drift-wood, covered with sealskin, and is just large enough to contain one man, and not too heavy for one man to carry with ease. The kaiaks here are in general longer and broader than those of the West Greenlanders, and terminate behind in an upturned point (figs. 33, 86, 87, 90). Just as in the case of the umiaks, there is a slight difference between their way of building kaiaks and that of the West Greenlanders. The chief parts of which the kaiak consists are grooved together. The ribs are mortised into the rail, while they are joined with wooden nails to the other streaks. Two large sealskins are generally required for the covering. The paddles are double-bladed, and as a rule have a tire of bone or narwhal tusk at the sides, and have heavy mountings of the same material at the outer extremities.

The people of Angmagsalik are not as good kaiakers as the people on the South-West coast of Greenland; at any rate, it occurred several times that our kaiaker from the West coast went out hunting, when the Angmagsalik people declared that the sea was too rough, or the wind too high. I imagine that on the south part of the West coast, there are more kaiakers, in proportion to the numbers, than at Angmagsalik, who can recover themselves after

having once capsized. This is, of course, due to the fact that the Angmagsalik people go out hunting in their kaiaks only during the calm season of the year. In former times, they say, it was no uncommon thing for women to go out kaiaking. Now there are only two women who can manage it, and they live on the southern part of the East coast at *Akorninarmiut*.

HUNTING WEAPONS. KAIAK IMPLEMENTS. — In hunting from the kaiak, the people of Angmagsalik use the usual Eskimo implements, harpoons, lances, seal-darts and bird-darts. As these hunting implements have been described in many places, I shall content myself with mentioning some few details regarding these implements, especially points in which they differ from those of the West Greenlanders.

The Angmagsalik people have two kinds of harpoons, one with the butt end finished in a knob of bone or narwhal tooth (figs. 103, 111, 112), the other having on its butt end two feathers of bear's bone, either thigh-bone or shoulder-blade (figs. 104, 108, 113). The throwing-stick belonging to the first-named harpoon has 2 or 3 eyelets, with the aid of which it is fastened on hooks of ivory on the shaft. The throwing-stick of the last-named harpoon has an eyelet at the fore end, and a bevelled projection of bone at the lower end, to which corresponds a bone bevelling at the butt end of the shaft between the feathers. This arrangement seems to be better than that of the West Greenlanders, where the butt end of the harpoon shaft between the feathers is furnished with a little cavity to receive a hook on the end of the throwing-stick. All throwing-sticks have grooves for the thumb (figs. 144 to 149).

The loose shaft of the harpoon is of narwhal tooth or bear's bone, and its base has a little projection fitting into a cavity on the front of the foreshaft, and is tightly hinged to the shaft by means of short elastic rawhide thongs (fig. 119).

The toggle-head (*savikatak*) is made of narwhal tooth, or walrus tooth; on the front is set a blade of iron, and in the rear there is a cavity in which the point of the loose shaft fits. Toggle-heads of older date may be made entirely of bone or tooth, or on the front have blades of bone or brass (figs. 131 to 136).

The harpoon line is cut in a spiral out of the hide of a bearded seal. For smoothing and softening it the natives use pieces of bone in which holes are bored (fig. 195, 196, 197). The line is attached to the toggle-head in such a manner that on resistance it turns crossways. The toggle is held in place on the loose shaft before the throw by an eyelet on the line, which is hooked over a

little peg of ivory on the shaft near the foremost hook for the throwing-stick. At the end of the harpoon line there is a swivel or toggle, which is fastened by a piece of line to the float (fig. 154).

The float is made either of two small entire hides of young ringed seals, coupled together (fig. 161), or of a single skin like that used by the West Greenlanders (fig. 154). The hides are tanned with the hair removed, and are joined together at the head, fore-flippers and hind-flippers and made quite air-tight, and are then inflated through a nozzle or mouth-piece in the place of one of the fore-flippers. The advantage of the float made of two sealskins is that the hunter, when endeavouring from his kaiak to get the dead seal to float by inflating the seal, can steady himself on the float without causing it to turn over, which is not possible with a single large float.

The harpoon-line is about 45 feet long, and is coiled on the kaiak stand (line board), which is a kind of trestle either (1) in the form of a cross on which pegs of tooth prevent the line slipping off, or (2) furnished with a ring of bone or wood, as those used by the West Greenlanders (figs. 92, 154). In order to prevent the line falling out of the kaiak stand, when not in use, it is held fast by a strap.

The lance is larger and thicker than that of the West Greenlanders (figs. 106, 114, 120). The shaft is made of wood. The head consists of an iron blade set in a shank of ivory, bone, or iron, which is fixed in a block of bone. This block is hinged to the shaft by means of a long line of rawhide. This assembling line is much longer than those used by the West Greenlanders. When the lance is thrown with the throwing-stick, the latter is attached in the same manner as on the harpoon with an ivory knob on the butt end. The lance is often, especially in hunting from sleds, arranged so as to be thrown without the aid of a throwing-stick, and is then provided with hand rests.

The bird-dart (figs. 122, 137) has a long barbed point of bone or iron, inserted in the end of the wooden shaft. The three points on the shaft are made of bear bone and barbed along the inner edges. The bird-dart is cast with a throwing-stick at the lower end of which is placed an ivory hook, fitting into a cavity in a little ivory knob on the butt end of the dart.

Among other implements belonging to the kaiak, may be mentioned the following:

A wooden stick with tooth mounting, with which wounded narwhals are killed. It is intended to be stuck through the wound into the animal's heart (fig. 151 a).

A little hand lance (fig. 151 b).

A scraping-bone for scraping the ice off the kaiak and hunting implements (fig. 93).

An implement for inserting the guts of the killed seal, when it is to be towed along (figs. 152, 153).

Drag handles for towing the killed seal (figs. 162 to 164).

A little bladder or float for placing on a lean seal which has been captured, to prevent it sinking when it is to be towed along.

The bone buttons on the kaiak are often carved so as to represent seals (fig. 95). The kaiak-stand and the throwing-stick for the harpoon are likewise often richly adorned with ivory figures. The handles and toggles of all kinds of thongs for binding and towing the captured animal, are carved in the form of seals (fig. 162).

SEAL HUNTING FROM KAIK. — The implement used in seal hunting from the kaiak is the harpoon, which in throwing is released from the throwing-stick, the latter being retained in the hand. The toggle-head penetrates the seal, the shaft bounds away and floats on the water, and the toggle turns crosswise in the seal. As soon as the harpoon has been thrown (fig. 102), the kaiaker must be quick to throw the harpoon-line and the float attached to it, overboard, for when the seal dives under, it will capsize the kaiak, if the line has caught hold of it. The float is intended to impede the seal in its movements, it being unable to carry the latter with it down under water. The kaiaker follows the float as it bobs along the water, until the seal comes up to the surface once more. He then hurls the lance in order to wound the animal still more. The foreshaft breaks off, as it strikes, but is still kept in communication with the head with the aid of the assembling line. The lance does not stick in the animal, but rebounds. By means of the lance the animal is thus wounded again and again, until it is so exhausted that the hunter can get alongside of it, and kill it with the hand lance or a long knife.

Hunting from the kaiak is often a dangerous and trying pursuit, especially in bad weather and when the breakers are heavy. A high degree of skill and agility is required for it, and it trains and develops the Greenlanders to a wellnigh incredible hardiness.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH HUNTING. — I shall here mention some customs connected with hunting from the kaiak.

Bearded seals, crested seals, and Greenland seals are shared among the hunters who have been present at the hunt, though

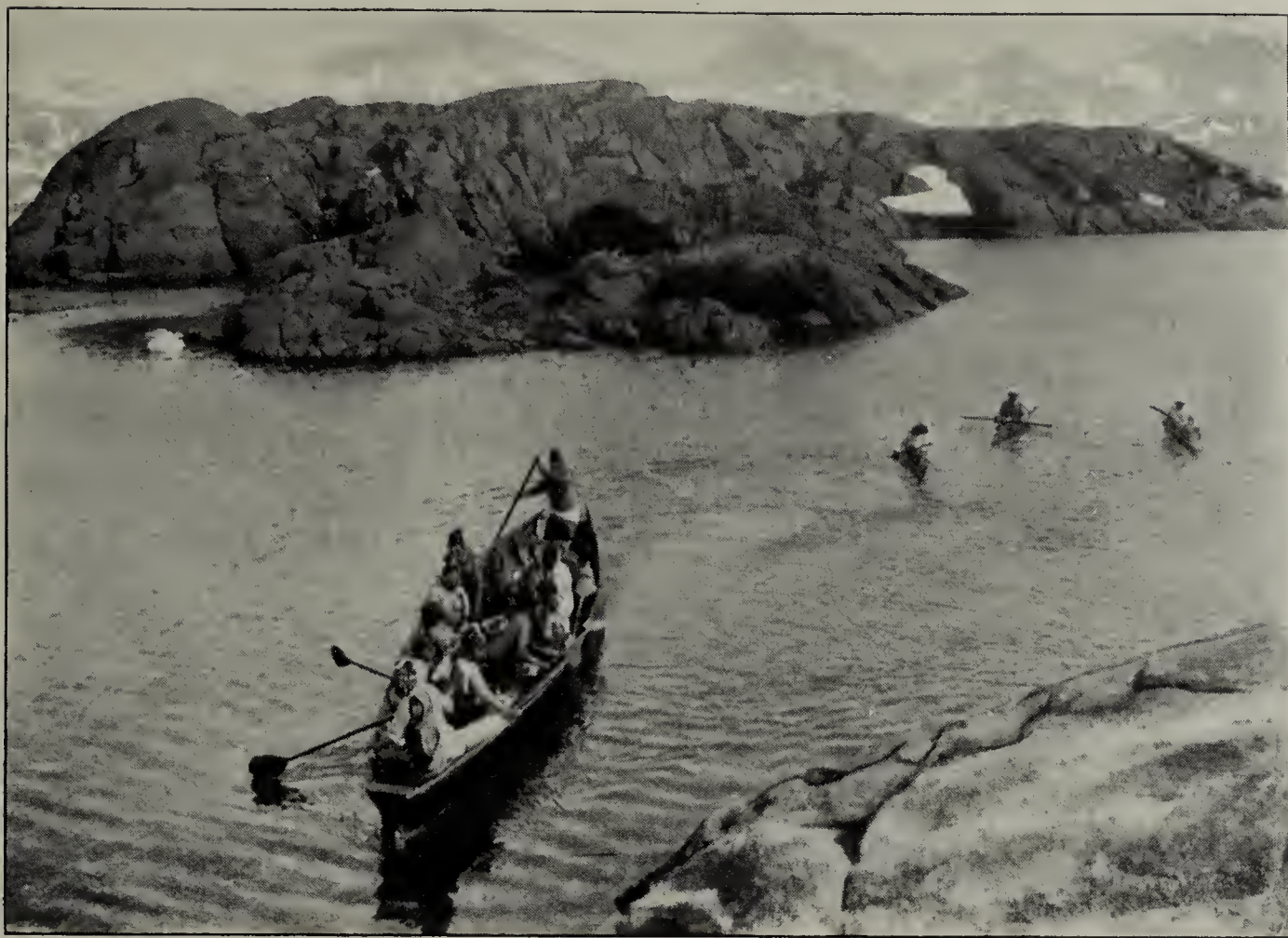


Fig. 34. Native boats about to land. (W. Thalbitzer phot.)



Fig. 35. Sledging and boating combined. The umiaks carried on the sledges.
(J. Petersen phot.)

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they are never divided into more than five portions. Even when a hunter has killed the seal by his unaided efforts, if one or more other hunters join him before he has managed to get the seal ready for towing home, he is obliged to give them a share of it. Possibly, however, this latter custom only applies to bearded seals, and the first crested seal and Greenland seal which a hunter captures in the spring. The first big bearded seal a man obtains in the season, is literally plundered by all those present, not only by the inhabitants of the place itself, but also by people from other parts. The head and breast, however, is always reserved for the hunter himself.

When a man takes his first crested seal in the spring, and he is living in a house, it must not be eaten till three days after, even if the people are hungering. If a tent is not provided with a new skin covering in spring, crested seals and Greenland seals may not be taken into it till after the lapse of some days. Early in the spring a man obtained a share of a crested seal. He took it into his tent to cut it up and remove the sinews. The tent covering was in good condition, but had been used the previous autumn. It happened that crested seals afterwards became very rare, and so this man was looked askance at by the others, because 'his conduct had made the seals angry, and caused them to leave the coast'.

The natives did not venture to sell us a whole seal without the hunter himself having taken possession of some part of it, preferably a bit of the snout. Several times, when we had bought a seal, we were obliged to promise to throw the head of it into the sea, when we had eaten the body.

I have already mentioned the connection between the manner of wearing the hair, the cut of the frock, and the cutting up of the captured seals. I shall therefore only give an example of this custom. A boy who had recently got his kaiak and had never been out hunting before, harpooned a bearded seal. The animal was dragged into the tent and cut up there, whereupon the boy's hair was cut for the first time, the claws of the fore and hind flippers of the seal were cut off, and the hair and claws were then thrown into the sea. When an old woman was about to prepare the hide for boot soles and was scraping off the hair, she chanted a magic charm ("ija, ija, I have eaten the bearded seal; yea, I have eaten the greater part, ija, ija . . .").

A hunter who brought a seal home dipped his fingers in the urine tub, and smeared the head of the captured animal with urine.

HUNTING ON THE ICE. — In winter, when the ice covers fjords and bays, the seals keep the breathing-holes in it open. These holes are very small, and lie at the top of low ice-blisters of about a foot and a half in diameter. When there is no snow on the ice, they are very easily spotted. The hunter is in wait at the breathing-hole, sitting on a three-legged stool, and watches for the moment when the seal sticks up its snout in order to breathe. He then sticks in its snout a little harpoon. The latter consists of a short shaft, the pointed fore-end of which fits into a little toggle head of bone or ivory (figs. 116, 129). The latter is held in place with the aid of a line which with a small cord is jammed in a loop fastened to the shaft. The huntsman holds the coils of the line in his left hand. When the seal is stuck, the jamming is torn out by the resistance, and the toggle-head is detached from the shaft and turns crosswise in the snout of the seal. The seal dives under, but is hauled up to the hole with the line. With the ice-pick (a flat piece of iron or bone), which is fixed at the lower end of the shaft, the hole is cut wide enough for the seal to be hauled through it, and the plug (fig. 159) is inserted in the wound to stop the blood. In this kind of hunting, bearskin boots or sandals are worn on top of the other boots; similarly the stools are wrapped round with a piece of bear skin under the legs so as to prevent any noise, which would scare away the seals. This manner of hunting is known as *nigparpok*, and is now and then indulged in in the northern part of West Greenland.

Another method of capturing seals in winter is to cut two holes in the ice. One of them is made a few feet in diameter, and is surrounded by a low mound of ice or snow. The other, which is cut close by the side of it, is made just large enough for the harpoon shaft to pass through it. The latter is a very long and very thin shaft, at the end of which is a long thin hinged toggle-head with a line in (figs. 117, 118, 123). This toggle-head which as far as we know, has not previously been observed among the Eskimo, consists of two parts, the piercing part and the shank. The piercing part of the head has in the front a blade of iron or bone and is hinged to the shank, whose lower end fits into a cavity of the long shaft. The shank is held in place by the line, which with the aid of a buckle or jammed little cord is fastened higher up on the shaft. The lower end of the piercing part of the head lies against the shank, and is held in place by a little loop. When the harpoon is stuck into the seal, the loop runs off the piercing part, which turns at right angles and toggles when the line is held tight. At the same time the buckle or the little cord is detached,

whereby the whole head is loosened from the shaft. The shafts may be as much as 40 feet in length and are often very elaborately made, consisting of three or four parts with bone pieces between them. A harpoon of this kind is called *ituartit*. For this kind of hunting there must be two men, one of whom lies on the ice and peeps down through the large hole, a piece of cloth covering his head enabling him to see better down in the water. He points the harpoon, which is kept far down in the water by another man, who stands upright. The latter, who has the shaft in his right hand, has the line which is in connection with the toggle-head, coiled in his left. In order to entice the seals, there are fixed close to the head two pieces of bone, carved in the form of seals, which vibrate on cut feather-bags. As soon as the seal comes under the harpoon, and the right moment has come, the man on the look-out shouts "*kae*", and the other man makes a rapid thrust. This mode of hunting is called *ituartorpok*, and was also practised on the north part of the West coast in former days, but seems to have fallen entirely into disuse there.

When in spring the seals creep up onto the ice through the holes they have made themselves, in order to sun themselves, the people creep up to them stealthily, moving and making noises like seals. They push in front of them on a very little sled a harpoon, fixed to a long shaft (fig. 117 c). This harpoon has a hinged toggle-head of the same kind as that mentioned above.

Often, too, they capture small seals with their hands without any kind of weapon whatever, but the assailant may easily get some ugly scratches. This mode of hunting is called *ârpok*.

In hunting on the ice they often use sleds, to which the lance is fastened by sticking the shaft in loops at the side of the runners, while the hinged head is stuck in between the uprights. The seals are carried home on the sleds.

KNIVES. — When a man is out hunting, he carries his hunting-knife in a beautifully embroidered skin sheath, which hangs down over the naked chest right up to the neck from a strap around the latter (figs. 181 to 186). With a deft movement he seizes the knife and fetches it up through the collar of his frock¹).

NETS. — In one of the tales which the natives related to us, there is an allusion to seals being caught in nets. When questioned, they explained that in olden times people used to catch seals in nets made of whalebone, and fastened to a long seal thong, and

¹) The Atnatanas in Alaska, according to H. Allen, also wear a knife sheath round the neck. (Smithsonian Report 1886, part I, p. 262).

that the nets were placed across a narrow sound or the interior of a fjord. A net of this kind was found about 50 years ago at Julianehaab hanging on an iceberg. According to the tradition, the West Greenlanders used also, before the arrival of Europeans, to capture seals in nets; and the Western Eskimo practise this method of hunting up to the present day. As the description given by the Angmagsalik people of a net of this kind was very hazy, I imagine that the above-mentioned net which has been found at Julianehaab, comes from North West America, like the throwing-stick¹⁾ found by Rink and a stone head, (figured in "Meddelelser om Grønland" X, Pl. XVI) which was found lying on the drift-ice tied with osier to a broken shaft. The fact is that the Greenlanders never use vegetable substance for this purpose.

NARWHAL HUNTING. — Narwhals often come in shoals in spring, go up the fjords, especially Sermilik, and are caught with the harpoon at the large openings in the ice. They are harpooned from the kaiak as they lie up on the surface of the water and rest after feeding. This kind of hunting is practised in spring, when the heavy drift-ice has gone away.

BEAR HUNTING. — Bears are generally caught before retiring to or after leaving their dens. When the bear is found, the hounds are let loose and keep it at bay, till the huntsman can come up and stick his lance into it. Sometimes, however, it takes the aggressive and throws the hunter to the ground, but the latter generally escapes with a few not very serious bites and scratches. When there are no hounds, the bears generally take to flight when they catch sight of human beings. Old bears, however, may be dangerous.

Thus thirty years ago, as the natives told us, a bear eat up a man, while several others who witnessed the scene tried in vain to attack it. Last year a man who had broken his lance in struggling with a bear took a rawhide thong and throttled it. Occasionally bears are caught in their dens. This is done by making a hole in the roof of the den, and sticking the bear through it with the lance; the bear as a rule makes no attempt to escape out of his den.

In former days bears were also caught in traps, which were arranged like fox traps, that is with trap-doors. The natives told us of three traps of this kind, which they say can be seen to this very day, namely one at *Tugtilik*, which is said to have belonged to *Kagsagsik*, the legendary hero of the Easterners, one at *Igdلولu-arsuk*, which is said to be quite in ruins, and one at *Pudolik* (be-

¹⁾ Geografisk Tidsskrift, Vol. IX, p. 76.

tween *Igdلولuarsuk* and *Akorninarmiut*, which belonged to the legendary hero *Uiartek*. The traps were constructed of stones of great size, and were just large enough for the bear to squeeze himself in as he tried to get at the bait, which consisted of a whole ringed seal. The trap was covered by large stones, and the trap-door hung by heavy rawhide thongs¹).

SHARK HUNTING is a winter pursuit of great importance for the natives of Angmagsalik. A great opening is cut in the ice, and stale blubber, weighted with a stone, is sunk down into the water. On the ice above it is placed seal flesh, the blood of which gradually dyes the water. The hunt begins at dark; the natives run about over the ice shrieking in order to attract the sharks. When the sharks come up to the surface, they remain quite motionless and submit unresistingly to being stuck with the harpoon. The natives often make such a great haul that they have to stop hunting. The women take part in this hunting.

FISHING. — Salmon are caught in the rivers in summer with a barbed three-pronged fork or spear; the middle prong is sharp while

¹) On the West coast at *Nugsuak* there is a similar bear trap, which has often been mentioned and described, the most recent description being that of Dr. *Steenstrup* (in *Medd. om Grønland*. V, page 6), who adopts the view generally held that it was built by Dutch whalers. He says: "It can hardly have been built by the Greenlanders themselves, as we do not hear of their catching bears in traps, and as, moreover, the way in which the trap is built is not at all characteristic of the Greenlanders". To this I reply: 1) According to the legends, the Eskimo on the East coast of Greenland used to catch bears in traps. 2) The first legend they had from the West coast as to the origin of the *Nugsuak* trap, was that a native Hercules of the name of *Tuningajek* had built it ("GIESECKES mineralogiske Rejse i Grønland" ved F. Johnstrup, p. 257. New edition in "Meddelelser om Grønland" XXXV, p. 347). Afterwards it was related that it was erected by a mighty angakok, *Kunningajek* (*Annaler for nord. Oldkyndighed*. 1838—39, p. 244). About the same time as this last tale, another version appeared as to its having been constructed by a Dutch whaler which wintered at the place. When we see with what suspicion Europeans received the idea of the trap being the work of Greenlanders, no one who knows the Greenlanders will be surprised at their not having ventured to contradict them, and at their afterwards having actually explained the origin as the Europeans would have it to be. 3) To the objection that the mode of construction is not characteristic of the Greenlanders, I shall merely reply that the bear traps are of exactly the same construction as the fox traps, and that the Greenlanders had no reasons to build traps just as sheltered as their houses with alternate layers of stone and earth. I may also add that both on the East and on the West coast of Greenland, there are houses which under exceptional conditions have been built without the use of earth.

Near *Igaliko*, too, there is a stone building which, according to the Greenlanders, was once a bear trap (*Grønlands historiske Mindesmærker* III, p. 816).

the outer prongs are flat at the tips, so that they can be thrust against the stones in the river¹⁾ (fig. 140). They are also caught through holes in the ice with the aid of long fork-shaped harpoons with hinged toggle-heads, which turn at right angles in the fish²⁾ (figs. 138, 139 a). A piece of potstone on which are fixed carved pieces of bone attached to split feather quills is moved up and down in the water as a bait (fig. 172). Sometimes also salmon are caught by means of a stone weir, which becomes dry at low water, and is erected just outside the mouth of a river.

Sea-scorpions are stuck with a fish-spear which ends in three barbed points (fig. 140).

Angmagsat (caplins) are caught in spring in the last half of the month of May and in June at *Kingak* in the Angmagsalik fjord. All the inhabitants of the district assemble there, and the tents lie dotted over the hilly country, which is still covered with deep snow.

Angmagsat are scooped up out of the water from the umiaks with large cylindrical scoops, a little over 1 foot in diameter and height and fixed to a handle about 15 ft. long. The scoop is made of two wooden rings, which are connected with about 12 thin cross-bars. Between the latter are placed slender rawhide-thongs, the bottom too being formed of a network of the same material (fig. 37). The angmagsat are also stuck from the kaiak with spears, the head of which is made of diverging thin wooden sticks lying close together. Every spot on the rocks or the grass is used for drying the fish on (fig. 222). A hole is pierced in the angmagsat with a bone needle (fig. 234), whereupon they are strung up on rawhide cords and rolled up in large bundles to be preserved as provisions for the winter.

They treat in the same way, though indeed only for sport, some very small fish, called *iterdlarnat*³⁾.

The roe of the angmagsat, like other fish roe which is collected among sea-weed, is regarded as a delicacy.

The angmagsat generally appear just before the winter ice has broken up in the middle part of the fjord, the other parts of it being already free of ice. As all the people winter further out on the fjord, they travel up to the place first by umiak, then by sled and then by umiak again, as has already been mentioned (pag. 45).

¹⁾ Salmon-spears of quite the same form are found among the Alaska Eskimo and the Central Eskimo.

²⁾ Fork-shaped salmon harpoons are also found in the Washington Territory (Smithsonian Report 1886, part I, p. 271), as well as among the Yurok and Wintun tribes in California (Contribution to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 49 and 234).

³⁾ Determined by Ad. S. Jensen as fry of the sea-perch (*Sebastes marinus*) (Medd. om Grønl. XXIX, p. 225).



Fig. 36. Typical sledge from Angmagsalik. (Knutsen phot.)



Fig. 37. Group of natives. In the foreground two angmagsat-catchers.
(Knutsen phot.)

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The people of Angmagsalik are not acquainted with net or hook fishing. We brought a number of fish-hooks with us up to Angmagsalik to barter with, but the natives set no store by them at all. When we showed them how to use the hooks, they were certainly astonished, but as we were not fortunate enough to catch anything, or rather, as the sea up there was not suited for hook fishing, they did not attempt to imitate us. However, we distributed all our hooks among them, so time will show whether they get to adopt this way of fishing¹).

For taking mussels a mussle scraper is used (fig. 174).

The following animals are also hunted, though they are of minor importance.

HUNTING OTHER ANIMALS. — Foxes are caught in traps built of small stones, having at one end a trap-door consisting of a large flat stone, sliding between other stones. The trap-door is kept open by means of a rawhide thong, which passes over the roof of the trap and goes down into the trap by the back wall. A strap in the end of the thong is put on a stick, on which the bait is placed and which is inserted in the back wall. When the fox goes in the trap and seizes the bait, the thong runs off the stick and the stone falls down. In this way the fox is caught alive.

Ptarmigan are caught in snares fixed to the end of long, very thin poles. The snare is brought by the hunter over the head of the ptarmigan, the noose is drawn, and the bird is caught.

Ravens are caught in traps like the fox traps; sometimes they are shot with a cross-bow. The latter are very neatly made of wood and seal thong. The arrow has a bone head²) (fig. 180).

Gulls come to the coast early in the spring, about the beginning of April, and are said then to be very fat, for they come from the sea-ice where they have eaten the after-brood, when the crested seals have had young. They are caught with a little piece of bone, which is pointed at both ends and attached in the middle to a line (fig. 175). A piece of blubber is then put on as a bait so as to keep one end of the bone close up to the line. When the gull

¹) Both the West Greenlanders and the Western Eskimo at Point Barrow know and practise hook-fishing. Old primitive fish-hooks have been found among the West Greenlanders, a fact which indicates that they have long been acquainted with this method of fishing. The fish-hooks of the Point Barrow Eskimo on the other hand seem to be of more recent origin.

²) *Otho Fabricius* states (*Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter* 1811 and 1812, p. 242), that cross-bows of exactly the same kind were used for catching birds on the West coast of Greenland.

swallows the blubber, the line is hauled in, thereby causing the piece of bone to turn at right angles in the gull's neck¹⁾.

Gulls are also caught in snares fixed to a stick about one foot long, which is fastened onto a stone (fig. 175). This trap is placed on a piece of blubber at the margin of the shore, in such a way that the gins are just on the surface of the water, and a piece of blubber is stuck in a little hole at the upper end of the stick. When the gull has eaten the piece of blubber last mentioned, and wants to peck at the blubber on which the trap stands, it is obliged to stick its head through one of the gins, and is thus caught.

Sea-fowl are caught from the kaiak with bird-darts, which are cast with a throwing-stick (see pag. 47). Eggs and young are taken from the steep sides of the rocks, a pursuit in which the Greenlander displays an almost incredible agility and daring, climbing in places where one could hardly deem it possible for a man to get a food-hold.

Other eggs, for instance, the eggs of the eider, are collected in flat islands.

In spring swans are now and then seen. They are caught by pouring train-oil on the water. The swans are then unable to fly up from the smooth surface, and so the kaiaks can come up, and harpoon them.

In former times the natives told us that they hunted, besides the animals mentioned here, also whales, reindeer, hares and musk-oxen.

They said that whales were captured from umiaks, which approached them by stealth, as they lay sleeping. In this kind of hunting the men wore the 'spring coat' mentioned above (pag. 31). The harpoons with which the whales were caught had a loose shaft 2 ft. long, and a toggle-head 8 inches long with point of stone. To the toggle-head four skin floats were attached by a broad rawhide thong. When the whale had been killed, it was towed to the place where it stranded. A whale like this supplied meat enough for the whole winter. This kind of hunting was left off at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the whales having at that time quite ceased to come to land. A few years ago a whale was caught from kaiaks, but this was an exceptional case.

Reindeer, musk-oxen, and hares disappeared earlier than the whales. These animals were hunted with bows made of wood and whalebone and having strings of rawhide cord. At *Kulusuk*, where

¹⁾ Similar methods of hunting are practised at Norton Sound, Alaska (Rau: Pre-historic Fishing, p. 13). Small fishes are caught by the Makah Indians in the same manner. (Swan: The Indians of Cape Flattery, p. 41).

there are comparatively extensive plains, there are said to have been a number of reindeer in past times. The sheltering walls used in the reindeer hunt can be seen to this very day, though in a very ruined condition. The natives gave an exact description of the appearance, habits, and hunting of the reindeer, musk-oxen, and hares. An old man of the name of *Ilinguaki* told us that he had an unsuccessful chase after a reindeer in his youth, that is about fifty years ago. They also say that reindeer are to be found further to the north along the coast.

IV.

SOCIAL LIFE — FAMILY LIFE — BIRTH — CHILDHOOD — MARRIAGE — DEATH.

SOCIAL LIFE. — To render assistance to housemates and nearest of kin is for the Angmagsaliks the most binding and sacred of all social duties. We cannot fail, in reading the following account, to observe the existence of an unwritten social code, the authority of which is tacitly acknowledged, while its transgression entails the penalty of social dishonour. In many respects, indeed, this code will be found to place for severer restrictions on the liberty of individuals than the written laws of civilized communities.

It has already been said that not more than a single house is inhabited in each settlement. In one house half a score of families, and several generations of each family, may be accommodated¹⁾. Each house is under the rule of a head or chief; this function devolves on the eldest man, when he either is a skilful hunter himself, or has been so in the past and now has sons who have inherited his ability. Thus, for instance, in the house, at *Norajik* authority was exercised by an old man, *Milagtek* (fig. 38), whom old age had compelled to give up kaiaking and hunting. But he had been a skilful huntsman in times gone by, and he had two sons who were both clever at the chase.

The position of the headman is perhaps based mainly on a tacit acknowledgement of his authority, which is evinced by his being regarded as host when strangers visit the house, and by the fact that he determines the division and arrangement of the house,

¹⁾ See the list of the inmates of the house in *Tasiusarsik* facing fig. 31.

and decides whom he will have to live there. Thus we have known an instance of the head of a house having forbidden a young man to live in his house. He gives orders when a move from the tents to the house is to take place; all the families must move simultaneously, in order to get the house warmed. I heard *Milagtek* on such an occasion ordering the gut-skin windows to be put in and the lamps lit. A dozen lamps were then simultaneously lighted, and soon warmed up the house, so that the people could remove their clothes.



Fig. 38. *Milagtek* (Knutsen phot. 1885).

As long as they live together in a house, all the housemates share the game and winter provisions of each member; the owner, however, having the right to decide how far the provisions shall be encroached upon.

Amongst these people none but skilful hunters are held in respect; when young people lose their skill in hunting at an early age, they often become butts for their fellows. The *angakut* — of whom more anon — play no important part in social life.

As soon as the youth has become a skilful hunter, he is in a position to marry. A man never leaves off hunting until sheer weakness compels him to desist. An old, white-haired man, about seventy years of age, could be seen only last summer going out in his *kaiak*, and he occasionally caught two seals a day. His name is *Sanersak* and he lives at *Norsit* (fig. 14).

When the natives move into tents, only the nearest relations live together, and thus the bond that unites the housemates is dissolved.

Women have social importance only so far as they give rise to quarrels between the men. Their position is hardly better than that of servants.

The inhabitants of a settlement often form a society apart, and indeed are often at variance with the people living in another settlement. Thus the inhabitants of the lower part of the Angmagsalik fjord and those of the upper part abused each other roundly. Similar amenities existed between the inhabitants of the three fjords. This did not prevent them, however, from being good friends with one another in outward appearance, when they came together, their notions of the duties of hospitality being very strict.

Theft is not uncommon amongst the Angmagsaliks, but is committed just as often out of revenge as out of want. Murders are common occurrences, considering the sparsity of the population. Public opinion can be brought to bear on these crimes only in the form of a drum-match, in which both sides abuse each other in song and the lookers-on signify their approval or displeasure. These drum-matches are not settled all at once; the two opponents visit each other in turn in order to perform these drum-matches, and they may be repeated so many times that the contest may last for years.

When an Angmagsalik has a bone to pick with anyone, he either challenges him to a drum-match, or revenges himself by theft or assassination. They are not ashamed of openly avowing that they have stolen or destroyed another man's property or committed murder, when they have done so in order to avenge a real or imaginary crime.

The family tie, that is to say the tie of blood, is regarded as an obligation to stand by one another under all circumstances. Marriage is not regarded as a family tie.

Thus, whereas relationship in the third and fourth degree is respected, the wife is regarded merely in the light of a mistress or a servant from whom the husband can part whenever he chooses. When she has borne a child, however, her position becomes securer.

As is only right and proper, the husband is the chief person in the family; next after him come the sons, even if they are quite small children: they will one day become hunters and support their parents in their old age. As long as the parents are alive, most of the sons live with them and contribute to their support. However, in some cases, where there are many sons, the younger ones go

and live with the families of their wives. As long as the father is alive, he retains his paternal authority over the sons who live with him. Where there is no son in the family, his place is taken by a foster-son or son-in-law.

HOUSE LIFE. — Women spend the greater part of their time on the platform, where they sit with their legs crossed, wearing no clothing but their *natit*. Here they sit hour after hour preparing skins, twisting sinew thread and cord, sewing clothes and doing embroidery. They frequently wash themselves in the urine tubs; they wash not merely their head but their whole body, and do up their hair in a pretty top-knot. They look after their children and attend to the cooking pot, if it is hanging over the lamp; they are never without employment, for if they have no other occupation they busy themselves with the lamp-trimmer so as to keep the lamp burning with a beautiful bright flame. These lamps burn day and night, however light and warm it may be. Although the many lamps and the many people produce a stifling heat in the house, the air is nevertheless by no means as foul as might be expected, when one bears in mind that blubber and half-rotten meat as well as urine are to be found inside; the fact is, the low passage-way ensures a good ventilation, without preventing the warmth from escaping.

The fathers of families sit on the border of the platform with their feet on the chest in front of it, while the unmarried men sit on the window-platform. The people often sit on the floor on account of the great heat in the house. If they have work to do on their kaiak and it is cold out-of-doors, they take it into the house, where it takes up nearly half the floor. When the men are not working at their implements or utensils, they usually do nothing but eat, sleep, relate their hunting adventures, or practise drum-singing if they are going to take part in a match. They always accompany their stories of the chase with extraordinarily lively and significant gestures with their hands and arms. Every movement of the seal, every movement of the hunter, is mentioned and described. The left hand represents in mimicry the movements of the seal, and the right hand those of the hunter, — showing not only how he uses his weapons but also the manoeuvres of the kaiak. Their pantomimic skill is often so great that a spectator who understands only a few words of their language can follow the description notwithstanding. When there are good hunting prospects, the men are naturally out the greater part of the day.

The natives are much infected with parasites in their hair,

and they often while the time away by catching them in each others heads, and then gravely placing them between the teeth of the owner. It is regarded as a bad symptom when the parasites leave a man, for then they suppose the man is ill and is bound to die within a short time.

There are no set times for meals: when there is plenty of meat the cooking-pots are constantly hanging over the lamps and food is eaten at odd times during the day. However, the meal which is taken when the hunter returns home in the evening, may be regarded as the principal meal in the day. The hunter then eats what his wife has cooked for him, as a rule before the game has been cut up. In winter the seals are dragged into the house, where they are cut up, a job which is often performed by the hunter himself. A great deal of the flesh and the entrails is eaten raw, especially if it is *mikiak* (half-rotten). Small children, not yet weaned, are given this raw flesh to eat and devour it with great avidity.

Shark flesh is as a rule eaten rotten; but when it is boiled fresh, it is wrung after the first boiling, and then boiled again in other water.

Angmagsat (caplins) are excellently cooked, being carefully placed one beside the other in the pot; after which they are stirred and taken out with a fish-spoon. Foxes and ravens are eaten only in times of scarcity. The Angmagsaliks eat a great deal of fresh greens, roots, and berries of the kinds named above, and preserve them right into the winter in blubber bags. Fresh seaweed is eaten the whole year round; in times of scarcity it may even form one of their staple foods. Their only drink is water.

The Angmagsaliks go to rest as a rule very early in the evening; only on great occasions, as when they receive visits at which angakut incantations, drum-dances or games are performed, do they hold out far into the night.

CHILDBIRTH. — As soon as his wife is enceinte, her husband already regards her as the mother of the future hunter, and she is therefore treated with greater consideration. As she herself is very anxious for the child to be a boy, she wears different kinds of amulets in order to bring about the desired result — whereof more anon. As an instance of the customs which pregnant women subject themselves to, I shall only mention, that a man did not allow his wife to sit in our tent on account of her being pregnant. Both this man and other men urged me to feel the hands and legs of their pregnant wives, and were very grateful to me for doing so.

In order that the pregnant wife may get sufficient exercise in winter, she is often ordered by her husband to dance. This dance consists mainly of a rocking and rotating motion of the hips, which the dancer accompanies by beating a drum and singing. During the time when the wife is pregnant, she must cook her food herself in her own bowl. This custom is kept up till within two months after the birth. On one occasion when there was a scarcity of food in our neighbouring house, and our kaiaker had caught a seal, a pregnant wife sent to ask us if she might have a rib, but as the meat was already in our pots, she was not permitted to eat any of it.

When a birth is impending, all the men and big children go out of the house, if the weather permits of it. Those who remain in the house put on their old garments, 'in order that the child may be a boy'. An elderly woman assists at the birth, during which the pregnant woman lies on her hands and feet, sometimes on her back. The navel string is either cut with a sharp shell or is bitten in two by the mother herself. The baby is then washed in urine, after which the mother passes her finger, which she has previously dipped in water, over the baby's mouth, at the same time naming the names of the dead after whom the child is to be called, beginning with the last person who has died in the district. The child is not actually called by these names, but receives a nickname. The significance of the mouth being touched with water (which takes place with the ring-finger if it is a boy, and with the first finger if it is a girl) is that the child is to gain its livelihood from the sea. The first time the mother eats after the birth, the baby receives a small share. If the food eaten is a sea-animal or a sea-plant, the mother uses henceforward some salt water in cooking the food; if, on the other hand, it is a land animal or a land plant, the food is cooked exclusively in fresh water. When the birth is over, all furs, and all wall- and platform-skins are washed, and all the gut-skins are removed from the windows. If the child is ill, the skins are taken off and are washed out-of-doors.

It is by no means a rare occurrence for misshapen children to be born. The latter, as well as sick children (who are supposed to be unable to survive), and children whose mother dies in childbirth and whom there is none to suckle, are left to perish on the ground outside or are thrown into the sea. An instance came to our knowledge of a pregnant woman who out of impatience thumped herself on the belly at the time of the birth, thus causing the death of the child. This was a source of great annoyance to the others.

CHILDHOOD. — The first time a child is dressed in an *anorak*, the mother receives gifts from her housemates; and when the *anorak* is taken off, she presses her mouth to the child's breast, shoulders, hips, and navel with a sucking kiss 'in order that the child may be healthy'. This is repeated every time the *anorak* is taken off, until the child is able to walk; sometimes, however, the practice is discontinued before this. When the child cuts its first tooth, and the parents have any provisions, they give a share of the latter to all the house-mates. The children are suckled until they are at least two years old, which, however, does not prevent them from getting dry meat and blood to eat, even when they are quite small. A child which was only three and a half months old, was fed with dried seal blood. As long as the children are small, they are carried in the *amaut* in the open air on the back of the mother or of a girl. They grow up in the most untrammelled liberty. Their parents cherish an unspeakable love for them, and never punish them, however refractory they may be. In spite of this, it is wonderful to see how well brought-up the little children are. However, we heard of one instance of a child having been punished: it had been crying violently, and as a punishment it was laid in the snow outside, and left there till it quieted down.

The most common games of the Greenlandish children are hunting, rowing in kaiaks and umiaks, etc. They make figures of stone representing kaiaks, umiaks, tents, and houses. In their games they represent in a very life-like manner situations which actually occur at sea, for instance manoeuvring an umiak in waters filled with ice, or harpooning a seal from a kaiak. The small boys practise their hand at making hunting implements, and display an amazing skill in fashioning miniature models. Excellent specimens of these are to be found in the collection which we have brought home. With these weapons they begin to practise shooting and hunting; thus, for instance, they shoot at sparrows with small cross-bows or darts.

As to children's toys, I may mention dolls and animals carved out of wood. Other toys, which, however, are perhaps most used by grown-up people — are: wind-mill wings, buzz toys, cup-and-ball games, tops, 'two birds eating' and a puzzle with beads (figs. 373 to 381).

At what age the boy gets his kaiak, depends very much on how well-off the parents are; but the usual age seems to be about twelve. Before they get their kaiaks, they take part in all kinds of hunting on the ice, and on land in the hunting of white grouse, foxes, and ravens. A thirteen year old boy *Kakartok* had already

caught thirty seals, the first one at the age of ten, and most of them in the spring, when the small ringed seals have crawled up on the ice, where they lie basking in the sun. His father, *Utuk*, was no longer a good hunter, but he had a large family to support, two wives and seven children, of which this boy was the eldest. He procured a kaiak for his son by stealing one from a boy who lived in another settlement.

The children go about quite naked in the houses and tents and continue to do so till they are almost grown-up. They do not put on the *natit* till they are about sixteen, 'for then they are ashamed of going quite naked'. As soon as the youth has put on his *natit* the women 'begin to smile at him and he is ready for marriage'. The young girls go with their hair down, but shortly after they have begun to wear *natit* in the house, they put up their hair in a top-knot, a sign that they are ready for marriage.

The grown-up children cherish great affection for their old parents, and often display great thoughtfulness and self-sacrifice. The following account will serve as an instance of filial affection for an unworthy mother.

Maratuk's mother, *Angmalilik*, a woman of about fifty, was married to a man from *Kumarmiut*, who was a good deal younger than herself. As she was often unfaithful to her husband, and, moreover, was very remiss in the performance of her household duties, he often used to beat her. In order to avenge his mother, *Maratuk* murdered his step-father one day when they were out in their kaiaks. Not long after this *Angmalilik* seduced *Avgo*, a great *angakok*, who had had at least six wives, into marrying her, although he was already married to her daughter. The daughter was so mortified over this that she went out and drowned herself. At the end of February *Angmalilik*, together with her husband, his new second wife, and several others, determined to undertake the long expedition over the ice from *Sermiligak* to our winter quarters, because they had a longing to see us and our house. The expedition was most laborious, as they had to go long distances with the snow up to their waists. When they reached *Amagak* in the *Angmagsalik* fjord *Angmalilik* was unable to walk any longer; she was so exhausted that she could hardly breathe. The others had to leave her there, and brought the news to *Kumarmiut*, from whence she was fetched in a sledge, almost frozen to death. At *Kumarmiut* she now had to remain a month and a half amongst enemies, with both legs and thighs frost-bitten, so that she was unable to move. Her sister *Nakitilik* told me that even if *Angmalilik* died, as everyone expected her to do, she (*Nakitilik*) would not mourn her,

now that she had married her daughter's husband. When the ground was in a tolerable condition for sledging, *Maratuk* came at no small trouble and risk to fetch his old invalided mother home. The sledge was brought into the house in Kumarmiut, where she was laid on it and was driven right to her home in Sermiligak. *Maratuk* told me afterwards that his mother's legs were quite swollen with frost, so that it was not long before she got tired of life, and went and drowned herself in the sea.

MARRIAGE. — The Angmagsalik Eskimo often marry before they are quite grown-up, that is to say as soon as they are able to support a wife. Their chief motive in marrying is to have a wife to look after their things, and to dress their game. We have known cases of a mother having enjoined her son to marry, because 'she could scarcely see to sew any longer'. This sometimes leads to very strange marriages, as, for instance, when a young man is married to a woman old enough to be his mother. These early marriages are a cause of frequent divorces. As soon as the married couple get tired of one another for one or other reason, they separate; so that it is quite a common thing to have been married three or four times before having children. We have known cases in which both husband and wife had been married, six, seven, or eight times. It is only when children are born that the marriage is placed on a more stable footing. As a rule, children are not born till several years after the marriage, the reason of which is perhaps to be sought in the fact that both men and women marry before they are quite grown-up. Near relations, even first cousins, do not marry; but it is by no means uncommon for children who have been brought up together to marry. The following table will show how the members of one family are scattered over all the inhabited places of the *Angmagsalik* district.

Skilful hunters often have two wives; when a wife cannot manage to dress the skins of the animals her husband has captured, a second wife is taken, occasionally with the approval and even at the instigation of the first. A second wife is sometimes taken in order that the husband may always count on having two rowers for his boat. There are no instances on record of a man having had more than two wives at a time. A man who is married to two sisters at once, or who, after marrying a girl, goes and marries her mother, will incur censure. There are, however, some who do so, and instances of both these cases have come to our knowledge.

The distribution of a family in different inhabited places.

Angitinguak. U.
* Kuagsak.

Angmaliliik. Sk.
..... †

Kilsunguak. U. Ikardligse. Arkalivartak. Kivdliliak. Ajarajik.
* Ilibak.

Maratuk. Sk. Sernak. Sk. Tarsarsik. Tupagligak. Okartek.
* Ama. * Sananna.
Ajukuluk. Sianek.

Kutuluk. T.
* Tugulok.

Nakiliik. T.
..... †

Napardlugok. T. Ijartilval. T. Kiwia.
* Igsiavik.

Narsingertek. T. Saniuinak. Sm. Porusek. U. Simigak. Nt. Pejarsik. Nk. Sanik. K.
* Mamartek. * Puitsek. * Avok. * Alugsagak. * Kulausak. * Kisine.

Angitaungitek. Pausuak. Nakekaok. Kavdlunak. Napartak. Tigimiak. Alak. Igpak. Mikajik. Kavdlunak. Arkasak.

Kukarnak. Nt. Pannukasik. Tordluoko. Kuitse. Pikitak. Ulak.
* Simiok.
Putdlainak.

Roman letters signify men; Italics women.
* means "married to".

Angitinguak, Kutuluk, Angmalilik and Nakiliik are brothers and sisters.
The inhabited places are abbreviated as follows:

Tasiusarsik. T.
Kangarsik. K.
Norsit. Nt.
Umiyik. U.
Norajik. Nk.
Sermilik. Sm.
Sermiligak. Sk.

Although there are 114 women to every 100 men¹⁾, practically all women marry. We only know one instance of an elderly unmarried girl, who, however, had a couple of children. It is not considered a shame for an unmarried girl to have children; on the other hand a fully grown married woman who is unable to bear children is a subject for reproach. The average number of children that each woman bears — reckoning only those which survive — seems to be about three or four; but seven or eight children are by no means uncommon. We came across several instances of twins.

The wedding itself is conducted without ceremony. A young man must sometimes make the father a payment in the shape of a harpoon or something similar for the privilege of marrying his pretty daughter; and, vice-versa, skilful hunters often receive something from the fathers for marrying their daughters. A girl is compelled to marry, if her father desires it; she often pretends to be reluctant, although she is really quite willing, and is therefore often taken by force.

It is by no means a rare occurrence for a man to carry off another man's wife; this takes place occasionally at the instigation of her family, their motive being that she may obtain a husband who is better able to support her. Thus *Papik*, a skilful and esteemed hunter, coveted *Patuak's* young wife; he repaired to the place where the young couple lived, taking with him an empty kaiak. He landed, went up on shore, and, without more ado, fetched the wife from the tent, and carried her to the shore, where he made her step into the empty kaiak, and rowed off with her. *Patuak*, who was a younger man than *Papik* and was no match for him in skill and strength, had to put up with the loss of his wife.

¹⁾ In the southern part of the East coast of Greenland the proportion between men and women was very unfavourable. At an inhabited place called *Imarsivik* (63°22' latitude N.) there were twenty-one natives, only five of which were males, while the rest was females, of course mostly children. The fathers accordingly train up their daughters to hunt seals from the kaiak. A girl of about twenty possessed a kaiak, and was an accomplished hunter. She was the only child of a man who was a dwarf. A few days before we arrived she had caught a ringed seal and two bearded seals. She is also very skilled at hunting on the ice. Another girl, the daughter of a man who had four girls, but no sons, also owned a kaiak; her younger sister too was going to get one. — These girls behaved and were dressed like men, and the other inhabitants treated them just as if they were men. After having exhibited to us their skill in rowing the kaiak and throwing the harpoon and bird-dart, they obtained permission to choose from amongst the things in my bartering box; as a matter of fact they did not select any of the things that women fancy: they chose iron arrow-points and knives.

The men usually treat their wives well, and one often sees a married couple caressing one another in public. Newly married couples particularly are not at all shy of caressing one another in the most intimate manner, in the presence of others. Their mode of kissing is to rub noses.

Jealousy is by no means uncommon. A young Angmagsalik Eskimo, who had already changed wives several times, got jealous because his newly-married pretty young wife, when on a visit to us, smiled at one of the members of our Expedition. Amid the laughter of the other Eskimo, he led his wife out of our tent and chased her home.

It is true that quarrels between husband and wife are by no means unusual; they are settled by the wife receiving a good whipping, or a knife-thrust in her arms or legs. This puts an end to the quarrel, and they remain as affectionate as ever, that is if the wife has children. On the other hand, if the wife has no children, it is by no means unusual for the husband or wife to go off without a word, when they see their opportunity to do so; which is tantamount to the marriage being dissolved. It is, however, not always the husband who beats the wife: in one case which came to our knowledge, at any rate, the positions were reversed.

The husbands are more ready to assist their wives here than they are on the West coast of Greenland. They pitch tents, and drag up their captured animals into the houses or tents — things which the husbands of the West coast would not deign to do. The wives are most obedient to their husbands, and dread to incur their displeasure in any way. The husband may, for the sake of gain, merely as a whim, exact the strangest compliances from his wife, to which she patiently submits — especially as long as she has no children — however much against the grain it may be.

The relations which prevail between old married couples exhibit married life in its most pleasing aspect. It may happen, however, that, when the wife grows old before the husband, she is neglected for the sake of a younger wife, especially when she has no children. Thus *Ilinguaki* had living with him, besides his wife, an elderly woman, *Apusuk*, who had been discarded as wife some years before, an illness she had suffered from having left some large scars on her back and arms. She submitted resignedly to her fate, was very fond of *Ilinguaki*, and worshipped the children he had had with a former wife, to whom she played the part of foster-mother.

The affection a husband displays to his wife does not prevent him from leaving his home in times of scarcity and living on the

hospitality of others, sometimes for months at a stretch, leaving his wife and children to take care of themselves.

MORALITY. — A common pastime in the winter on festive occasions, or when guests come to the house, is the game of "Putting out the lamps", which might also be called "Exchange of wives". Both married and unmarried people take part in this game. A good host always has the lamps extinguished in the evening, when there are guests in the house.

When they live in tents, they do not play this game, but two men often agree to exchange wives for a longer or shorter period. They exchange at the same time several other things. It may happen that they keep the wife they have won in exchange, in order not to part with the objects they have come into possession of. A man, however, does not like anyone but the man with whom he has officially made the exchange, to sleep with his wife. In winter, however, when the game of "Putting out the lamps" is played, complete liberty, to all appearance, prevails. But naturally both in this case and in that of the actual exchange of wives, the same restrictions hold good as to the tie of blood as in marriage.

I shall give an instance of how a man regarded his relation to a wife he had received in exchange.

I had given *Simiok* a present for his little child. Next day he came again and asked for another present of the same sort, telling me that he had slept that night with *Amatinguak's* wife, who lived in another place on the fjord. She had also a little child, which he now regarded as his own, just as his child was, strictly speaking, now *Amatinguak's*.

It will have been gathered from what is mentioned above, that the morality of the Angmagsaliks is not very deeply rooted; there are, however, certain traits which might seem to indicate a certain amount of moral feeling. *Uitinak* was on a visit to our house. He told us that he had not taken part in the game of "Putting out the lamps" in the evening, but had immediately gone to sleep; for, said he, if he had taken part in the game, he would also have to reciprocate when visitors came to his house, and he did not want other men to have intercourse with his wife. When *Ukutiak* heard *Uitinak* telling this, he said that he (*Ukutiak*) had not taken part in the game on the previous evening, but when the lamps were lit, he could easily see that *Uitinak* had taken part. The latter, of course, at once hurled back the accusation.

The Angmagsaliks were very ready to submit to our anthropological measurements, and I took occasion to make a number of

body and face measurements. Seeing that they go quite naked about the house or tent till about the age of sixteen — as has been already mentioned above — one would not imagine that they would have any objection to exposing themselves completely before me; nevertheless there were many who refused to take off their *natit*, telling me that after they had begun to wear them they might not expose themselves before anyone. As a rule, however, they were found ready to do so in consideration of a little extra payment, but several young men blushed violently over it.

As an instance of modesty on the part of women, I may mention that we were urged by the mother of *Uitinak*'s pretty young wife to lay our hands on her daughter's abdomen; I imagine she did so in the hope that this would cause her to become pregnant; for both mother and daughter were afraid that *Uitinak* would desert his wife, on account of her being childless. The daughter complied with her mother's demand, but blushed violently over it.

Traces of a sense of morality come to light in several tales, amongst which I shall only mention the tale¹⁾ of the "Sun and Moon" (no. 10) and that of "The girl that had a dog for a husband" (no. 20), as well as in the saying 'that whales, musk-oxen and reindeer migrated from the land because the men had toomuch intercourse with the wives of others'. The *men*, however, often maintain that it was 'because the wives were jealous at their husbands having had intercourse with the wives of others'. This latter circumstance is also said to have been the cause of the sound which in former days had run through the land from the Sermilik fjord to the West coast having been filled up with ice.

DIVORCE. — Marriages are as easily dissolved as they are contracted. In assigning a motive for the divorce they content themselves with the simple statement that they are tired of one another; or, if a more precise ground is given, they may say that 'the wife is a bad needlewoman', that 'the wife wishes to live where her family live', that 'she has been beaten or stabbed by her husband', or finally, merely that 'his family has neglected her'. A young man who ran away from his wife adduced as his motive for the act, that 'she eat so much that he did not have enough to eat himself'. We know several instances (*Augpalugtok* and *Avgo*) of men having run away from their wives, although the latter had had children or had been pregnant at the time.

¹⁾ "Legends and tales from Angmagsalik" in part V.

The following incidents will serve to throw light on the irregularities by which married life in Angmagsalik may be attended.

Our neighbour *Sanimuinak*, a man of about thirty years of age, an angakok and a smart hunter, had last spring two wives. For one of them, who was called *Puitek*, he had given his father-in-law a knife; he had been married to her for several years and had two sons with her. The other, *Amakotak*, was taken from him soon after their marriage by *Uitinak*. This was in revenge for



Fig. 39. *Sanimuinak* (Knutsen phot. 1885).

his having urged *Ingmalukuluk* to take *Uitinak*'s former wife, who was *Puitek*'s sister, 'because he (*Uitinak*) had not caught anything for five days' — so at least was *Uitinak*'s version. *Amakotak*'s mother now told *Uitinak* that *Sanimuinak* could not support two wives, and therefore urged him to take her daughter. *Amakotak* was only too willing to change husbands, as *Sanimuinak* had been in the habit of scolding and abusing her.

Sanimuinak was therefore at enmity with *Amakotak* and her mother, as will be more fully shown in the sequel.

Sanimuinak was very fond of travelling about and visiting other inhabited places along the fjord, especially at times when the home

supply of provisions had run short. From one of these visits, to a place called *Kangarsik*, he quite unexpectedly returned with a new wife, *Utukuluk*. She was barely twenty years of age, but had been married six times before, and had only just been separated from her sixth husband, towards whom she occupied the position of 'second wife', on account of her having in her impatience and violence killed the child in her womb. She had also been accused of being a witch, and of having collected human sinews to kill her husband with. *Sanimuinak* had won her at the game of "Putting out the lamps" at night, and carried her, apparently by force, over the ice.

When *Puitek* saw the new wife, she became angry — as under the circumstances was only natural — and began to scold her husband. He flew into a passion, seized hold of her hair, and thumped her back and face with his clenched fist. Finally, he seized a knife and stabbed her in the knee, so that the blood spirted out. As usual in such cases, the other inmates of the house looked on with perfect composure at this connubial quarrel. The new wife had in the meanwhile retreated to one of the family stalls at the far end of the house. Next day *Sanimuinak* in a fit of temper went off to *Norajik*, to feed on narwhal flesh, and left his wives to make it up amongst themselves.

When I came to see *Sanimuinak*'s mother and wife, the mother was venting her indignation on *Utukuluk*, who kept at the other end of the house, while *Puitek* signified her assent with smiles and other tokens of approval. The mother related that *Utukuluk*, having been repudiated by her former husband, had entreated *Sanimuinak* to take her with him, a request with which he had readily complied. She had slept with *Sanimuinak* that night, but, now that he had gone away, she did not venture to approach that end of the house. The mother wound up by saying 'there was no room for that long creature here', (*Sanimuinak*'s part of the platform was not four feet wide), 'and, for the matter of that, she had no business to be here, — it was her place to remain at home'.

When *Sanimuinak* came back after the lapse of some days, amicable relations were restored between him and the two wives, and they all three managed to live quite at peace with one another on his platform. — When he came on a visit to us, he refused to acknowledge that he had taken *Utukuluk* as his second wife, and declared he had brought her home with him only as his foster-daughter.

Some time after this, he came to see us again, this time together with *Puitek*. He informed us that he had performed *tornak*

incantations on the previous evening, in order to cure his new grown-up foster-daughter of a chest affection. An amicable dispute now ensued between him and his wife, she declaring that he was lying, as *Utukuluk* was his second wife and not his foster-daughter. He protested, but had to admit it at last, adding that he had only taken her in order to have her to row his *umiak*, when he went south next summer. He seemed rather embarrassed when *Puitek* told us further that she had got angry when her husband came home with another wife, but as he had beaten her, she had had to put up with it and keep quiet. The relations between the two seemed now to be excellent, and it looked almost as if *Sanimuinak* regretted his new marriage.

A few days after this visit, we heard that *Utukuluk* had seized her opportunity to accompany some visitors from *Norsit* over the ice, and had no sooner reached the place than she was immediately married to a young man.

This eighth marriage of *Utukuluk* was likewise of short duration; she separated from him three weeks afterwards in order to be married again to her husband number six, *Nakortok*, whom she had spoken of as the best of all her husbands, although he had at times beaten and stabbed her. He took her back as his wife out of consideration for her having missed him so much that she could not sleep in the night.

A few days after *Sanimuinak* had been separated from *Utukuluk*, his housemate *Pitiga* caught him trying to get hold of his wife. *Pitiga* is now his enemy and watches him covertly.

This is by no means an extreme case; several analogous cases occurred during our stay at Angmagsalik.

DISEASES. — The Angmagsaliks do not, as a rule, attain a very great age. I fancy that there are perhaps six or eight persons, but, at any rate, hardly more than ten, between sixty and seventy years of age. The three oldest people in Angmagsalik were *Milagtek* (fig. 38), *Kavauvak* (fig. 58) and *Sanersak* (fig. 14). They were able to remember that a man who had been down south, came to Angmagsalik and related that a *kavdlunak* (GRAAH) had intended to come up there that very year (1830). At that time *Sanersak* was grown-up but not yet married. All three were hale and hearty and in full possession of their faculties.

The most common ailments and illnesses are colds, and diseases of the chest, diseases of the eye, boils and fever. Venereal diseases are unknown. Many hunters lose their lives by capsizing in their kaiaks (last winter: three), and in recent years many have died of starvation.

Death is not artificially accelerated, except when the patient gets 'mad', that is to say talks in delirium.

They told us how a clever young man in the winter had 'gone mad', the chief symptom of his madness being that he kept on singing 'kavdlunak songs'. One day when the sea was very rough, he was pushed into it by his mother and the headman. The plunge into the sea restored him to his senses, and he struggled hard to get to shore. He had already managed to raise the upper part of his body above the water, when a heavy breaker caught him and carried him away for good and all.

When people fall seriously ill and there is no prospect of their recovery, they get tired of their sufferings, and then they often put an end to their lives by throwing themselves into the sea. They are often prompted to take this step by a word of admonition from their relatives, telling them that 'they have no longer anything to live for'.

For internal diseases they know of no remedies; unless the angakok performances, of which we shall hear more presently, are to be reckoned as such.

The remedies used for external diseases are few in number: amongst them I may mention that of rubbing all kinds of wounds with blubber.

If 'dead flesh' forms in the wound, it is cauterised either by applying to the wound blubber which has just been held in the lamp, or by heating a knife in the lamp, then dipping it in train-oil, and touching the wound with it; or, finally, the 'dead flesh' is sometimes cut away with a knife.

DEATH. — When a death occurs, the corpse is arrayed in its best winter clothes. If it be a man, it is clothed in his kaiak frock; the hood is drawn over the head, and the frock is tied together between the legs. A rawhide thong is fastened round the legs, and the dead body is then quite unceremoniously dragged out through the passage, or, in order to save trouble, through the window¹).

¹) In EGEDE'S: "Grønlands Perlustration" (p. 84) we are informed with regard to the heathen Greenlanders on the West coast: "When anyone dies in a house, he must not be carried out by the passage-way — — — but must be carried out by the window; and if he dies in a tent, he is carried out backwards". This custom was also to be found amongst the Scandinavians. In "Eyrbyggja" (*Grønlands historiske Mindesmærker* III, p. 639) we find the following: "Then he wrapped a cloth round Thorolf's head, and performed unto the corpse all that belonged to the customs of that time. Then he had a hole made in the wall behind the dead man and carried him out through it". In a note on this passage in *Grønlands historiske Mindesmærker* we find (p. 728): "This custom is spoken of in several tales as being in use among the heathen Icelanders".

None but the one or two nearest relatives attend to the attiring and dragging out of the body; for those who have touched a dead body have to go through a long period of enforced abstinence from many things. They perform this task in great haste. So great is their dread of touching a corpse, that in the case of an accident there is no question of handling or assisting the injured person from the moment they conclude that hope is over. *Suiarkak* capsized one day at the beginning of April when he was about to land on the ice-foot. He scrambled out of his kaiak, but sank almost immediately. His father and several others who were present on the ice-foot when the accident occurred and had immediately hastened in their kaiaks to his assistance, made no attempt to rescue him when he sank, although he could be easily seen and an oar might easily have been reached out to him.

We have heard of people who have been on the point of death having cast themselves into the sea in order thus to obtain what they consider a form of burial, for if they are not buried by one of the relations, no one else will be found willing to undertake the task. In deserted houses which have been the scenes of famine, we have seen skeletons lying on the very spot where death took place.

If, as is doubtless always the case, one of the ancestors has perished in a kaiak, the dead man's body is cast into the sea or laid on the sea-shore at low water, in order that it may be swept away at high tide¹); if there is ice, it is lowered through a hole in the ice. One can often quite distinctly perceive the dead body lying in the sea close outside the house for days afterwards. Occasionally, at least in former times, the bodies were also buried on the rocks and covered over with loose stones. In order to economise stones, the body was often doubled up, and several bodies laid in the same grave. The dead man is always given his principal implements to take with him, not only when he is buried on the rock, but even when the body is thrown into the sea. The implements are deposited in a crevice of the rocks and are covered up with stones. If the body is thrown into the sea, only the kaiak is sunk there²).

¹) This custom has perhaps existed among other Eskimo; cfr. the tradition as to *Sedna* (Boas: The Central Eskimo, p. 585).

²) Nothing has come to our notice of the custom spoken of by EGEDE in "Grønlands Perlustration" of depositing the head of a dog in the graves of small children "with the notion that, babies being without reason, the dog will follow the scent and show them the way to the land of souls". EBERLIN came across the skull of a dog in a separate chamber of a child's grave in *Kekertarsugsuk* (on the southernmost part of the East coast), but, according to what the Greenlanders say, it has never been the rule to place a dog's head

MOURNING CUSTOMS. — The Angmagsaliks have a great many mourning customs, such as howling and groaning and abstinence from a number of things; they say that they keep the mourning customs 'in order that the dead person may not be wrath'.

Immediately after the death, the family and the housemates carry out their private possessions as well as wall- and platform-skins and clothes, and leave them outside for three days. The surviving relatives cease wearing their old clothes, which they now cast off. If they have no new clothes, they sew some as speedily as possible. Everything which has belonged to the dead person is thrown away or placed in stone-settings, except knives with iron-blades and other objects of value, which are kept by the descendants of the deceased.

The inmates of the house mourn for a space of from three to five days, during which they do not go out hunting or engage in any other occupation, but at intervals weep and lament loudly over the dead person, enumerating all his good qualities. In some cases the mourning on the part of the fellow-inmates of the house does not extend over so long a period as that of the family. The dead person's nearest of kin, at any rate his mother and wife, mourn a whole month, engaging in no occupation during this period. We heard of an instance of a mother, on receiving news that her son had been drowned, having washed herself all over and carefully done up her hair — as a sign of mourning.

Those who have been engaged in dressing the deceased must abstain from working in iron. It seems that this precaution has to be observed for several years, lest any misfortune befall their family. When they at last do resume this kind of work, they must first use a charm.

When the absent members of the family hear of the death, they likewise indulge in loud lamentations, but their mourning

in the graves of small children. — In "Kort Vejledning i det kgl. ethnografiske Museum" by C. L. Steinhauer (page 29) we find mentioned "fifteen very roughly carved wooden figures representing Greenlanders of both sexes, all of which, as far as has been ascertained, have been found in ancient Greenland graves". As to this, Steinhauer remarks that these figures seem "to point to an established custom which can hardly have been devoid of a higher significance". We have brought home with us more than fifty such dolls from the East coast, much more beautifully carved than those which the museum possesses from the West coast, one of them being over a foot in length. These are all children's toys, and none of them have been found in graves. Of course dolls might be found in graves as well as other toys, especially as they are likely to be the child's favourite possession. The Angmagsaliks do not worship idols or any visible symbol connected with their religion.

period only lasts one or two days. Those who do not strictly belong to the family of the deceased, — thus, e. g. members of the family by marriage — do not take any part in the groanings and lamentations, in fact appear to be quite indifferent to them. Thus, for instance, a married woman came to visit us while her husband was indulging in the most violent exhibition of mourning over the death of near relations; she spoke of the matter as of something that did not concern her.

As might be expected, outsiders, even if they have known the deceased very well indeed, take the mourning with even more com-



Fig. 40. *Ukutiak* (Knutsen phot. 1885).

posure, going as far as to make jokes at his expense, and speak of the family he (or she) has left behind in the most callous manner possible.

The Angmagsaliks have, all in all, a considerable number of mourning customs. I shall now proceed to mention those to which a widower is obliged to conform.

A very shrewd and lively man of about the age of thirty-five, whose name was *Ukutiak*, lost his wife in the month of April; she died after a lingering chest-complaint. A fortnight later, leaving his home *Kumarmiut*, he started off for *Kulusuk* with intent to marry a quite young girl. It happened, however, that as he was dragging her out of the house, she injured her leg, and so he had to go back again with his errand unaccomplished. A few days after he

married *Perkitigsak*'s former 'second wife', who had run away from him to *Norajik*, because he was ill and people supposed he was going mad. Early in May *Ukutiak* came to our place. We heard him wailing and saw him approaching the Eskimo tent with a staggering gait, like one paralysed with grief. The customary howling and lamentations now commenced; for it was the first time he had seen these people after the death. On his departure, the people displayed their sympathy by giving him presents of eatables. *Ukutiak* then came up to me, staggering and groaning fearfully. On account of his being in mourning, he might not sit anywhere in our house but on the platform. There he sat with drooping head, his face immovable and utterly devoid of expression, groaning every now and then. He told me I must give him cloth for a bonnet, because when he had his *anorak* on he must always have his head covered, and he might not look up at the sun before he had caught a seal or another animal. He also asked me to give him some matches, because he might not make fire with the fire-making apparatus before he had moved into a new house; for he had been accustomed to the assistance of his wife in pressing down the drill while he made it revolve by means of the cord. He must also have toys for the child, for it had not yet got used to its new mother, and therefore cried a good deal. I was able to grant this last request, but when I told him I could not give him cloth for a bonnet, he began to dilate on how much he had wept after his wife's death, and wound up by asking whether 'we did not pity him, who was now left all alone'? He told us what a hard time he had of it. Besides the observances just mentioned, he might not eat the entrails, head, and paws of seals, nor yet smaller sea animals, seaweed etc. He might not eat or drink anything in the open air, not even water, and he might not carry anything down to the shore.

Shortly after he begged for one of the books from our book-case. I found myself obliged to refuse this request also, but managed to content him with some large coloured pictures. He spoke of his new wife in terms of high praise. Among other good qualities, she was a deft needlewoman and had made the clothes he was wearing now. Of course all the prescribed observances were strictly kept during his visit; but he informed us that next time he came to us, there was nothing to prevent him smiling, for now he had received a present from me.

His stepson, *Pisak*, the son of the deceased, also came to see me, likewise wearing new clothes, but not groaning. He wanted to sell me some trash which I refused to buy. He then called my

attention to the fact that he no longer had any parents, and that I must therefore give him something.

He informed me that he too might not eat entrails etc., for a whole year, 'for his dead mother would not like it'. After having informed me about their mourning observances and the funeral, he wound up by saying that 'they were ashamed to speak about their dead', and therefore I must pay him for it.

When we visited *Ukutiak* and *Pisak* in their tent a few days later, we found them in very good spirits. Ukutiak was very much charmed with his new wife, whom he kept caressing in an extraordinarily intimate manner.

We have, however, seen cases of truly deep grief amongst the Angmagsaliks. Honest old *Ilinguaki* had in the course of the winter lost several of his nearest relations, who were also friends of ours. When I met him in the spring he said to me in the most natural and heartfelt manner possible that no doubt I had heard of his grievous losses; he had wept so much over them that he could now weep no longer.

The widely diffused custom of not naming the name of the deceased was also observed in Angmagsalik. When the period of mourning is at an end, the name of the deceased is no longer named; accordingly, when two people have had the same name, the survivor is obliged to change his. If the deceased has been called after an animal, an object or a notion, the word for this animal, object or notion is changed. In this way the language undergoes important alterations, as the new designations are adopted by the whole population. It may be presumed, however, that the old appellations crop up again, when the dead person has fallen into complete oblivion.¹⁾

¹⁾ In Angmagsalik we have not heard any other grounds than those which have been given for prohibition against, or fear of, pronouncing names. On the southerly part of the East coast, on the other hand, the people have a dread of calling the ill-omened glacier by its right name, *Puisortok*, especially when they are about to pass it. While the passage of the glacier is taking place they may not, so they say, speak, nor laugh, nor eat, nor use tobacco, nor look at the glacier. Some objects which had belonged to a dead man were left on shore before the glacier was to be passed. This is the only place where we have heard of sacrifices taking place. During the passage the offerings, consisting of small beads or other things which are especially valued, are cast into the sea. Above all the word *Puisortok* ('the place where something emerges') must not be named. The glacier is called instead: *Apusinek* ('the place where there is snow'). This glacier lies right out at sea. It is sometimes necessary in order to pass to go close in under it, as the pack-ice blocks the passage further out. Presumably the reason why the natives have conceived such a dread of the glacier, is that an accident may once have

The following may serve as examples of the transformation of names: — A Greenland seal was formerly called *atak*, but after the death of a man bearing this name it was re-named *nalaginak*. Similarly *angmagsak* (a caplin) was turned into *kersagak*; *upernak* (spring) into *mangilernek*; *tokusok* (a dead man) into *kardlimaertak*, and lastly *kaiak* was changed into *sarkit*, after the death at Sermilik of a man who bore the name *Kajarpak*.

V.

BELIEFS — SPIRITS — AMULETS — CHARMS — ANGAKUT — ILISITSUT AND TUPILEKS.

BELIEFS. — The Angmagsaliks believe that man consists of three parts, viz. body, soul, and name (*atekata*).

The body is of course perishable. The soul is quite small, being no bigger than a finger or a hand, and lives in the man. When the soul falls ill, the man falls ill also, and when the soul dies, the man dies also. The *angakut* and *ilisitsut* (exorcists and witches) can rob a man of his soul. The man then becomes dull and heavy, he falls ill, and then it remains for his *angakok* to find out by his incantations whether the soul has flown, and fetch it back to the man. The soul may have descended to the nether world or to the 'inlanders', or the *tornarsuk* of the *angakok* who has stolen it may have eaten it. After a man's death the soul comes to life again, either below the sea or up in the sky. In the sea there are numbers of seals and narwhals, and in the sky there are ravens and crowberries. It is good to be in either place, but the sea is to be preferred.

occurred, owing to its calving while a boat was close under it and smashing it to pieces.

A promontory on the southern part of the East coast is called *Serratit*, which means "the charms". It is dangerous to pass on account of the strong current which is always running around the precipitous rocky promontory. The natives told us that the people offer up sacrifices at this place, and that it has got its name on account of some umiaks having been rescued here by a charm. The sea was full of pack-ice, and a furious current threatened to dash the umiaks to pieces against the precipitous rocky promontory, but when the charm was recited, the rock opened and a narrow sound was formed behind the dangerous promontory; through this sound the umiaks rescued themselves. This crevice is to be seen to this very day.

HANSERAK writes in his diary about the Angmagsaliks' belief in the soul: — "A man has many souls. The biggest of them live in the larynx and in the man's left side, and are tiny manikins of the size of sparrows. The other souls live in all the other members of the body and are about the size of a finger-joint.

Now, when an angakok removes one of them, that part of the man which has lost its soul falls ill. If another angakok on examination finds the soul removed and then fetches it back and replaces it, the man becomes well again; but, if it is found impossible to get the soul back, the man dies and the soul wanders about to the dismay and terror of all around".

The 'name' (*atekata*) is of the same size as a man and enters the child at the moment when a finger dipped in water is passed over the child's mouth, the names of the dead ancestors being simultaneously pronounced. We have not heard so much of the names in the case of grown-up people as in that of children. Care must be taken not to offend the 'name' in any way; for then he may desert the man, who is then sure to fall ill. A man of the name of *Adlagdlak* had some time in the past taken part in the dressing of his sister's dead body. He thus entailed upon himself a prohibition against working in iron in the house, but he had notwithstanding been guilty of this piece of imprudence. "His sister's name", he said, "was wrath thereat and deserted his little son, who then fell to crying violently, and was seized with severe diarrhoea. Fortunately, the angakok, while performing the incantations discovered the loss of the 'name', and had it fetched back just when it was nigh to the far-away dreaded land "*Ipertit*". The 'name' was a-cold there and shrieked aloud, and hence it was the child fell ill. Had the 'name' reached *Ipertit*, it would have frozen to death and the child would have died."

When a man dies the 'name' remains with the body in the water or earth where it has been buried, until a child is called after it. It then enters the child and continues its existence there. Tale no. 22 shows how the 'name' in the period between its existence in two human beings wanders through a number of animals.

The Angmagsaliks have a decided dread of pronouncing their own name. When asked what they were called they invariably turned to others to answer for them, and then assented to the correctness of the answer given. Once when we asked a mother what her little child was called, she answered that she was unable to say: the father was equally reluctant to pronounce the name, and told us that he had forgotten, but that we could get to know it from his wife's brother.

Children who are put to death and still-born children 'go to heaven, where they cause the northern lights¹⁾. The children take each other by the hand and dance round and round and swing in mazes; now they wind round each other at one end of the ring until they form a spiral, and now untwine again. They play ball²⁾ with their after-births, and when they see orphans they run towards them and knock them down. They accompany the games with a shrill whistling sound.'

The native narrator accompanied this description with lively gestures, giving a vivid picture of the northern lights as the games of children. The first game is seen when the northern lights appear as broad streamers or draperies, in which the single rays point to the zenith and are continually in wavy or maze-like motion. The ball game is seen when single rays from the streamers shoot out at a great speed towards the zenith. The children may be seen running towards the orphans and knocking them over, when single rays swiftly dart out in a horizontal direction, and, as it were, chase away the rays already present.

The northern lights are called according to the children, *Alugsukat*.

SPIRITS. — The Angmagsaliks believe in spirits which surround them everywhere, but are only seen and perceived by some few initiated persons, viz. the angakut. It is by the agency of the latter that the spirits harm or benefit human beings. When a kaiaker is at sea, he is surrounded by *Inersuaks*. They live under the sea but otherwise engage in the same occupations as men. They are somewhat broader than men, are closely-cropped and have no noses. The angakut, or those who are to become angakut, are able to see them and they relate how they visit them under the sea, where

¹⁾ The northern lights are very frequent at Angmagsalik, which lies close to the belt where the northern lights appear in all directions.

²⁾ The West Greenlanders believed in former times, that the souls of the deceased in the supernal world played ball with a walrus head, and that this was observed from the earth as northern lights*). These are, accordingly, named: *arssarnerit* 'the ball players' (*arssarpok* 'to play ball')**). According to Aztec mythology the souls of the departed brave ones dwell in Tlalocan, the terrestrial paradise***). A hymn to Tlaloc contains the following: "In Tlalocan, in the verdant house, they *play at ball* . . .". Another hymn: "He plays at ball, he plays at ball, the servant of marvellous skill; he plays at ball, the precious servant; look at him; even the ruler of the nobles follows him to the house." To this BRINTON adds: "*The house of the ball-player is the tomb*".

*) EGEDE: Grønlands Perlustration, 1741, p. 93.

***) KLEINSMIDT: Grønlandsk Ordbog, p. 42.

***) BRINTON: Rig Veda Americanus, p. 24, 26 and 55.

they always have plenty of meat. The following legend is told as to their origin: — "In the beginning the earth was quite flat, and there was no water on it; but then the earth burst, the water poured fourth, and men were hurled into the cracks. All those whom this fate overtook became '*Inersuaks*', and now people the nether regions".

The animals of the sea are governed by a great woman in whose hair seals, narwhals, and other sea-animals are found. When the angakut are led to her by their '*tartok*' (spirit) and comb her hair, the sea-animals are driven to the coasts. An angakok from *Sermiligak* had once combed her hair so skilfully that there was an abundance of seals for three years. In the sea live also *Tornarsuk* and his helper, *Aperketek*. These are animals which can be seen by others besides the angakut. Representations of them are often found on hunting implements (figs. 48, 49).

Tornarsuk is described as being as long as a big seal, but much thicker in proportion. His head and back paws resemble those of the seal, while his fore paws are longer, being as long as a man's arm, but thicker and ending in fins.¹⁾ He is often described as having red arms and being red about the mouth. *Tornarsuk* swims swiftly down at the bottom of the sea.²⁾

Aperketek may be as much as four feet long. He is black and has nippers in his head. Both these animals are at the service of the angakut. They are neither good nor evil spirits, but simply obey their master.

The inland is inhabited by *Timerseks*³⁾, *Erkiliks* and *Ingaliliks*.⁴⁾

Timerseks have the form of a man, but are much bigger, being as tall as an umiak is long. Their soul alone is as large as a man. They live by the chase; they hunt both land-animals, such as reindeer, white grouse, hares, and foxes, which they kill with bows, and also sea-animals, viz., seals, which they catch in nets, and narwhals, which they harpoon in narrow straits. For the most part

¹⁾ In RAY'S Expedition to Point-Barrow p. 42 it is mentioned that "the invisible spirit" (*Tuñā*) can be seen by men at certain times, and that old men describe it as resembling the upper part of a man, but very broad and having a very big head and long 'fangs'.

The carved figures representing *tornarsuk*, have some resemblance to several of the totem marks of the Haidah Indians (cf. the plates in "The Haidah-Indians" by JAMES SWAN).

²⁾ From the description I presume it to be an octopus.

³⁾ *time*: 'central part of the country' (Kleinschmidt, Dictionary p. 365).

⁴⁾ The Tchiglit-Eskimos in N.W. America name their Indian neighbours: *Irkréléit* and *Ingalit* (PÉTITOT: "Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest", 1886).

they are at enmity with the human race, and occasionally carry off a man or two; but they may also live on a friendly footing with men, and even exchange wives with them. They have no kaiaks; but in spring, when their provisions are beginning to give out, they go down to the sea on hunting expeditions and are then seen by the angakut. They are able to bear two large bearded seals, which they carry home to the inland in a sealskin bag (see tales 7, 12, 13, 28).

The *Erkiliks* have the form of a man above and that of a dog below. They dwell on the inland ice and are inimical to man (see tale 18).

It is told that the *Timerseks*, *Erkileks* and *Kavdlunaks* (Europeans) have the same origin, being the descendants of a girl and a dog (see tale 20). We *Kavdlunaks* have therefore no souls, or at most dog-souls, on which matter the Angmagsaliks descanted to our escort from West Greenland.

The *Ingaliliks* carry large pots in which whole seals can be boiled.

Of other beings that live on the earth, I shall only mention the *Gobajaks* (tale 41), who are pot-bellied women with iron nails; *Nerrasejots*, hairless, naked, shrieking beings with a knife in their hands; *Makakajuiks*, hairless beings who rob men of their seals¹); and finally *Tarajuatsiaks*, shadows, who are less than men and have a pointed bald head.

Far out at sea towards the east lies a large island which is called *Akilinek*. According to descriptions, not only the inhabitants but also the animals there are of an enormous size. The angakut pretend to make journeys thither from time to time. The inhabitants of this island appear to stand on a similar footing to the human race as the *Timerseks* (see tales 1 and 33).

It is related that the *Kajariaks* are a kind of large kaiaks which are used by big and hostile men. When one of these lies alongside of a kaiak, it is so large that the man sitting in it can stick his paddle under the thong of the kaiak and lift it up in the air, upon which he cuts the arms of the kaiaker. These boats are made of wood and are dumpy at both ends.

¹) HANSERAK relates in his diary: "When the Eskimos at the mouth of the Angmagsalik fjord are out hunting and lose their sealskin float after having stuck their harpoon in a seal, they say that a kind of human beings, called *Makukat*, who dwell upon a very high mountain, a little to the north of us, come and steal the seal on which they have lost their float: when the man who harpooned it begins to shout, they go down to the bottom of the sea and fetch away the animal he would otherwise have caught".

The sky is also peopled with spirits. Of these I shall only mention the sun, the moon, Jupiter and Vega. With regard to the origin of the sun and the moon, the same legend is rife as amongst the other Eskimos (tale 10). Jupiter is regarded as being the mother of the sun; it is very dangerous for the angakut to pass near it on their journey to the moon. Vega, who is called *Nelarsik*, is, like the moon, the brother of the sun. As to how it got into the sky a similar legend is told as with regard to the moon. It does great service to the human race, indicating the time, when it is dark, just as the sun does, when it is light. Besides that there are many other ways in which it assists man. Many other legends are told about the moon (see tales 16, 30, 31, and 34).

The winds also have their rulers, to whom the angakut must journey in order that the wind may blow or cease to blow.

AMULETS. — The spirits mentioned above, and many others besides, are not worshipped with any special rites, but in order to shield themselves against any harm they might do, the East Greenlanders wear all kinds of different things as amulets, which they believe are able to protect them against sickness and danger and to secure for them a long life. Amulets serve other purposes as well, as, for instance, to obtain the fulfilment of a wish.

As has already been mentioned above, amulets are worn by men as a rule in the harness-like cord which they wear round the body or sewn in the anorak, and by women in their top-knots or sewn in the flap of their frock in front.

The choice of amulets is absolutely arbitrary, and they are worn in a variety of different ways. Old people advise the young what to pick out as their amulet, and in what fashion they are to wear it. Thus, for instance, *Kutuluk* had sewn a tongue of a loon and his grandmother's hair band in his amulet strap. His son *Napardlugok* wore a splinter of his grandmother's lamp-stool sewn in his strap. When he fell ill, his father hung a dried fox's head above his head. This fox was the first animal that *Napardlugok* had caught as a child. *Ukutiak* had both in his house and in his tent a branch hanging from the ceiling over his head. A boy who was given to spitting blood, and whose whole family was consumptive, had a wooden plug (of the kind the seal hunter use for sticking in the wounds of the captured seal) sewn in his anorak in front of his chest. Many wear in their amulet straps a male and a female figure carved out of wood taken from the passage-way. The female figure is worn on the chest, and the male on the back, while smaller pieces of wood are placed under the

arms. When a woman becomes pregnant, special amulets are used in order that the child may be a boy, thus, for instance, a splinter of the centre tent-pole or a prop of an umiak stand. People who are subject to epilepsy wear a fox's snout as an amulet. Children are sometimes given an amulet from the 'Sun's urine', a red lichen "whereby they are brought to cast a light from behind, so that the *Inersuaks* can see them and communicate with them, without their needing to learn how to become *angakut*". How the amulet is used will be seen from tales 2, 3 and 35.

There are several other customs which may be referred to the category of amulet superstitions, such as, for instance, tatooing, the way in which the hair is dressed to match the shape of the frock, and the ribbon round the upper arm, all of which have already been mentioned. It should further be mentioned that when the natives sold us hunting implements which they had used themselves, or whole skins, they often cut off a small, sometimes quite a minute fragment, which they preserved themselves. A man who had sold us a paddle fell ill in spring. Seeing his opportunity, he cut off a splinter from the paddle and abstracted some of the bone nails with which the mounting was fastened. When the natives had bought an iron spear or knife, they bartered it away, if they had purchased it with the skin of a seal caught by themselves.

The Angmagsaliks attached supernatural power to our anthropological measurements, although I myself did nothing which could give occasion to such a belief. Those who were most addicted to this superstition were old people or people suffering from some bodily defect. One man, after I had finished measuring him exclaimed, "well, now let us hope the hand will get better"! His hand had been stiff for a very long time and he was suffering from pain in its joints. When I asked them for a lock of their hair, they usually said that their father had told them they were never to have their hair cut, as they had flaps on their frock — or they would die¹). Not a hair of their head had ever been cut before. Several young men however allowed me to take a lock clandestinely, without the knowledge of their family.

When old *Kutuluk*, who in all other respects was a thorough believer, had once allowed me to cut off a lock of his hair, saying that the gout he suffered from would now be sure to disappear, most of the others waived their scruples too. Once, however, it

¹) I suppose the natives were afraid of an *ilisitsok* using their hair in a *tupilek* against them. Even when parasites are taken in a man's hair, he wishes, I think for the same reason as above, to eat them himself.

happened that a man, *Sanimuinak* the angekok, during his illness, sent to fetch the lock he had once allowed me to cut off, as he was afraid that otherwise he would die.

In order not to arouse anger or dissatisfaction, I was often obliged to 'take away sicknesses' from people by laying my hand on their head and then making a movement as if I were throwing away something, while the nearest of kin uttered the wish that there might be 'power' in my action.

CHARMS. — Other supernatural means employed, besides amulets and the customs observed in order to secure a long life, are *sekatit*, i. e. charms and chants.

Charms are used during sickness and famine in order to ward off dangers. They can also be used as a defence against foes, having the power to inflict disease, injury or death upon them. The manner in which they are used can be seen from tales 3, 7, 21, 24, 25.

The charms are of great antiquity, and are as a general rule handed down from one generation to the other by sale. They are most effective the first time they are used, and little by little they lose their power; hence they must not be used except in times of danger, or when they are transferred to another. When the transference takes place, none but the buyer and seller may be present, and in order that they may have effect, they must be paid immediately, and dearly paid too, if there is to be any power in them; but then they can do the possessor much benefit. The payment may consist e. g. of dart points, lance points, or other costly iron work. As they are much reluctant to use the charms without absolute necessity, it is extremely difficult to get to hear them.

Kutuluk has a charm which he once used during an illness and which helped him to recover. The same charm can be used in any danger connected with the hunting and also to ward off famine. Others can also use this charm to harm or kill other people, but, he said, he would not use it for that purpose.

Uitinak learnt a charm from a man who is now dead and sold it to us (see no. 54). He had only used it once, when he had been ill for 10 days and was at death's door. Four days afterwards he recovered.

The charms are recited slowly in a low mystic tone, but the words are unintelligible. As far as our experience goes, they all begin with "*ija — ija*". Some of them are short, others long.

The natives do not conceive of any spirit in connection with the charm, and are ignorant as to how they work; it is only the

words themselves, they declare, which have 'power'. The angakut say, that they look like swollen guts.

The magic chants (see no. 53—54) are sung in the same way as the drum chants, but without a drum.

The words used in them are intelligible, and they are more openly used than the charms.

They are used, for instance, the first time a lad gets his kaiak or the first time he comes home with game.

ANGAKUT. — As has been already mentioned, the angakut alone are able to see and to have intercourse with spirits. Anyone can become an angakok or imitate angakok incantations, but those who are to acquire a reputation for being good angakut must be specially adroit and cunning.

The angakok disciples learn from the elder angakut what they must do in order to become angakut themselves, or, as they put it, 'how they are to seek for that which may put them in communication with the spirit world'. It is usual for two to undergo training together. The first thing the disciple has to do is to go to a certain lonely spot, an abyss or cave, and there, having taken a small stone, to rub it on the top of a large one the way of the sun. When they have done this for three days on end, they say, a spirit comes out from the rock. It turns its face towards the rising sun and asks what the disciple will. The disciple then dies in the most horrible torments, partly from fear, partly from overstrain; but he comes to life again later in the day¹).

This probation is repeated for three or four years, during which time the disciple enters into communion with various spirits, *tartoks*, which enter his service²). Some of these I have already mentioned:

Tarajuatsiaks, which the angakut can send wherever they list to carry out their behests, as, for instance, to the lord of a wind to set his wind blowing, to rob the soul of a man, or to recover a sick man's soul. *Inersuaks*, being spirits of the deep, can help them in getting the marine animals along to the coasts. The *Timerseks* can be set about robbing and carrying off the souls of other men.

Most angakut have an *Amortortok*³) as their *tartok*. It acts

¹) It is quite possible that hypnotism and suggestion may play an essential part in angakokism.

²) The Makah-Indians communicate with their guardian spirits in a similar way. (Swan: The Indians of Cape Flattery p. 62).

³) HANSERAK calls this being '*kimarrat*'.

during the performances of the angakok as a kind of oracle, bringing news from far distances and answering questions laid before it. It has black arms and is dangerous to approach, when it enters the house while the incantations are being performed; for those whom it touches turn black and die. It walks with a heavy tread and roars crying out "*amo*". A similar creature which acts in the same way cries out "*unga*". It is called *Ungatortok* and is about the size of a baby.

All the angakut give accounts of the angakok bear. It is much larger than an ordinary bear, but so thin that all its ribs are visible. The time of its acquisition is at the end of the period of probation, and takes place as follows: It swallows the angakok whole; it then throws him up again bone by bone until the whole skeleton has been collected. The skeleton is then clothed with flesh and comes to life again. (See *Sanimuinak*'s story of how he became an angakok, no. 46).

Every angakok has his *tornarsuk* and *aperketek*, who act as his spirits. *Tornarsuk* answers questions addressed to it, and eats the souls which have been robbed, whence it is often quite red with blood¹). *Aperketek* acts as mediator between the angakok and his *tornarsuk*; he receives questions which he is to put to *tornarsuk*²), and obtains replies from him.

During the period when the disciple is seeking to have communion with spirits he must keep a strict diet — particularly he may not eat the entrails of animals; moreover, he may not do work in iron, and above all he must not reveal to anyone that he is undergoing discipleship. During the period of probation they adopt a special language, which they say they learn from the *Inersuaks*.

If, after having terminated their period of probation, they do not proclaim themselves as angakut, they have no other course open to them but to become *ilisitsut*, sorcerers, who are much dreaded and hated. The period of discipleship often lasts as much as ten years.

In order to be a clever angakok who can make as many *tartoks* appear as possible, it is necessary to possess considerable dramatic talent.

¹) In old accounts of the West coast of Greenland it is stated that *Tornarsuk* is a being who acts as ruler over the *tornaks*: we have not been able to hear anything similar.

²) In "Udtog af Missionair P. Kraghs Dagbog" 1895, (extracts from the diary of P. Kragh, the missionary) first part, page 96 mention is made of *apersortut* 'witches which question the spirit'.

It is also necessary to be very nimble, dexterous and quick-witted, and to have the power of making a demoniacal, mystical impression on their audience and to work on their nerves.

ANGAKOK INCANTATIONS. — The actual performance of angakok arts takes place only in winter, when the people live in houses. In summer all that the angakut do is to lie prostrate on the platform and have themselves covered with a skin. As they thus recline, they fall into a trance, in which their spirits speak through them and in which they are able to see visions.

When angakok arts are performed in the house, the angakok plants himself before the passage-way with his feet pointing towards the entrance and resting on the lowest of the dried skins which hang in front of it. His arms are bound tightly behind his back, so tightly that sores are often left on their wrists, and the head, too, is often tied down between the legs. A thong is fastened tightly round the head, whence it is said that the angakok can see quite clearly, even when all the lamps have been extinguished. They say that their whole body now becomes stiff and unconscious. The feet move convulsively and thereby set the dried skins rattling. It happens sometimes that it is not possible to bring the angakok into this condition, and he can very easily be roused out of it. Thus, for instance, when a clod of earth was thrown at *Kunit* while he was performing angakok incantations, he ceased immediately, and the lamps were lit. The drum with the drumstick is laid by the side of the angakok, and is said to be used during the performance by the *tartok*, and it dances drumming by itself round the angakok's head. The drum consists of a circular wooden frame over which the peritoneum of a bear or large seal is stretched, and it is provided with a handle. It is beaten by striking the rim of the wooden frame with the drum-stick. Less dexterous angakut do not have their hands bound behind their backs: they summon the *tartok* and set the drum dancing by beating on a piece of bearded-seal skin which they hold in their hand. The lamps are always put out during the performance, but sometimes, they say, it is not too dark for the audience just to see the drum dancing by itself round the angakok's head. The *tartoks* cannot be seen, but can be heard so much the more. There is seldom more than one *tartok* present at a time, and he speaks through the angakok in a strange language to the audience.

I shall now proceed to describe a performance of this kind which took place in the house of our neighbours, in which *Sani-muinak* (figs. 18 and 39) performed angakok incantations.

After an hour's waiting, during which the angakok lay quite still in the dark on the platform behind, everything was made ready. New, dried waterproof skins were hung in front of the house entrance, and other skins in front of the window above the entrance, while the other windows, at least that before which we sat, were left uncovered. After the floor round the entrance had been carefully swept and scrubbed, and all dirt removed from between the flag-stones, a hair-covered skin folded double was carefully arranged before the door hanging. A large flat stone was placed to the right of the entrance, so that it covered the cavities between the flag-stones. When the drum had been moistened¹⁾, it was laid together with the drumstick upon the flat stone. A long hairy rawhide cord was softened in due form by rubbing and stretching.

At length *Sanimuinak* appeared. He had the appearance of a sleep-walker or a visionary, and walked straight on without looking to the right or left, and sat down on the skin on the floor. He arranged the flat stone and the drum with great nicety. His hair was bound together in a knot behind, and a rawhide cord pressed down over his forehead. The man who had prepared the long cord now bound the angakok's arms with it behind his back, winding it round them right from the hands to the elbows, and tightened the cord till the hands became quite blue. During this procedure the angakok snorted and groaned, as if he were under the dominion of some mighty power. When he saw that I was watching the binding of the arms with great interest, he said to me in a pitiful tone that I could see that it would be impossible for him to untie them. I was assigned a seat on a skin on the floor — a cool position — while all the others crept up onto the platforms one by one. Thereupon the lamps were extinguished, first the one which was furthest to the left of the angakok, then the next in the row, and so on, the one furthest to the right being extinguished last and leaving the house in complete darkness.

The spirits were immediately summoned with the cries: "Goi! goi goi goi"! — proceeding now from one voice, now from several, now from one part of the house, now from another. All the while the angakok kept puffing and groaning and heaving heavy sighs. All at once the dry skin before the entrance began to rattle, as if caught by a rushing wind. The drum now started into motion, dancing first slowly, then with ever increasing speed, and mounted slowly up to the ceiling. Now ensued a veritable pandemonium of

¹⁾ The drum is always moistened before using, in order to give it a more beautiful ring.

noises, a rattling, a blustering, and a clattering, reminding one at one moment of a machine-factory at work, at another of the puffing of engines, and now seeming to proceed from a number of great winged creatures. In the midst of this hideous din the platform and window-sill would ever and anon shake. At one moment it was the angakok one heard, succumbing to a power mightier than himself, groaning, wailing, shrieking, whining, whispering; now came the sound of spirit-voices, some deep, some feeble, others lisping, or piping. At frequent intervals a harsh, demoniacal, mocking laughter made itself heard. The voices seemed to proceed now from above; now from under the ground, now from one end of the house, now from the other, now from outside the house, now from the passage-way.

Cries of "hoi! hoi! hoi!" seemed to die away in the far distance. The drum was manipulated with extraordinary dexterity, frequently making the round of the house, and particularly often floating above my head. The beating of the drum was often accompanied by singing, which ever and anon was subdued, as if it proceeded from the nether world. Lovely women's voices were sometimes heard from the background. Then once more that deafening chorus of clattering, rattling and blustering noises, — the drum fell to the ground with a crash, and all was still. This was the signal for the entrance of the dreaded monster, *Amortortok*. As already related, it has black arms and anyone whom it may happen to touch turns black and is bound to die. It walked with a heavy tread round the house and on the platform and roared out crying "a—mo! a—mo!" All cowered into the furthest recesses of the platform for fear that the monster might touch them. It dinned in my ears and tried to tear away from me the skin on which I sat, in order to get me up in a corner with the other people, but only succeeded in tearing the skin. After this creature there came another who cried like a fox. One of the *tartoks* declared that it smelt as if *Kavdlunaks* were present, and made careful inquiries about us. With this exception, the language of the spirits was abracadabra to us.

The host, *Kutuluk*, now asked me, prompted, of course, by the *tartok*, whether I had had enough of incantations for that evening, as in that case the rest could be kept for another evening. As the performance had already lasted about an hour, and it was stifling hot in the house, I could not but assent, and the *tartok* was informed of my desire. It was, however, unable to tear itself away so quickly; its retreat was slow and by no means so noisy as its entrance. After some time had elapsed, some one asked whether they

might not light the lamps, whereupon *Sanimuinak* answered in his own natural voice that his *tartok* was still present. The man who had spoken had presumed that 'it had gone; for the sound of the drum was no longer heard'. Whereto *Sanimuinak* replied 'that there must have been someone who had touched the drum, as the *tartok* would no longer beat it'. Presently, however, the drum started afresh, and the retreat took place amid the rattling of skins and lingering song.

The lamps were lit in the inverse order to that in which they were extinguished; and all were sitting on the places they had occupied before the performance commenced. The *angakok*, bathed in perspiration, was sitting in the same place as at the beginning. His hands were tied behind his back in the same way, but not nearly so well as before¹).

Most men and half grown-up lads are able to perform all these tricks, that is to produce the different noises, the drum-dance and the voices from the nether world, but they say 'they only do it as a pastime and that there is nothing supernatural about it in their case, while in the case of the *angakut* it is the spirits who do everything'.

When we asked the *angakut* how they performed their arts, they sounded us first to see whether we believed in them. If we answered that we did not know what to believe, they told us all sorts of yarns. If, on the other hand, we answered that we did not believe in them, they were quite ready of their own accord to reveal to us all their secrets and tricks, and declared that they were no good as *angakok*, for all they did was mere humbug; but at the same time they expressed the belief that other *angakut* could have communion with the spirit world.

Sanimuinak, who was an *angakok* as well as an *ilisitsok*, and who at first told us all sorts of yarns about his arts, by-and-by revealed all his tricks to us, when he perceived that we did not believe in him. One day he came and offered me his drum as a present, but asked me to help him as a requital. He said he had some enemies on the opposite side of the fjord, who, he declared, were also my enemies, namely his former wife with her mother and husband. These people hated him and had therefore used magic to bring about his death. He wanted me to give him any formula which he could use against his enemies to harm them.

¹) It is curious to observe the great accordance, even in details, between the incantations of the Eskimo *angakut* and the Indian feasts of the Nishinam Indians and of the Maidu. (Powers: The tribes of California pp. 334 and 306).

I told him I could not help him with charms, just as little as others could harm him with magic. This he evidently did not believe, but answered that "he would not tell anyone that I had helped him; but I must help him, for he would confide to me that he could not do magic or speak with spirits or heal people. It was all humbug on his part, but he was convinced that others were able to commune with spirits". It was of course under a solemn promise of the profoundest secrecy that he made this confession and revealed to us the angakut's secrets. I had to promise not to tell anyone before I got back to the country beyond the sea.

Four months later his wife fell ill. He appealed to me to cure her. But, I not being in a position to discover what her ailment was, I was unable to supply him with any remedy. *Sanimuinak* refused to believe that I had no power over his wife's complaint, and ended by declaring that he would perform angakok incantations, and if his wife recovered, he would believe in them.

Sanimuinak's brother, *Narsingertek*, was also an angakok. When I asked him if he was an angakok, he returned the evasive answer that he could perform some arts. I then let fall the remark that his brother Sanimuinak must then be a greater angakok than he. As soon as Narsingertek thought he had perceived that we believed in Sanimuinak's stories and arts, he began to tell us about all his spirit visions. While *Sanimuinak* initiated me little by little in all that concerned his profession, *Narsingertek* still perched on his dignity. Although he was not able to perform many tricks, he was nevertheless held in honour as an angakok; for the head of the house, honest old *Kutuluk*, had once 'with his own eyes seen *Narsingertek* out at sea accompanied by his *tartok*, an *Inersuak*'. *Kutuluk* had several times been cured of a bad arm by Narsingertek's arts.

The first thing we heard about the angakut at Angmagsalik was that they were great liars; and indeed many people make fun of them and their doings; but in spite of that even the most sensible people believe in their communion with the spirit world, and the angakut often believe in one another, without knowing in what way their arts work. I therefore consider it by no means improbable that the people spoke evil of the angakut in order to curry favour with us; for it is quite possible that they may have had wind of the attitude which Europeans on the West coast of Greenland formerly adopted towards the angakut. The angakut are not treated with any respect or reverence by the rest of the people; but the people believe in them out of dread for the harm they may be able to do with their arts.

It will have been gathered from the foregoing account that the

angakok performance depends on the angakok's power of making so much noise and to-do as possible, and on his ventriloquial skill. Whereas, when the lamps are lit, the drum is always beaten by striking the drum-stick on the edge of the wooden rim, during the angakok performance the drumming sometimes is performed by rocking the drum on the flat stone, which can be done with the elbow or leg, when the hands cannot be used, and it sounds just as if the drum-stick were being used with extraordinary quickness. When the angakok strikes the loose, flat stone on which the drum lies, it gives a very hollow and mystical sound.

By speaking and singing down between the hollow spaces under large stones and driving the sound along the drum-stick, voices from the nether world are produced. *Sanimuinak* one evening gave in our house, with the lamps lighted, an exhibition of his ventriloquial skill, making his *tartok* speak outside the house. The dry skins which hang before the entrance and the window can of course produce a very loud and weird noise.

The cord with which the angakok is bound, is tied in a kind of noose, which is certainly drawn uncommonly tight, but which can be loosened and slipped off by forcing the arms closer together, so that it becomes possible to get the hands free.

As has been already mentioned, the prime object of the angakok in performing his arts is to produce a demoniacal, mystical impression on his audience and to work upon their nerves. The following incident may serve to illustrate the impression which the angakut can make with their arts.

Narsingertek's speciality was to see a spectre (*kardlimaetek*) standing on the rock between the house of the natives and our house, and which, he informed us, had followed us from the southernmost point of the land. Although our crew was very much afraid of ghosts, the angakok arts possessed such an attraction for them that they could not abstain from going to see them performed. They heard the drum dancing of itself round *Narsingertek's* head, and heard a ghost, the spectre in question, outside in the passageway. It made as if it would enter, but the angakok forbade it to go further.

Our crew was seized with terror, and they came home quite beside themselves, absolutely convinced of the angakok's ability to commune with the spirit world, and as to the reality of the spectre that had travelled with us.

As a rule, the angakut perform their arts for the mere pleasure of it, though not without some notion that their arts will draw hunting luck to the house where they are performed. On days when

the hunt has been successful, it is not usual to perform angakok arts. The angakok's skill is likewise brought in request in order to produce a certain wind. In this latter case he will have to take his *tartok* with him and go on a journey to the lord of this wind.

Finally the natives seek the angakok's assistance in all kinds of sicknesses. His function, however, is not that of a doctor, — he does not know a single medicine, nor can prescribe a single remedy, much less perform operations — no, his business is, during the performance of the incantations, to examine the sick man's 'soul'. They maintain that all sicknesses can be traced to some harm which has happened to the soul, or to the sick man's soul having been robbed by an *ilisitsok* or angakok or having been lost in some other way. It is therefore the angakok's business to see whither it has gone and to get it back again. His *tartok* informs him what is the cause of the man's sickness, whether any harm has happened to the soul, or whether it has been stolen. The angakok must then take his *tartok* with him and go on a journey to the nether world or the horizon, to fetch the soul back again. But sometimes he merely dispatches one of his *tartoks* to fetch it back, and in that case several days may elapse before the *tartok* can return. If any serious harm has happened to the soul e.g. if it has been eaten by the *tornarsuk* of a hostile angakok —, the man is bound to die.

Hanserak writes in his diary: "The natives give the following account of the angakok's journeys through the air. They bind the angakok's hand and foot, just as if he were going to perform his arts, and then they bend him double by binding him tight from neck to knees. As this causes him a great deal of pain, he is unable to rise up by himself, and, therefore, so they say, his drum sets itself in motion, goes and lifts him up in the air by the head, thus enabling him to sit up, and then lifting him in a similar manner by his back, enables him to stand on his legs. Then the angakok walks round the floor, though with no small trouble, and at last he succeeds in getting a start, flies round the house, and finally alights on the end of the drying-frame under the roof. He then sets off flying once more, and finally passes clean through the roof or the wall out into the air; his drum, which is all that is left of him, sets up an everlasting dance on its own account. The angakok, bound as described, flies out quite naked into the cold night air, and is soon far away. His companions sit in pitch darkness awaiting his return, which sometimes does not take place before dawn; his drum is still dancing away. When the air-voyager returns, he relates, either that he has been up in heaven or to remote



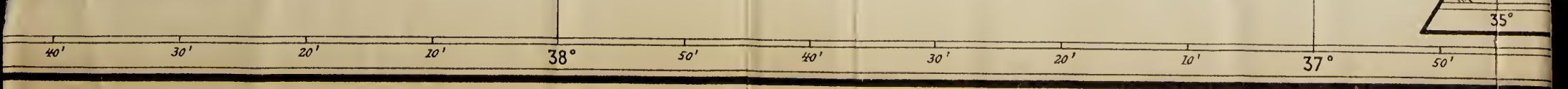
Chart of
THE CENTRAL PART OF EAST GREENLAND
the District of ANGMAGSALIK
between 65° and 67°22' N. Lat.

showing Eskimo settlements and place names.

According to the charts of HOLM, AMDRUP and KRUUSE

Prepared by W. Thalbitzer
Köbenhavn 1912.

- Inhabited houses or ruins.
- △ Tent-places (circles of stones)



quarters of the earth or up to the sun or the moon. Now-a-days, they said, there are no angakut who can make air-voyages, as none of them has had a chance of watching this done by another, and without that they are unable to make such voyages themselves."

Under the category of sicknesses come also cases in which a man is incapable of hunting seals, or a wife is unable to bear children. In the latter case the angakok, supposing he has the power, must make a journey to the moon, whence a child is thrown down to the wife, who afterwards becomes pregnant. After having performed this toilsome journey, the angakok has the right of sleeping with the wife.

When an angakok has performed his arts in order to heal a sick person, an indispensable condition for the success of the cure is that it shall be paid for. It is the *tartok*, however, and not the angakok that is paid for its trouble. The angakut merely arrange about the presents. The payment is, of course, proportioned to the circumstances of the sick person. By way of example I may mention that our neighbour, *Sanimuinak*, received this winter a sledge, a dog, a harpoon-point made of narwhal tusk, a handful of precious (that is small) pearls etc. When he told us about it he laughed heartily himself at folk's incredulity.

The Angmagsaliks, like all the Eskimo, possess an incredible capacity for patience and endurance in great suffering, but, on the other hand, a little pain makes them at once believe they are going to die. Thus, they often are much concerned about a trifling ailment such as a headache, and in such cases the angakok is at once summoned to heal the sick man. No wonder then that the cures frequently succeed. If a person has high fever accompanied by headache, the angakok says that there is a danger of his going mad. In order to avoid this fate the sick person must confess that he is an *ilisitsok*, a wizard or witch, and as such saddle himself with crimes¹⁾, such as having robbed people's souls, or having killed people by supernatural means. If he fails to make such a confession, the sick man may easily become deranged or go raving mad — which really means that he talks in delirium. How barbarously patients are treated in such cases will be recounted further on. When the sick person has confessed that he is an *ilisitsok* or an angakok disciple, he loses the power of acting as such in the future.

These angakok disciples, however, sometimes retain their power of communing with the spirit world, and thus are able to have

¹⁾ Possibly to be explained by suggestive hallucination.

visions in which they can see what is the matter with a sick person, or give answers to questions laid before them. They can perform their arts in the same way as the *angakut*, or they may have special arts of their own.

Adlagdlak was to become an *angakok*, and had only two years of his novitiate left. But when he was about to perform a drum dance with his *tarajuatsiak*, he found he had something the matter with his feet. In order that he might be cured of his disease he had to confess that he was an *angakok* novice.

He has, however, retained his *tarajuatsiak*, who speaks through him when he performs his arts lying on the platform, covered up with skins, and rotating the drum. His cures and prophecies inspire just as much confidence as those of the *angakut*.

There was only one man at the time who was universally regarded as a really great *angakok*, namely *Avgo* of *Sermiligak*; but, they said, he is now so old that he is no good any longer. When his *tartok* appeared, the whole house began to shake. He could fly to the moon and fetch children, and he had robbed a great number of people of their souls. It is related that once during the performance of his arts he was seized by a bear, who dragged him down to the shore, where a walrus fastened its teeth in him, dragged him out to the horizon, and devoured him there. The skeleton returned and met on its way the pieces of flesh, which little by little grew up around it, and finally the eyes, so that the man returned whole.

This man is the only now surviving *angakok* who has been able to perform such difficult arts. Wise old folks shake their heads over the present-day *angakut* and say they are no good, but can relate marvellous tales of the wondrous skill of the *angakut* in times gone by, as, for instance, that they could recover, after having cut their own throats, by just passing their hand over the gash.¹⁾

The ill-famed *angakok* *Avgo* of whom we have just been speaking came to me and told me of his own accord that he had certainly performed *angakok* arts in his younger days, but that he could not bring the drum to dance of itself and was therefore no real *angakok*. *Sanimuinak*, on the other hand, he said, was able to make the drum dance, and was therefore a far greater *angakok*. *Avgo* said that he could not cure people, much less travel to the moon and fetch down children. He had never seen *Timerseks*, *Tarajuatsiaks*, *Inersuaks* or other spirits, like the other *angakut*. When people said about him that he robbed souls, they lied, for he was just as

¹ Possibly to be explained by suggestion.

powerless in this respect as in the other things. People slandered him and were evilly disposed towards him, because he had no brothers or other near relations.

This confession was made by *Avgo* probably with the object of currying favour with me. As, however, I had never said anything against the *angakut* but only tried to obtain a knowledge of them and their arts, I imagine that it must have been a remark of *HANSERAK* which had imbued him with the idea that he would gratify me in this way. That the others slandered him is sure enough. People dissuaded us from going to *Sermiligak*, where he lived, telling us that he would be sure to kill us. When we went there in spite of their warnings, they said that *Avgo* would be very friendly towards us so long as we were there, but, as soon as we went away, he would rob us of our souls, so that we were bound to die. They urged us therefore to shoot him.

The *angakok's* prophecies are not worth much. I may mention by way of example that the winter before we came to *Angmagsalik*, an *angakok* prophesied that *Ilinguaki* would return from the south together with foreigners. This prophecy was fulfilled, as we did come up with him. Another *angakok* had been commissioned to examine whether a pregnant woman would give birth to a boy or a girl. He heard the child cry in the mothers' womb and could see that it was a boy. It turned out, however, to be a girl. But at a latter performance the *angakok* discovered that the prophecy would have been fulfilled, had not the woman once inadvertently slipped, so that the embryo was cracked.

Although as a general rule the *angakut* perform their arts with their own private profit in view, there are amongst them a few disinterested and honest men. We may mention old *Ilinguaki*, a man of over sixty years of age. He is respected by all about him. A consumptive man told me in spring that *Ilinguaki* had performed arts for him and cured him, so that he now felt much better than he had done in winter. When I asked *Ilinguaki* if he had cured the sick man, he returned an evasive answer and seemed rather embarrassed, as if he were ashamed to admit that people on whose behalf he performed arts, occasionally died. He had also the reputation of being able to go to the Lords of the Winds and procure any wind that might be desired; as to this, he simply said that it might happen that the desired wind came after the performance of the arts.

It is, however, quite possible that both *Ilinguaki's* and *Avgo's* confession of their own incapacity as *angakut* to do good or evil respectively is merely an instance of the extreme diffidence which

the Eskimo always showed in speaking of themselves, a diffidence which though it often comes under the guise of modesty, must nevertheless rather be ascribed to a superstitious fear of speaking of anything which affected themselves, just like their fear of naming their own name. It is therefore quite possible that the angakut really do believe after all in their own power of communing with the spirit world, yet without having any clear notion of the way in which it takes place.

ILISITSUT. — Whereas the angakut commune with the spirit world in the presence of others and as a general rule help rather than harm their fellow creatures, the *ilisitsut* commune with the spirit world in secret and only in order to harm their enemies or society. Whereas the angakut say that they train themselves for their calling by the process of continually rubbing a stone and thus summoning the spirits; the *ilisitsok* must serve a term of discipleship under an elder *ilisitsok*.

They must be alone during their novitiate and they must pay heavily for their training. When an angakok novice has trained for ten years, and has not proclaimed himself an angakok, he has no other course but to become an *ilisitsok*.

The most important art of the *ilisitsut* is to create *tupileks* which will kill the people against whom they are sent. They are made from different animals, such as bears, foxes, ptarmigan, and seals. The *tupilek* must also contain a piece of the anorak, or the hunting spoil, or something else of the man against whom it is to be sent. It is then animated by chanting a magic charm over it. In order that the *tupilek* may grow, the *ilisitsok* makes it suckle himself between his legs. Before doing this he turns his anorak so that he has the back of it in front; then he draws up the hood before his face. He sits on a heap of stones close to where a river discharges itself into the sea and makes the *tupilek* suckle. When the latter has grown big, it glides down into the water and disappears. It is to bring death or misfortune to the man for whom it is destined. If it fails in this object, it turns against its master.

Women can become *ilisitsut* and make *tupileks* as well as men. The procedure in their case is quite similar to that in the case of men.

It is the angakok's business to detect and catch these *tupileks*. They may either be eaten by the angakok's *tornarsuk*, or if the angakok has a hawk for *tartok*, they may be caught by the latter. When people hear the *tupilek* enter the passage-way during the angakok performance and walk to and fro, they are terrified; for if

it happens to touch anyone, that person is bound to die. The angakok usually stabs it to death in the passage, and next morning people can see the stain of blood on the spot where the tupilek was killed. The angakok does not tell the ilisitsok who has made the tupilek that he has killed it, in order not to disconcert him (cf. tale 29).

There are many other ways in which the *ilisitsut* believe themselves to have the power of harming people, for instance, by making snares of dead men's sinews, and fastening one round a knee-cap, and sticking a small human rib on either side of the knee-cap. In this case the ilisitsok does not even need to see the subject of his wrath; he has only to name his name and pull the snare, and the man will die. *Pitiga* took the gall of a dead man and cast it on the spot where a girl had made water, as a punishment for her refusal to lie with him. The girl died a short time after.

When an ilisitsok can do nothing else to an enemy, he takes a lump of blubber from his game, and repairs with it to an ancient grave in which there is a lamp. When he has set the blubber burning in this lamp, the man will no longer be able to hunt.

A certain *ilisitsok* was so eager to make *tupileks*, so ran the story, that when he was out hunting and a young ringed seal dived down and he thought it was away too long, he had not time to wait till it emerged again.¹⁾ When the snow melted away in winter, and large torrents came down the mountain sides, he would put *tupileks* in them and send them after the people against whom he had a grudge. When the people with whom he had a bone to pick were clever hunters, and he had no other way of doing them despite, he would take a piece of flesh from a dead man and place it on their harpoon in the cavity at the front of the foreshaft. The harpoon which had been thus treated was rendered useless for capturing seals.

The *ilisitsut* have a large and miscellaneous assortment of magic arts, most of which are entirely imaginary. They know, however, of a few expedients by which they may sometimes be able to bring about the death of their enemies. e. g. by the use of the flesh of corpses; it is by no means improbable that the Angmagsaliks' custom of casting their dead into the sea is traceable to a dread that the flesh of corpses might be put to evil uses.²⁾

¹⁾ Young seals are foolish and come to the surface quickly.

²⁾ SWAN witnessed an instance of cremation among the Haidah Indians: it was the case of a man who died in a strange land. In reply to his question, one of the Indians said: "If they buried his body in a strange land, their enemies would dig it up and make charms with it to destroy the Haidah tribe" (Swan: The Haidah Indians).

There is nothing to prevent a man being both an *ilisitsok* and an *angakok* at the same time. He can very well be an *ilisitsok* without practising the magic arts; if he does perform them, he runs a serious risk of 'going mad', or as we should express it, of talking wildly in delirium. In this case the patient is bound with his hands and feet stretched out on the platform or on the floor, and is gagged. He gets neither food nor drink, and sometimes heavy stones are laid on his chest. He is left in this position till he dies. This treatment is so deeply engrained in the consciousness of the natives, that it may even be set on foot without an *angakok* being present. The sufferer's torments are often shortened by his being cast into the sea immediately after being bound. The only way in which the patient can escape this treatment, is for him to confess that he is an *ilisitsok* and to name all the crimes, real or imaginary, which he has on his conscience, after which he is debarred from continuing his career as an *ilisitsok*. But if he is an *angakok* as well, there is nothing to prevent him going on with that profession.

The most skilful hunter on the Angmagsalik fjord, *Perkitigsak*, who had gone through the training without openly proclaiming himself as an *angakok*, was the sworn enemy of the *angakut* and lost no opportunity of holding them up to ridicule. When he was afflicted with a boil on his back and afterwards caught fever, *angakut* appeared from all sides to cure him. When the fever got worse they declared that he was in danger of going mad. We have already described the treatment to which he would be subjected in this eventuality. He then had to confess that he was an *ilisitsok* and tell a great deal of absurd nonsense about his having sent out four *tupileks*, who had managed together to kill a score of persons, some of whom were members of his own family¹).

The last *tupilek* he made in spring. He was just about to harpoon a walrus, when someone else anticipated him and caught it. In his anger he made a *tupilek* of walrus skin, fragments of the man's game and many other things. It resembled a walrus wearing women's drawers. He created and made it grow in the usual way, after which he sent it forth to kill the man who had taken the walrus from him. One day after this he saw a walrus at *Ikerasarsuak*, and was just about to harpoon it, when he discovered that it was the *tupilek*. It made for the shore and went

¹) I can fully endorse RINK's opinion in "Supplement til eskimoiske Æventyr og Sagn" page 186: "When illness or death occur unexpectedly, they are always ascribed to witchery, and it is a question whether death in general was not originally accounted for in this way".

on land, where it turned into a human being. Some time after it killed the man against whom it was sent. *Perkitigsak* had moreover collected lichens on stones, bewitched them, and mixed them in the food which his nephew and foster-son were to eat. The boy became emaciated and subsequently died¹).

A water-poultice which we sent *Perkitigsak* caused the boil to open, and the fever left him. His cure was ascribed solely to his confession of the crimes he had committed²). His cousin, our worthy host *Kutuluk*, said to us quite in earnest: "It was a good

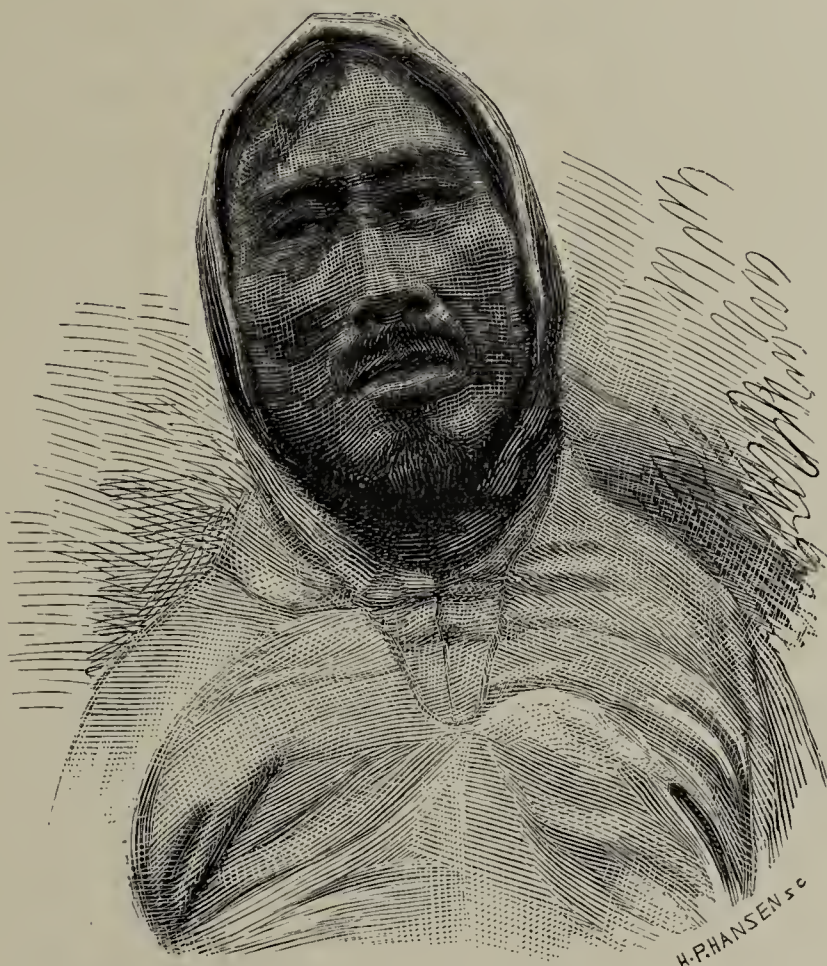


Fig. 41. *Perkitigsak* (Knutsen phot. 1885).

thing that he confessed, else he would have gone mad". However, *Perkitigsak* himself came and brought us a fine skin as a payment for his cure, although we had refused to receive anything for it. The above was confirmed by *Perkitigsak* himself. Later on one of his pupils, *Pitiga*, who was in our confidence, said that *Perkitigsak* had only confessed half of his magic arts, so that he could still carry on his profession of *ilisitsok* to some extent.

When *Sanimuinak*, the angakok of whom we have spoken so much, fell ill, he sent me a message to say that he was on the

¹) *Perkitigsak* had in summer lived in a tent together with his brother; the latter went away, abandoning his son. People said that as *Perkitigsak* thought that his household was large enough without this boy, he put him to death.

²) Similar cases are related by PETITOT about the Indians. (*Traditions Indiennes*, pp. 279 and 435).

point of death, and that I must therefore help him and send him a remedy, no matter what. He had had a fit of raving and had jumped about the floor.

The others, amongst them the master of the house *Kutuluk*, had therefore bound him. When I came to him, he was lying quietly on the sleeping-platform, and said that his head was heavy. There was an unbearable heat in the house; a lamp was burning close to his head on either side; his family and house-inmates were wailing about him. I gave orders that the two nearest lamps were to be extinguished; I had an opening made in the window, made them place something under his head, laid cold poultices on his forehead, and ordered the people to let him lie undisturbed, so that he might have complete repose and quiet. All my orders were complied with. The patient and his family were extremely grateful, and promised that if he recovered, I should have a share in all his game.

As soon as I had gone, the lamps were lit again and the hole in the window was stopped up.

The angakok *Augpalugtok* (see fig. 52) arrived. He threw himself back on the platform, was covered with a skin, performed incantations over the sick man, and saw that his soul had departed. He sat down on the platform by the sick man's side and cross-examined him as to all the evil he had done. *Sanimuinak* answered partly in delirium and behaved quite as if he was mad. Everyone was convinced that he was bound to die, but after *Augpalugtok* had plagued him for some time by trying to worm out all his secrets, they left him in peace, his head began to feel lighter, and he felt better altogether. He had, however, confessed that he was an *ilisitsok* and had killed many persons, among them his foster-daughter's father, with the help of spectres. *Augpalugtok* threw himself back again on the platform and communed with his spirits. He now ascertained that the infamous *Maratuk*, who was *Sanimuinak*'s cousin and former accomplice in a real murder, had robbed his soul. *Augpalugtok* sent off one of his *Tarajuatsiaks* to fetch it, but was obliged to return home himself, before the *Tarajuatsiak* came back with the soul.

On *Sanimuinak*'s recovery a few days later, *Kutuluk* again declared that it was the confession which had brought about his recovery.

VI.

ASTRONOMY AND MYTHOLOGY. — WOODEN MAPS. —
GEOGRAPHICAL CONCEPTIONS. — THE FAR NORTH. —
MYTHICAL COUNTRIES. — NUMERAL SYSTEM. — INTELLEC-
TUAL POWER. — ART AND ORNAMENTS. — TALES. — SONGS.
JUSTICE. — GAMES.

ASTRONOMY AND MYTHOLOGY. — The East Greenlanders divide the year according to the new moons; they take as their starting-point the first new-moon which occurs after *Asít*, i.e. the star α *aquilae* (*Atair*), has been seen for the first time in the morning twilight. In former times their starting-point was the first new-moon after the shortest day, and as in certain places they still keep up the old mode of reckoning, there is some uncertainty with regard to the number of the months. The months are named solely according to their number after the first new-moon¹).

The Angmagsaliks are not only able to tell by the position of the sun when the shortest day has arrived, but they also can foretell its arrival with precision, when they have seen *Asít*'s position in the morning twilight.

Adlagdlak told *Hanserak* on the 19th December that the sun would be at its lowest point two days after, but *Hanserak* replied that this would happen before that, viz., on the very next day. He had seen in the Icelandic almanach that it was the longest day on the 20th June, and he concluded from this that it must be the shortest day on the 20th December. The native however stuck to his opinion.

It was formerly the custom on the shortest day that a skin was taken into the house, prepared, and sewn into a dress for the eldest child, who was to wear it on that day. On this day also a festival with entertainments, drum-dancing and other amusements was held.

The Sun. — Two myths are current to explain why the sun at midnight on the shortest day does not descend lower than to the sea. According to the one myth, this happens because its hinder parts are cut with sharp instruments, and it is therefore so worn

¹) Division by weeks is of course unknown. *HANSERAK* made an almanach of the kind used on the West coast, i.e. made of wood and having seven holes in which a peg is placed for every day in the week. We gave this almanach to *Ilinguaki*, in order that during the winter, when he lived far from us, he might be able to know when it was our Sunday. When we came to *Ilinguaki* next year, we found that he had been using it constantly (fig. 392).

out that only the skeleton is left. It is the lamp of the Sun, which is visible to mortals and gives warmth to the earth.

According to the other myth, when the sun is at its lowest point, it touches a land from which it is shoved up again by a man. When the natives heard that we had been far in the direction of the sun, they asked us whether we had not been in the land to which the sun travelled.

When the sun, after having stood still at its lowest point for five days, rises again, there is great joy among mortals. At first it ascends very rapidly, so that it soon gets so high up that it cannot be reached with a sling; afterwards its progress is slower. Spring begins when the sun rises at the spot where *Asít* takes its rise.

The stars. — As has already been mentioned (p. 85), *Nelarsik* (Vega) serves to indicate the time when it is dark¹).

Jupiter is called the "Mother of the Sun", and the milky-way "*Tukuija*". Other stars that may be mentioned are:

Pisitdlat (lamp-foot) — Charles's wain.

Kilugtut (the barkers) — The Pleiads.

Ugdlagtut — Orion's belt.

*Nelikatek*²) — Aldebaran.

The stars, they say, are as large as a Greenland-seal skin.

The Moon. — The Angmagsaliks are quite aware that it is the moon which causes the tides, and allusions to this are found in several of the tales (30 and 31). During an eclipse of the moon, women who are with child should creep under the platform skin in order that the children may be healthy.

The northern lights have been spoken of above (p. 82).

Thunder. — As to thunder and lightning, it is told that they issue from the side of a man, or that they are produced by two old women rubbing a white skin.

Now that *Nelarsik* has shot one of these women with his bow, it does not thunder so much up there. During a thunder-storm people put dried seal blood in their mouth, in order that their lower jaws may not go out of joint, when they fall down again after the thunder has lifted them up in the air.

The Earth. — "The first earth that was created", the Angmagsaliks say, "had neither sea nor mountains, but was quite flat and smooth. As He above was not pleased with the men on it, he destroyed the earth. The earth was split and cracked, and the

¹) *Nalerak* 'a landmark' (Kleinschmidt: Greenlandic Dictionary, p. 227).

²) The Point Barrow Eskimo call the moon: *Nellukatsia Tadmak* (Simpson, p. 272).

mortals fell into the fissures and became *Inersuaks* (see pp. 82—83), and the water came streaming from all sides. When the earth was re-created, it was completely covered with ice. The ice gradually melted away, and two mortals fell down from the sky, whose descendants populated the earth. Year by year the ice can be seen disappearing. In many places traces are still to be found from the time when the sea covered the mountains”.

A similar legend was also current on the West coast in the time of the Egedes.

WOODEN MAPS. — The way in which the natives illustrate their country is by carving it out in wood. This method has the advantage that not only the contours of the country, but also its appearance and the reliefs of the mountains can be to some extent reproduced.

The wooden map (fig. 390) which we brought home with us represents the stretch of country between *Kangerdluarsikajik*, east of *Sermiligak*, and *Sieralik*, north of *Kangerdlugsuatsiak*.

The mainland is continued from one side of the block of wood to the other, while the islands are disposed on the accompanying stick without any regard to the distance between them.

All the places where there are old ruins of houses (which form excellent places for beaching the boat) are marked on the wood map; the map likewise indicates where a kaiak can be carried over between the bottom of two fjords, when the way round the naze between the fjords is blocked by the sea-ice.

By manipulating the stick so that the islands appear in their right position to the mainland, the traveller is enabled by means of this map to inform others of the route he has taken.

The other wood map, which was made to order, represents the peninsula between *Sermiligak* and *Kangerdluarsikajik*.

GEOGRAPHICAL CONCEPTIONS. — Like other Eskimo tribes, the Angmagsaliks know their native place and its vicinity in and out. They have an extraordinarily strong sense of locality, being able to give an accurate description, and even draw up a map, of districts they have visited only once many years ago.

And moreover they can also understand maps which have been drawn up by others and they can supplement and interpret them! As an instance of their interest in maps, I may mention that people have come to me either to see the maps I had drawn up or the maps drawn by their fellow-countrymen, in order to make contributions of their own or to correct errors which they had heard were to be found in them.

In their descriptions of districts they have visited, they are able to point out exactly the good things which specially belong to each separate place; thus in one place there are many narwhals, in another many bears, harbour seals, gulls or even sea-weed. Similarly, they are able to indicate the exact position of the sun at certain times of the day and seasons of the year, and to calculate how long it will take to go from one place to another, if they meet no obstacles on the way. The different statements of distances both northwards towards *Kialinek* and southwards towards *Umivik* harmonise completely. All the statements we have been in a position to control were absolutely accurate.

As regards their maps I need only mention that many of the natives are inclined to magnify the scale according as they approach the places they know best, which is indeed only natural, as otherwise they would not have room for all the details. The drawing of sketch-maps was, of course, a novelty to them.

"Greenland is an island", the Angmagsaliks say. A man from Angmagsalik, by name *Ujartek* (circumnavigator of the land), travelled in old days round the whole land in an umiak (see tale no. 5). In the story of his travels mention is made of a point called "*Nuna isua*" i. e. the extreme point of the land. This is the boundary of the land which is known from Angmagsalik, and, according to the description must be situated about $68\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ latitude N.

The accounts of the Angmagsaliks of the country up to that point and their drawings, from which I have sketched and described this unknown stretch of coast (between 66 and $68\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ latitude N.) are spoken of in the geographical description of the country¹⁾, so that a brief account is all that will be necessary here.

I shall first give an instance showing what accurate accounts I have received from the Angmagsaliks, how I have been able to determine the position of the different places from these accounts, and how far I have been able to control them.

¹⁾ From the Angmagsaliks' descriptions and drawings of this unknown stretch of coast (see "Meddelelser om Grønland" IX, page 217 and Plate XV), which I had personally never explored, I drew a sketch-map, which is reproduced in Plate XVII in "Meddelelser om Grønland" IX.

Captain AMDRUP afterwards (1899-1900) reached this coast, and his work furnishes a valuable confirmation of the Eskimo's highly developed geographical sense. He states in "Medd. om Grønland" XXVII p. 264, that it is amazing to see in how many points the sketch-map in question corresponds with the reality, and he points out that the position of several places and islands is given so exactly, that they lie either at the latitude given in the sketch-map or very close to it.

From one of the winter places, called *Itivsalik*, it is told that the sun is seen on the shortest day just above the horizon, whereas for some time — at least five days — in summer, it is seen constantly in the sky. As refraction raises the sun at the horizon a whole diameter, the centre of the sun accordingly lies half a diameter below the horizon, and thus the latitude of the place must be $66^{\circ}48'$, or possibly a little less, as the sun is perhaps just a trifle above the horizon.

A day's journey north of this spot, they say, there lies an ice-covered island, called *Aputitek*. From Angmagsalik to Aputitek is just as far as from Angmagsalik to Umivik in a southerly direction, or according to other versions, to a spot lying midway between Umivik and Igdloluarsuk. If we take the mean between these two statements and lay out this distance on the map to the north, Aputitek will be found to be situated about latitude $67^{\circ}15'$. From Sermiligak to Aputitek is, according to the accounts of one traveller, four long day's journeys, — longer than the day's journey from Angmagsalik to Sermiligak — according to other accounts five day's journeys.

If we measure on the map the distance between Sermiligak and the point which we reached by laying out the above stated distance from Angmagsalik to the North, we see that with five day's journeys a single day's journey will be 22 miles, while with four day's journeys it will be 27 miles, thus of the same length as the day's journey between Angmagsalik and Sermiligak, and about the length of good day's journeys we have actually made along the coast together with the natives, and which, by talking to them about the distances on the known part of the coast, we found to answer to their own notion of good day's journeys.

By measuring the distance between the two fixed points, viz. from Aputitek (determined by distance and controlled by day's journeys) to Itivsalik (determined by the sun) we see that the distance is 28 miles, or in other words a good day's journey, which is the distance which, as we have already seen, was to be found between the two places according to the accounts of the natives.

THE FAR NORTH. — The district between *Aputitek* and *Itivsalik* is generally comprised under the designation of "*Kialinek*". It is this district which the Angmagsaliks have most frequently visited and overwintered in.

Three day's journeys north from Aputitek we come to an island which likewise bears the name of *Aputitek*, situated at about

68°¹⁾ lat. N., and northwards from it the ice-fjord of *Kangerdlugsuak* runs inland.

On the other side of the ice-fjord the coast falls away towards the East. Only a few of the natives have been to the northernmost Aputitek and no living person has ever passed the vast ice-fjord of Kangerdlugsuak.

Ten years before our arrival some of the natives travelled north in the beginning of summer, after the sun had reached its highest point. When they came to the northernmost part of Kialinek, they remained there to hunt narwhals at *Nualik* and *Aputitek*; but they returned the very same summer to overwinter at Angmagsalik.

If we except the ice-fjord of Ikersuak, there are places for overwintering on all the fjords as far as southern Aputitek, while on the northerly stretch of country people overwinter on the islands of *Patuterajuit* and northern *Aputitek*. The people who once lived on the coast in question lived more by narwhal and bear hunting than by seal hunting, 'for narwhals and bears could be hunted the whole year round'. The most common kind of seal was the Greenland seal, which were found in large numbers. In former times people frequently travelled from the Angmagsalik district to Kialinek; but as they suffered from famine for several winters and many died of starvation, this coast has not been inhabited in recent years. In older times there was always plenty of game both in the Kialinek district and Patuterajuit. There were many people up there in those days, and it is related that the descendants of the people who had travelled thither crossed the vast ice-fjord of Kangerdlugsuak and passed on further north.

A man who is still alive told me that his father once drove in a sledge from northern Aputitek to the district round *Kangerdlugsuak*. Here he found a house which had just been deserted by its inmates, who had driven away in sledges. It could be seen from the sledge-tracks that they have gone northwards. They lay down to sleep in the house, but as he was stabbed in the leg with a knife while he was asleep, he returned as fast he could to Aputitek, without seeing anything of the inhabitants. Nothing has ever been heard since of the people up in the north.

From the northernmost point which has been visited, viz. northern Aputitek, it is possible on a clear day, just to catch a glimpse of the tongue of land on the north side of Kangerdlugsuak,

¹⁾ According to AMDRUP we now know that the latitude is 67°47'8 (Medd. om Grønland XXVII, p. 270.)

which is called *Kernerarsuit* or *Nuna isua* 'the extreme point of the land'. When it is calm, the land looks like a sea ruffled by the wind, but when there is a mirage, the land can be seen quite distinctly.

Out of the mass of detailed information I have received as to this stretch of coast, I shall only mention the following:

The Kangerdlugsuatsiak fjord, like Sermiligak, never freezes over; for the current keeps large parts of it open, and in these the seals have their haunts. *Kunak's* father caught here an "*isarukitek*", which he described as a very big bird with rather small wings, so that it could not fly, but when it was pursued dived down into the water, and it could keep below water as long as a Greenland seal.

The *Nigertusok* fjord has received its name from the circumstance that the north-easterly wind, called *nigek* or *nerrajak*, blows very violently there. The violence of the wind may be so great that stones a cubic foot in size can be blown along the ground. The last people who lived there froze to death, because the whole roof of their house was carried away by a north-easterly gale.

The *Tugtulik* fjord has its name from reindeer, which are said to have been plentiful in those parts in former days. People indeed can tell that fresh excrements of those animals have been seen there. Within the fjord there is an inland lake in which there are salmon of such a size that they have to be caught by means of seal-hunting implements. It is told that they are just as large as sharks, and that a dog can satisfy his hunger on the stomach of a salmon. The narrator had, however, not seen them himself. It is told that in this district there is a bear-trap which was constructed by the legendary hero of the Angmagsaliks, *Kagsagsik*.

In the district round about Kialinek there are said to be large quantities of narwhals, so much so, that on one day three kaiaks came home each with its narwhal. The fjord is so long that the narwhals that enter the fjord on one day do not emerge it before the following day. The usual wintering-place in this district is the above-mentioned peninsula *Itivsalik*.

One day's journey north from Itivsalik we come to the *Aputitek* fjord with the wintering-place called *Nualik*, a name which is also sometimes given to the fjord itself. Outside of it lies the already mentioned ice-covered island, southern Aputitek, which has been the usual goal of the journeys of the Angmagsaliks.

The inland ice goes northwards from this place right out to sea, and is rarely broken by small bits of land. At about $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ latitude, the ice for a stretch of at least twenty miles goes every-

where out to sea, except that a narrow tongue of land forms a *nunatak* on the northern part of the glacier. One day's journey north of this large glacier lies the northernmost place which has been visited by the Angmagsaliks, namely the island of Northern *Aputitek*, where the sun never sets in summer, but is seen night and day in its progress round the sky. From Sermiligak there are seven day's journeys to this spot. Going still further north we come at last to the *Kangerdlugsuak* ice-fjord, 16 miles in breadth, in the inner end of which there is a vast glacier which is perpetually filling the fjord with great ice-bergs. In this fjord there are so many narwhals 'that there is a smell of vomiting'.

MYTHIC COUNTRIES. — The legendary land of *Akilinek* has already been mentioned (p. 84). It is said that if one climbs the mountains on a clear day, the clouds hanging over the mountains at *Akilinek* can be distinctly seen. When they heard that I had been there, they enquired whether I had seen the one-eyed people that dwelt in those parts, and they also asked us whether we had visited the land to the north, 'where people get bald'.

Finally they spoke of a land called *Tinidarfimiut*, which lies just opposite Angmagsalik on the other side of Greenland. There the tides for a long stretch of coast recede very far, forming small lagoons in which seals are left and can then be easily caught.

NUMERAL SYSTEM. — Like the other Eskimo, the Angmagsaliks use the five-system and always count on their fingers. By the aid of their toes, however, they are able to count up to twenty, but they have no words for the higher numbers. Though they are thus unable to conceive a high number, they have a remarkable memory. Thus, for instance, when we asked *Utuak* how old his son was he reckoned up where he had lived in all the winters and intervening summers that had past since the birth of his son thirteen years ago. When he repeated the enumeration without connecting it with figures, it turned out that he reached the same result.

INTELLECTUAL POWER. — The Angmagsaliks are very quick-witted. They knew well how to use the things that fell into their possession, as for instance things which were washed up by the sea. I may mention as an instance in point that they used the bolt-sockets on a large brass mounting which was fixed to a boat which had been found crushed in the ice the year before, as ferrules to keep the iron heads of bird-darts in place. They thoroughly understood how to use and economise iron. Small fragments that could not be used

for knife-blades were riveted to other bits of iron for the purpose of being furnished with a handle. On the other hand they did not know how to make iron malleable by means of heat. Amongst other things which were washed up by the sea at Angmagsalik, I shall only mention a bamboo cane from which they made neat and prettily decorated cups. The people very quickly learnt to turn to good account things, such as tin, lead and white iron, which our arrival brought for the first time into their possession.

The natives did not show so much astonishment as might naturally have been expected, over the inventions of civilisation which we brought with us.

When we showed and explained to them the watch, the compass, the barometer, they seemed comparatively indifferent; but, on the other hand, such things as a match threw them into the greatest amazement. The explanation may be found in the fact that they did not understand the use of the instruments just mentioned, while they were immediately struck by the superiority of the match to their own apparatus.

They grasped very quickly and showed great interest in all we showed and told them. Thus, for instance, when we showed them a map of the coasts where they had been themselves, they grasped it immediately and were eager to show and explain it to others. It has already been mentioned that they grasped the process of map-making so thoroughly that they were able themselves to draw excellent maps for us. They were deeply interested in the pictures we showed them, and in most cases understood them at once. When they saw drawings of the animals of their country they immediately recognized them.

As an instance of the cleverness of this people, I may mention that, besides providing us with excellent models of umiaks, kaiaks, sledges, hunting implements etc., they even brought us large models of water-vessels, one of which was furnished with a suction pipe. The man who had made the latter told us that, as he was aware that we could not well carry a large water-vessel about with us, he had made a smaller one, yet large enough to allow of its being fitted with the suction apparatus.

This man's name was *Ukutiak* (fig. 40). He was a very smart lively fellow, with intelligent and expressive eyes. Immediately after our arrival at Angmagsalik in summer, he made a journey in order to see us and, as he said himself, to find out what manner of people we were. He had a trick, when he was pondering over anything, of knitting his brows. Though the natives seldom give anything away without receiving something in return, and are hence slow to ask for

gifts themselves, *Ukutiak* came and begged us for several things he wanted, without having the means to pay us. By dint of questioning, I managed to elicit from him the information that the reason why unlike the others, he asked for gifts, was because 'he did not like to do as they did and steal from me when he had not the wherewithal to pay me'.

The following will serve as another example of their cleverness: — *Alusagak* was not quite satisfied with the form of the knives which we brought with us for bartering, and so one day he came to us with a bone model of a knife in natural size. As he gave it me, he said that when *Kavdlunaks* came up there again, they should bring knives with the form represented by the model. Scissors were unknown to the natives before our arrival, but they were not slow to realise their use. Desiring to obtain possession of one of our scissors, a man carved an excellent pair of scissors in bone, and brought it to us to have it exchanged for a pair of scissors made of iron; he did this because the natives were accustomed to my giving them, in exchange for their knives, tools and clothes etc., similar things of European make.

When HANSERAK held divine service, the natives generally listened in mute astonishment, and many of them could be seen with their eyes opened wide with wonder; but I do not believe that they understood a word of it, at any rate not at first, when the West-Greenlandic language was quite strange to them. An old man who had been following Hanserak's address with the greatest interest and attention, complacently informed us, in reply to our question, that he understood 'some of the words'. There were, however, several old men who were always very eager to hear Hanserak preach. But when he spoke to them personally, they one and all tried to get at the meaning of his words by dint of perpetual questions.

They were no doubt often quite sincere when they assured him that they were eager to hear about God and be baptized, but that the way to the West coast was too long for them.

They earnestly entreated therefore that teachers might be sent to them up there, just as our Expedition had come. Of course it was often the prospect of obtaining tobacco that formed the underlying motive for this request.

The following little incident from HANSERAK's diary deserves to be quoted, as being rather characteristic: — An angakok with whom HANSERAK had earnestly pleaded, declared that he realized his ignorance, believed in our Lord, and had a great desire to be baptized. When Hanserak impressed upon him that, if he believed, he must leave off heathen practices and angakok arts, the heathen

replied: "Now that I am so accustomed to this life, I cannot leave it off". HANSERAK told him that if he did not leave off, he was no believer, for a believer must give up all wrong habits. To this the heathen answered: "Well, by-and-by when I get to understand you a little better, I hope I shall be able to give them up".

ART AND ORNAMENTS. — The Angmagsaliks are a very artistic people. As formerly they were not acquainted with drawing, engraving, and painting, their artistic ideas are always represented in carving.

Their dolls and models of animals show a keen perception, prominence being given to essential characteristics. Their dolls have only the body and the shape of the head elaborated. Those that are meant to represent women are made with a wide top-knot. The face is seldom elaborated, the arms are left out entirely, while the legs are made dispro-

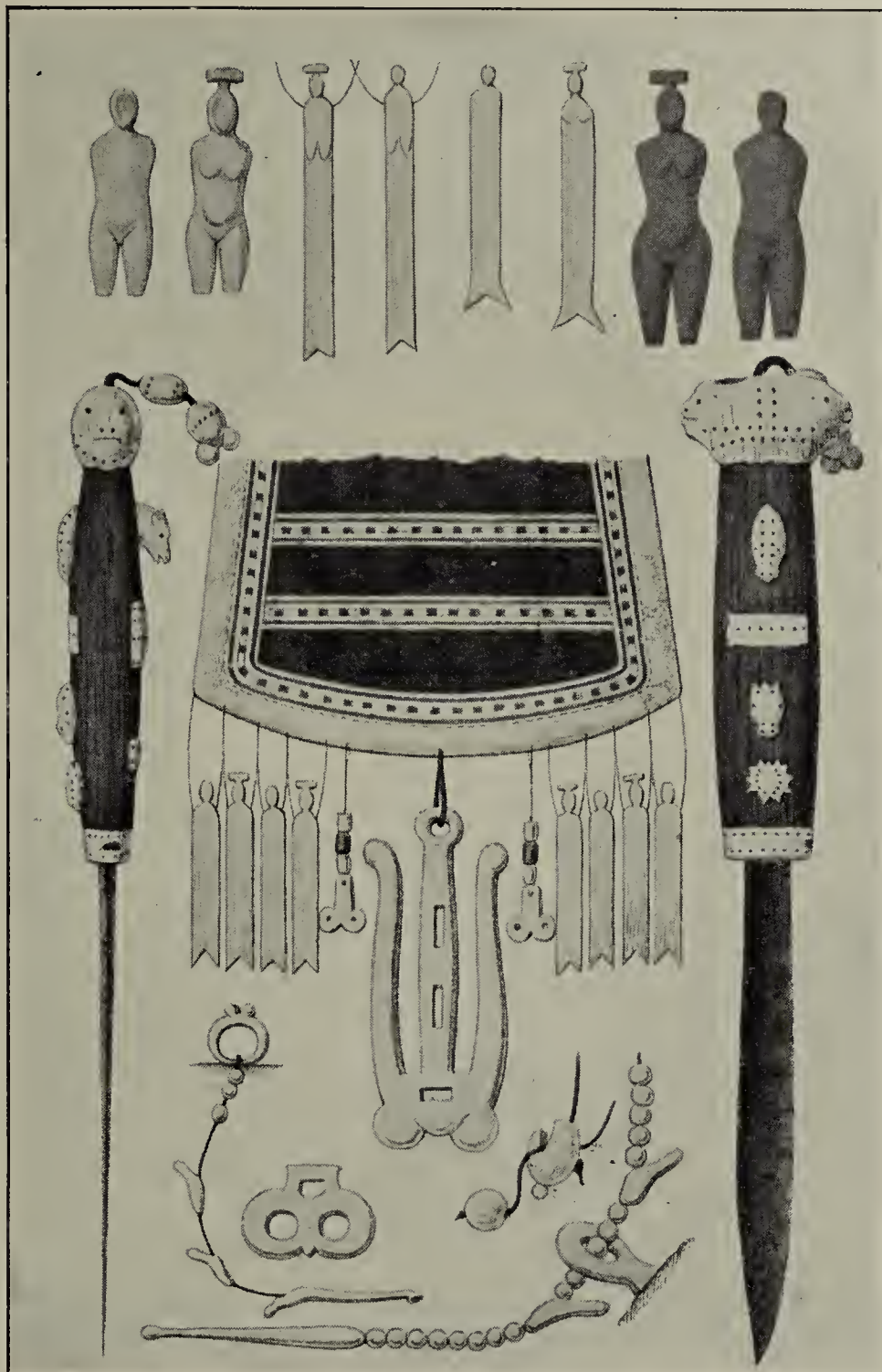


Fig. 42. Ornamental art. Conventional human figures. (From "Meddelelser om Grønland" vol. X, Pl. XXVIII.)

portionately heavy, in order that the dolls may be able to stand. There are certain cases, however, in which the arms are carved, e. g. in fig. 44, "A Bear-hunt", consisting of eight figures, viz., three men, one boy, and three bears, one of the latter having a seal in its mouth.

Human figures are often carved in conventional forms, and are used as a kind of fringe to decorate needle-guards (fig. 42). When intended for this purpose, the dolls as a rule have only the head elaborated, while the body is made very long, a little notch at the

lower end representing the legs. This shape of the human figure is probably derived from the custom of using carved human figures in amulet straps.

Similar considerations will often be found to have prevailed in the case of their carved animals, but the characteristic feature

of each particular kind of animal is represented in such a manner that it can be recognized immediately (fig. 44). By way of example, I may mention the distinguishing marks of the different kinds of seals: — The Greenland seal is represented with a long neck and a narrow head; the bearded seal is made broad with a little round head; the crested seal narrow with a large hood on top of its head; the fjord seal broad with a short broad head; finally the harbour seal is marked by a little pointed snout.

Bears, white whales, narwhals, walruses, and birds are represented in a very life-like manner.



Fig. 43. Ornamental art. Conventional animal figures.
(From "Meddelelser om Grønland" vol. X, Pl. XXIX.)

As examples of these carvings may be named a human head on a drum-handle (fig. 362), and a bear's head on a knife (fig. 42) excellently carved in ivory, further a so-called angakok-bear (fig. 45), recognisable by its thick neck and thin body, and a block of wood with carved faces on all sides, the faces being said to represent *Inersuaks* (fig. 45). Both this block of wood and the angakok bear are carved as toys.

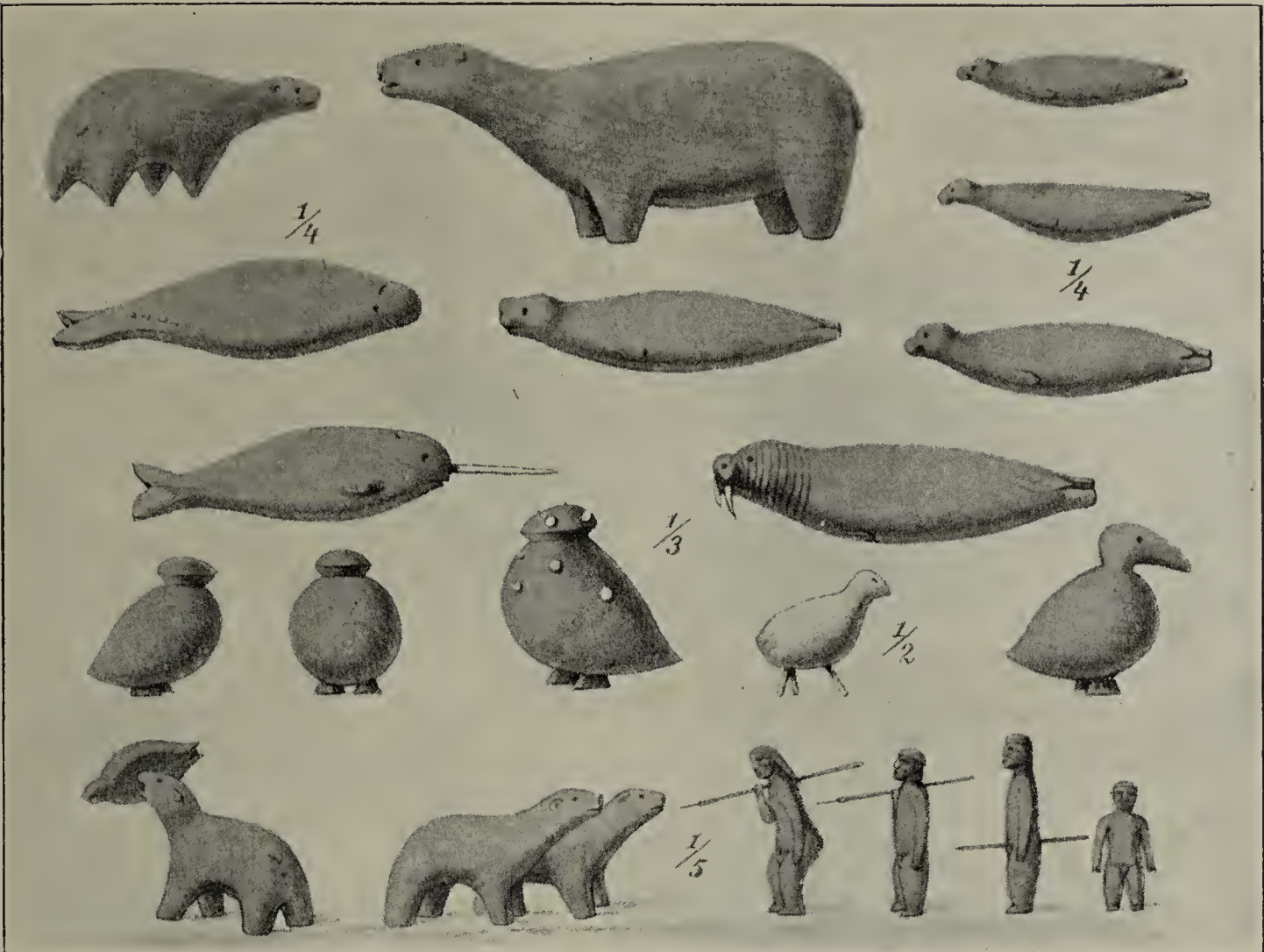


Fig. 44. Animals carved in wood or ivory. Playthings.
 ("From Meddelelser om Grønland" X, Pl. XXVII.)

On all kinds of different objects there is a plain ornament, very common, which, according to the natives, is meant to represent a seal (fig. 43). Thus, for instance, the man who sold me the drying-frame represented in fig. 260 a, informed me that the notches at its extremities were meant to represent seals.

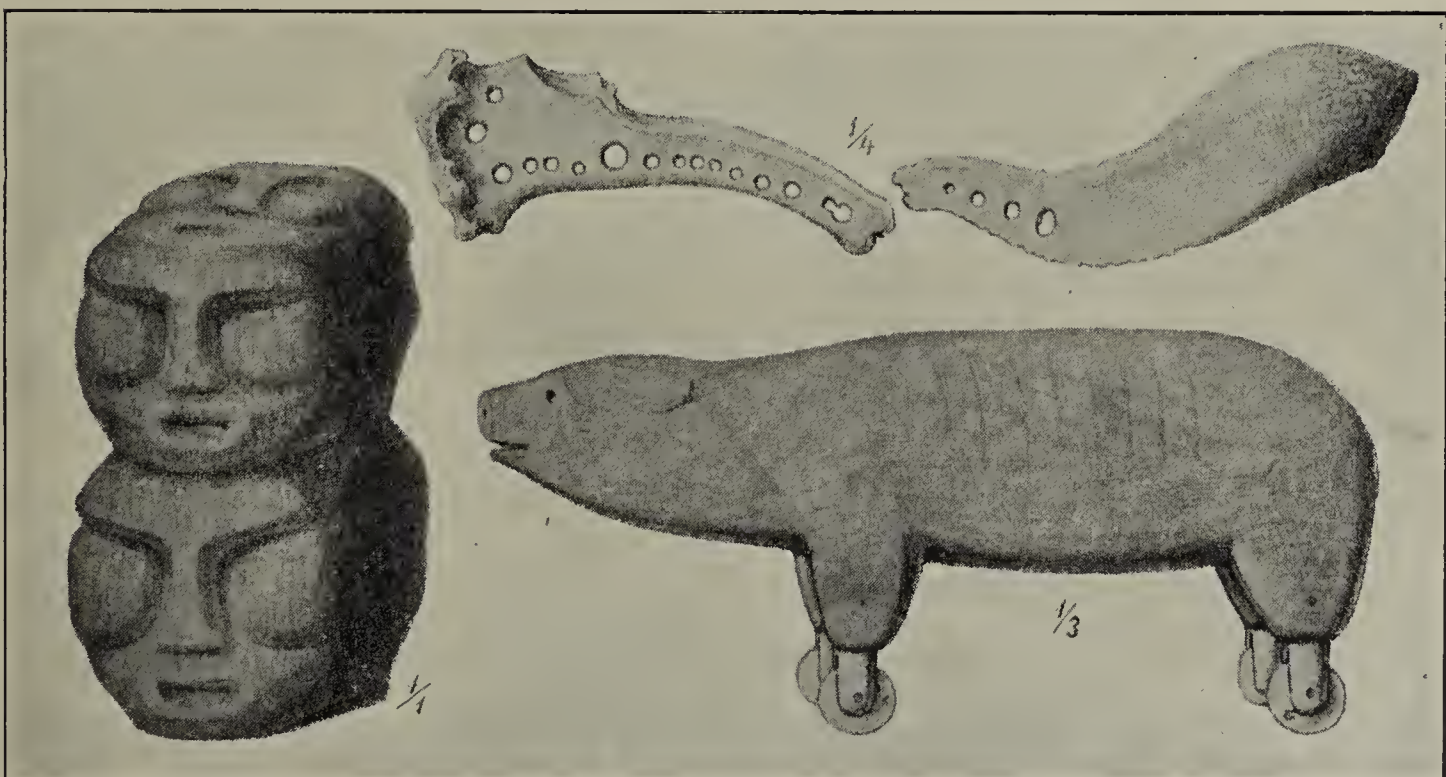


Fig. 45. *Inersuak* faces and *angakok* bear, carved in wood (and two bones for smoothing rawhide thongs). (From "Meddelelser om Grønland" X, Pl. XXVI).

An examination of the figures in fig. 43, which show the process of transition, will reveal the way in which the ornament has arisen: how a realistic representation of the body of the seal merges little by little into conventional forms, and how this conventional tailing-off of the hinder body of the seal is to be met with again and again on implements of all kinds; thus the hinder body of the seal develops into a tripartite figure, as on the ivory knobs of the harpoon shaft (*g* and *h*). This figure then represents the seal's hind-paws with the tail between. Indeed it can even be traced in the ornament on the harpoon wings (or feathers, *m*). The transition figures point not only to the tripartite figure, but also to a dipartite one, which is perhaps sometimes intended to represent the whale's tail. The dipartition occurs very frequently in the implements of the natives, thus, for instance, in the boot-sole creaser (*c*), the buttons on the line-board, (*d*), earrings (*e*) and the handle of a knife (*i*). All these ornaments are thus purely conventional forms representing the hinder body of a seal. The hinder body of the seal will likewise be encountered in many other figures, as, for instance, on the handles and wooden parts of all kinds of thongs, on implements for twisting sinew-thread, on combs, buckles, holders of thimbles and sinew-thread, and in all probability the tripartite and dipartite division which is practically invariably found on the native implements, is to be regarded as the last link in the chain which, beginning with the natural representation of seals, merges into conventional forms¹).

Another form which the art of this people assumes are the ornaments which are carved in the shape of low-relief figures of ivory and bone, and are fastened by means of bone nails on to hunting implements (especially throwing-sticks), eye-shades, and cooper's work. On some objects fully carved seals, narwhals, white whales, bears, birds, fishes, men and kaiaks are to be found. (See the drinking vessels fig. 281 and the brim fig. 46 no. 1). By far the greater number of figures, however, are seals. The figures on water-tubs, eye-shades, and brims show that the oval ornaments of most frequent occurrence have been derived from the form of the seal.

¹) Attention is drawn to HJALMAR STOLPE: "Studier öfver Amerikansk Ornamentik", Stockholm 1896. Stolpe devotes some time to the ornamental art of the Angmagsalik Eskimo, and concludes with these words: "The ornamentation of the Angmagsalik Eskimo thus deals with the raw material which is simplest and nearest to hand, and it does not advance far in the development of it. As it might be expected, it draws from a merely biomorph source, but has not succeeded in passing beyond the very first stages of development. But it is just this feature which makes it so highly instructive. It gives an excellent picture of the childhood of the ornamental art".

On comparing the two water-tubs fig. 47, it will be seen that the ornaments in no. 1 are two seals over one another, while the corresponding ones in no. 2 are two continuous ovals. Non-continuous ovals are seen above the eye-shade no. 4 and between the other ornaments on the eye-shade no. 3. If we compare the two brims (fig. 46), it will be seen that just as seals form a border round the brim no. 1, an ornament of continuous ovals is formed round the border of the brim no. 2. On the brim no. 1 we see in many places pairs of seals with their snouts touching, and thereby forming an ornament like the two ovals on the water-tub fig. 47 no. 2, and like the ovals of unequal size on the eye-shade fig. 46 no. 3. On the eye-shade fig. 47 no. 4 the ornament is composed of three ovals, and in other ornaments of even more. How universal this oval ornament is can be seen on the eye-shade fig. 47 no. 5, where the space between the pieces of bone fastened onto it forms ovals; it may be, however, that this is merely a coincidence.



Fig. 46. Ornaments on brims, eye-shades, and a vessel (from Plate XXXVI in "Meddelelser om Grønland" X).

Among relief ornaments there occur occasionally effigies of certain mythical figures (figs. 48 and 49). On the throwing-stick fig. 48 several of these figures are seen; these occur not merely in the bottom row, but also higher up on the wood. The natives told us that they were meant to represent *tornarsuks* (p. 83),

and the two low figures in the bottom-most row but one represent *aperketeks*, which, according to the description, are furnished with claws. On the line-board fig. 49 the figures in the top and bottom rows are meant to represent tornarsuks, as likewise the three lowest figures on the model of the throwing-stick. These figures are,

however, certainly quite conventional.

The hinder part of the body of a tornarsuk is described as resembling that of a seal, and is also found depicted as the tripartite or bipartite ornament which represent the hinder body of the seal. The same tripartite ornament is seen higher up on the line-board on either side of a male figure. Similarly on the little drinking vessel fig. 281 b there occur several mythical figures, the lower part of which represent the conventional hinder body of the seal.

On the wooden brims and on top of the eye-shade no. 5 (fig. 46) there is an

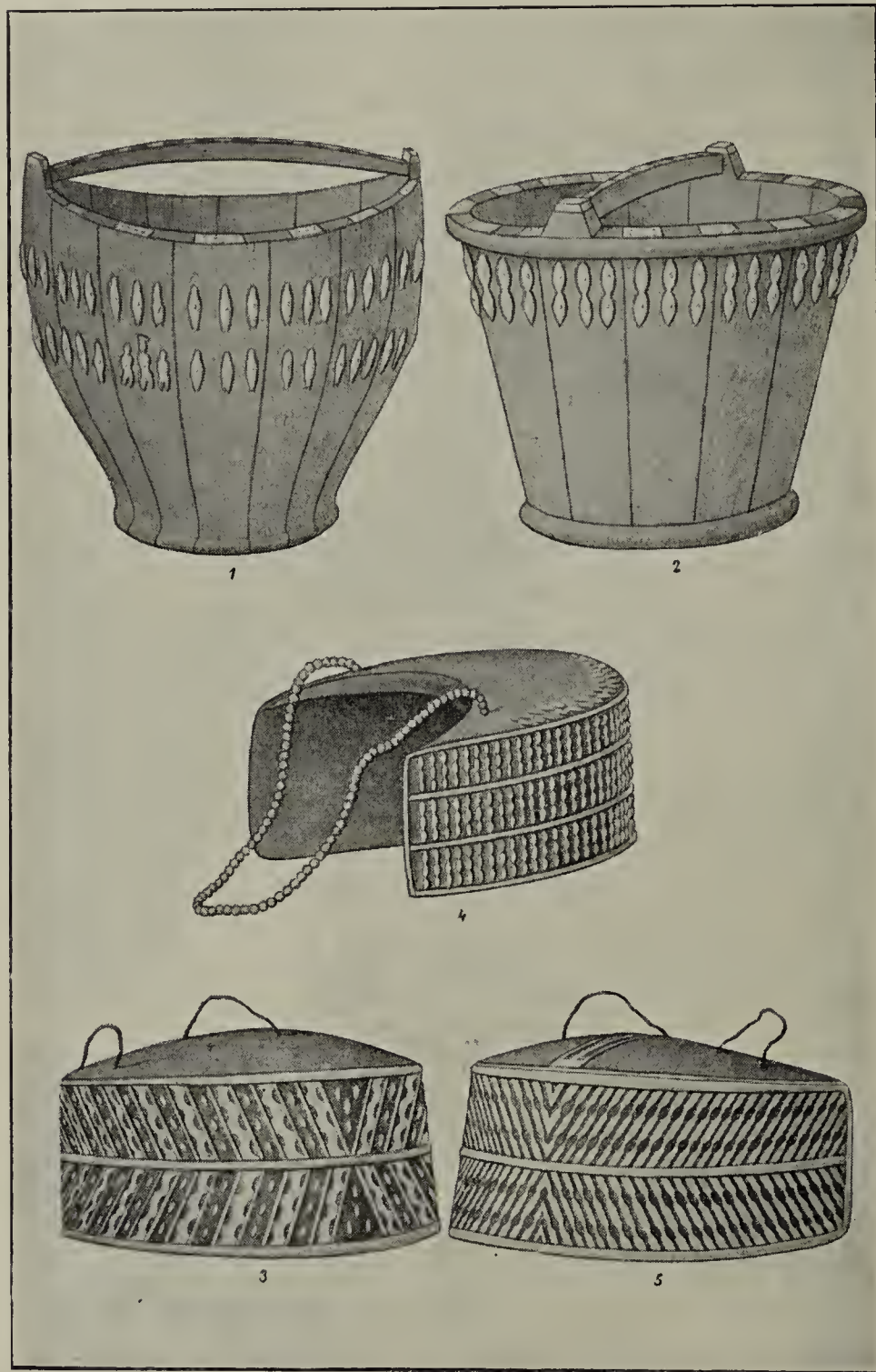


Fig. 47. Oval relief ornaments (from Plate XXXV in "Meddelelser om Grønland" X).

ornament consisting of two round figures, carved in bone and nailed on to the wood; similar ornaments are also found embroidered on the skin brims figs. 51 and 315, being cut out of white skin and sewed on to the dark skin. Presumably these eyes which are found on brims and shades have some symbolical meaning¹).

¹) On two oars from Port Clarence there occur similar ornaments (Nordenskiöld: "Studier och forskningar" pag. 346).

The patterns of the Angmagsaliks as a rule consist of geometrical figures, formed of short and long stripes, wavy lines and concentric circles; men place the figures, carved in bone, on their eye-shades and brims, and women fix them on their embroideries. There are, however, other embroideries the patterns of which do not seem to have any meaning.

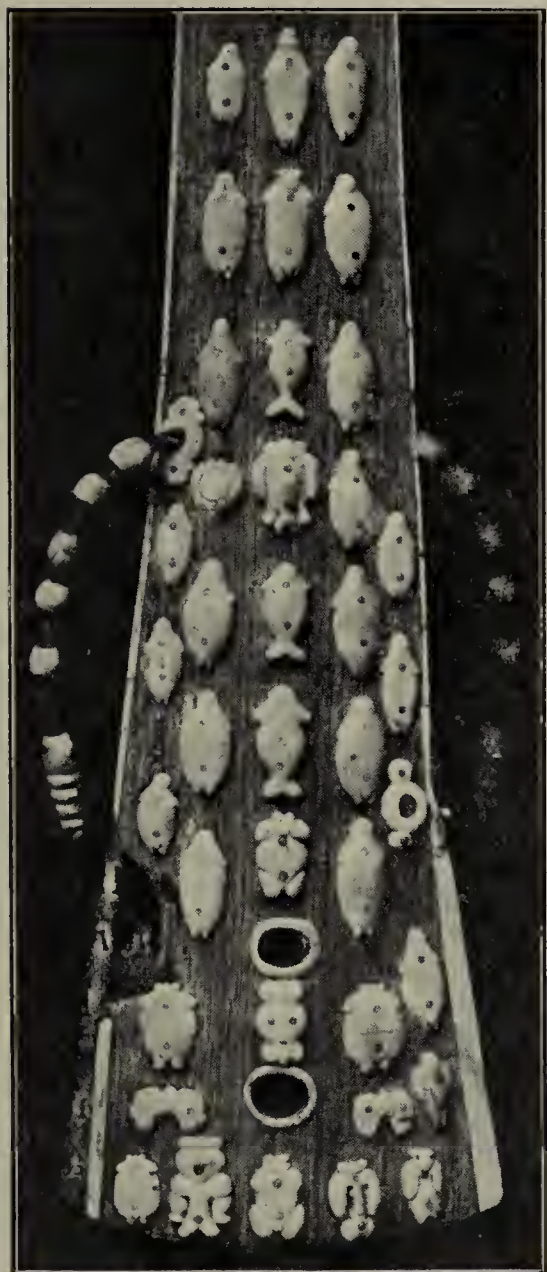


Fig 48. Relief-work on a throwing-stick. ("Meddelelser om Grønland" X, Pl. XXXII.)

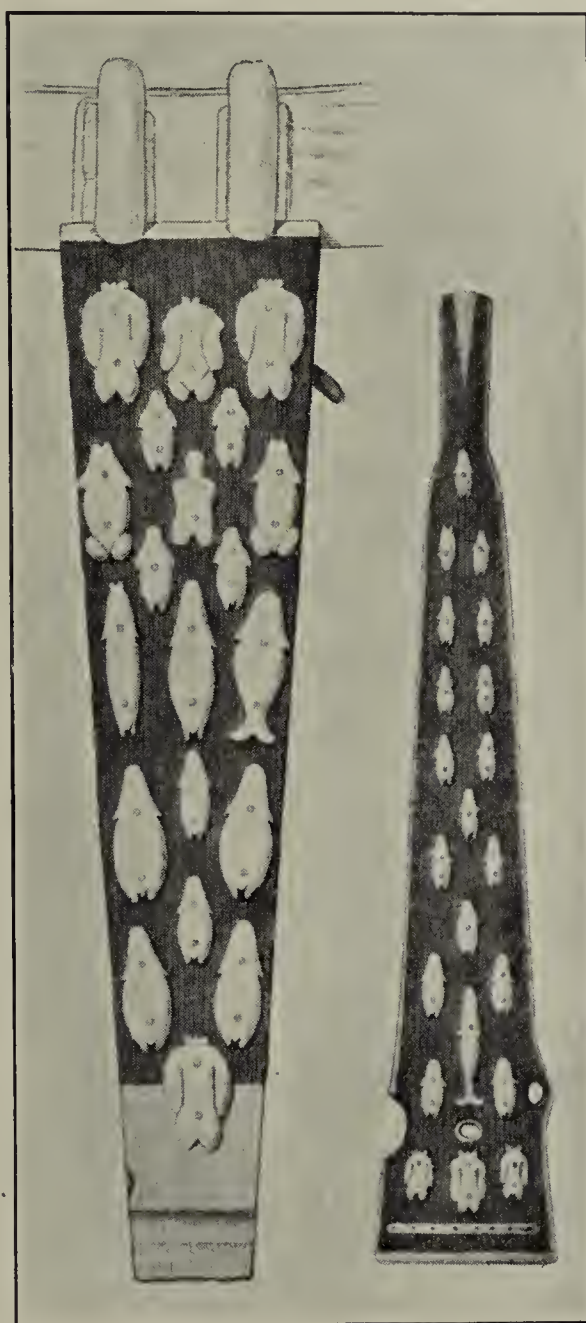


Fig. 49. Relief-work on wooden objects. ("Meddelelser om Grønland" X, Pl. XXXIII.)

The embroideries consist as a rule of narrow strips of skin which are sewn with sinew-thread to skin of another colour (fig. 51). As the Angmagsaliks do not possess any colouring matter wherewith to dye skins, the only colours which they can use in embroideries are the two colours, viz. brown and white, in which the skin can be dressed. The embroidery of rectilinear and wavy strips of skin is often executed with great accuracy and artistic skill. Now and then, human figures can be seen on the embroideries (fig. 50).

These occur in pairs (the women are recognisable by their top-knots) and are provided with arms, which is not the case with the figures carved in wood, bone or ivory. In the needle-guard fig. 50 we see kaiaks and umiaks. In the kaiak three salient points at once catch our eye, viz., the man in the middle with the line-board

and the float, the one in front of him, and the other behind him.

Geometrical figures consisting of dots and dashes are also used in tattooing on women's breasts, arms, and legs (figs. 28, 29).

As we might naturally suppose, the craftsmen execute with their own hand the ornaments on the objects they have made; moreover — with the exception of the conventional seals and *tornarsuks* — they always produce something original, yet without departing to any great extent from the current type. Boys and girls of the age of from thirteen to fifteen are able to perform this work.

The collection we have brought home with us contains both nicely worked embroideries and carved objects made by children of that age.

If we compare the art of the Angmagsaliks with that of the West Greenlanders, we shall see that the latter are far inferior to the former. In the embroidery patterns on the West coast only straight-lined figures are found, and variation in the patterns is mainly brought about by means of different colours. On the East coast, on the other hand, where the two natural colours of the skin are



Fig. 50. Embroidered ornaments on a bag, a needle-guard and a piece of gut-skin (from Plate XXXVIII in "Meddelelser om Grønland" X).



Fig. 51. Ornamental art. Geometrical figures sewn upon skin.
 (From "Meddelelser om Grønland" vol. X, Pl. XXXIX.)

the only ones at their disposal, the concentric circles and wavy lines bring about a great deal of variation in the figures.

Amongst those objects found in graves which are in the possession of ethnographical museums, there is practically nothing to indicate that the West Greenlanders in former times possessed an art like that of the Easterners.

If, on the other hand, we go to the Western Eskimo at Point Barrow and on the Behring strait or to the Indian tribes along the North-West coast of America, we will find an art which is on level with that of the Angmagsaliks. In speaking of the artistic sense of the Nutka Indians Cook writes¹⁾: "To their taste and design in working figures upon their garments, corresponds their fondness of carving, in everything they make of wood. Nothing is without a kind of frieze-work, or the figure of some animal upon it ... small whole human figures, representations of birds, fish and land and sea animals, models of their household utensils and of their canoes, were found among them in great abundance".

The Western Eskimo are fond of placing figures of animals everywhere where they can find a suitable place for them. From Port Clarence we also find figures in relief on several objects. These figures resemble those of the Angmagsaliks, though they do not appear to be fixed to the objects with nails, but rather to be carved in relief on the objects themselves. Amongst the Aleuts, on the other hand, there are traces of attached figures²⁾, but these are far larger and are not, like those of the Angmagsaliks, in flat relief, but are carved freely. The West Eskimo method of engraving ornaments and pictures on hunting implements is unknown at Angmagsalik.

The correspondence between the artistic skill of the East-Greenlanders and the Western Eskimo seems to indicate that the East Greenlanders had had more recent communications with the latter than the West-Greenlanders, and thus bears out RINK's view that the East Greenlanders reached their present habitations by going north of Greenland³⁾.

¹⁾ James Cook: "A voyage to the Pacific Ocean", vol. II, p. 326. I may take the opportunity here of pointing at the numerous points of agreement between these Indians, who were described by Cook, and the Angmagsaliks. The same correspondence, moreover, is also found among the other Ath Indians. (George Gibbs: "Tribes of Western Washington and North-western Oregon"; James Swan: "The Indians of Cape Flattery").

²⁾ Nordenskiöld: "Studier och forskningar", p. 348.

³⁾ Rink: "Om Grønlands Indland", p. 1; id.: "Eventyr og Sagn". Supplement, p. 153.

I shall take occasion here to mention some of the reasons which speak in favour of this view:

TALES. — The subjects round which most of the tales of the Angmagsaliks centre are naturally the chase or travels. But in the long winter evenings they often while away the time by telling old legends which often contain very realistically described scenes, in which they do not shrink from calling a spade, a spade; they do not mind telling these tales in the presence of children and young girls, and all of them seem to find them amusing. In these tales gesticulation, shriekings, and changes of voice are often of more account than the words and the actual run of the story.

One of the best story-tellers was *Angitinguak* (fig. 59). His skill in setting forth a story in graphic mimicry was admirable. His arms, legs, head and eyes were in perpetual motion, and he changed his voice to suit the character that was speaking.

He told me about a ship which he had seen in his youth, about forty years ago, drifting among the ice. When he and his brother-in-law first saw the ship they were terrified, for it was as big as a little island.

They therefore approached it cautiously from the stern side. It was so long that he cast his bird-dart, rowed up and picked it up, cast it again and picked it up, and it was not till the fourth time he cast it that it passed the ship. Sitting in the kaiak he could reach the ship's gunwhale with the paddle, and he marvelled at the great masses of iron that were to be seen all about. He described the vessel with extraordinary accuracy in all its details.

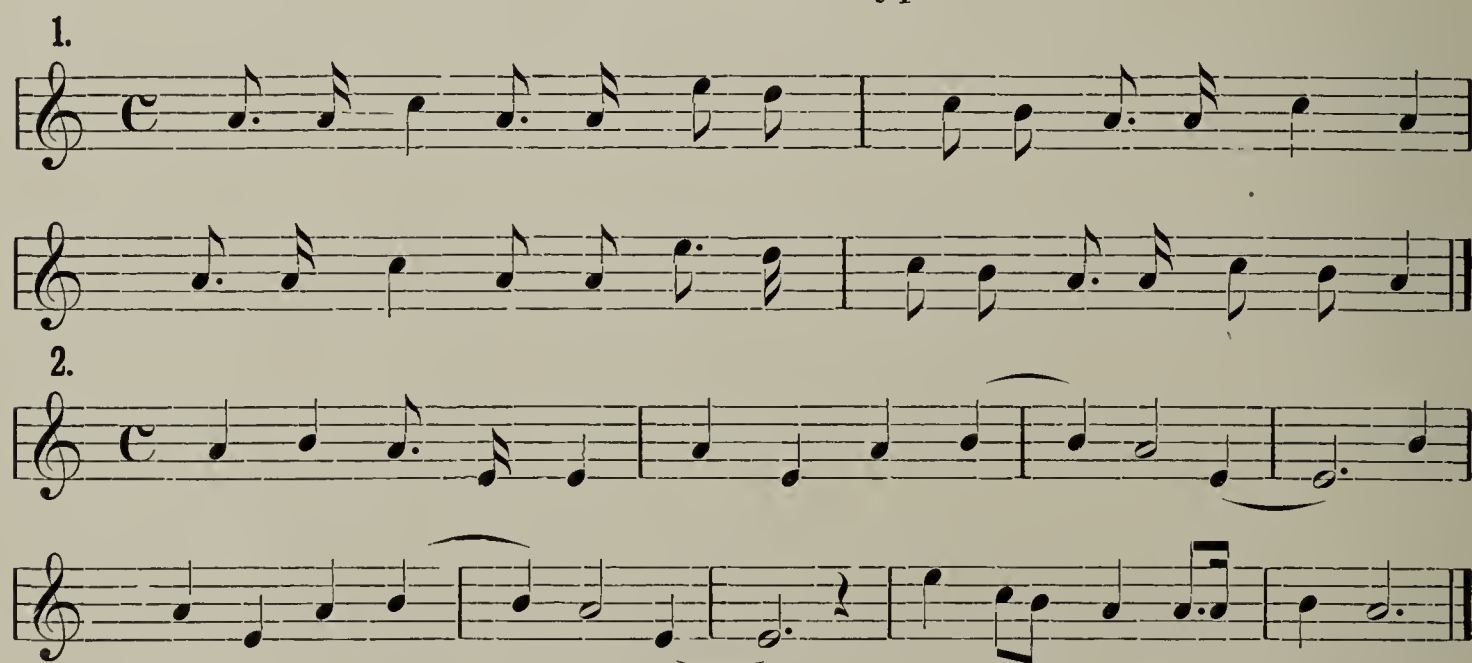
My watch-chain reminded him of the anchor-chains; for since the time he had seen the ship, he had not seen metal put together in such a wonderful way.

SONGS. — Another pastime for winter evenings is the singing of songs which have been handed down from olden days. The songs are accompanied by drum (fig. 360). The singer stands before the entrance in the middle of the floor with his legs apart and his knees slightly bent. If the singer is a man, he does not remain stationary in his place, but bends his knees more or less in time with the song, and occasionally takes a step forward or back, or makes a

-
- a) On the northernmost known places on both the East and the West coast of Greenland traces of human beings have been found.
 - b) Certain kinds of animals seem to have come to the East coast of Greenland north of the country. Thus musk-oxen and lemmings have only been found on the most northerly stretches of both coasts.
 - c) The Angmagsaliks relate that north of *Nuna isua* there is a strait connecting the East and West coast. This was the road taken by the legendary hero *Uiartek* (see Tale 5).

half turn. Now and then the upper body is twisted in a great number of different contortions. The drum is held out well away from the chest in the left hand; and with the drum-stick in the right hand he makes three small raps in quick succession on the rim of the drum just above the handle. The singer stands with half-closed eyes and with a stereotyped grimace on his face, though every now and then he breaks into a laugh or giggle.

If the singer is a woman, she stands quite firm on her legs, but keeps moving her hips in a figure that forms an 8. Simultaneously, but in half time to the song, the drum is alternately beaten on the right and on the left. The drum is held out with an almost fully extended arm and in a downward direction, resting on the right forearm. The head is either bent or held straight up. The eyes are half closed and the face wears a stereotyped smile.



Two melodies noted down by J. FABRICIUS as they were sung for him by JOHAN PETERSEN, our interpreter.

The songs are monotonous and the melodies vary very slightly. They are the same melodies which are used in drum-matches. Specimens of a couple of these melodies are given above. They have all long refrains of “*aja*”, “*ja*”, introduced by words such as *kava*, *ava*, *ama* etc. The whole audience often takes part in the refrains. (See specimens of these songs in part V nos. 39 and 50—52).

In singing they told us they try to imitate a rushing river. They say that when they lie down to sleep by the side of a river they hear the chant of the dead, and it is this chant that they try to imitate. The young are taught to sing by their elders. Every expression, every tone, every sound, every movement is traditional and is handed down from the old to the young. But though they themselves have such a monotonous and quaint way of singing, they soon caught our melodies and were able to reproduce fragments of them.

People who are unable to sing are ashamed to touch a drum.

When the drum-chants are thus sung for pleasure, they are called *mumerpok*; but when the same songs are recited without the accompaniment of a drum, as e. g. in kaiaks or umiaks, they are called *sokulavok*. When songs of this kind are sung by a number of persons, they may sound very impressive and harmonious.

JUSTICE. — As has already been mentioned, a challenge to a drum-dance (*ivernek*) is the way in which justice is administered between disputants. Murder, theft, or destruction of anothers' property may be the occasion. In most cases, however, and perhaps in every instance, these challenges are occasioned in the last resort by a woman, as the crimes just enumerated are usually committed as a revenge for some wrong a man has suffered on a woman's account, as, for instance, when someone has run away with his wife or been too intimate with her. On the other hand, we have not had occasion to observe, as we have heard from the West coast, that a man may be challenged to a drum-match because of his failure as a hunter, arising either from laziness, cowardice, or incompetence.

The drum-matches are held both summer and winter. A match of this kind is not settled in one evening, but is continued for a number of years, the parties taking turns to visit one another. For each new meeting the parties prepare and practise new songs. In these songs the crimes are vastly exaggerated, and if they can find no other material, they father new crimes on their opponent, or reproach him for crimes he has merely intended but not committed. They also enumerate the faults of their opponent's family, and even of their dead ancestors. In the hands of malicious people these attacks may assume an exceedingly brutal form: thus a man from *Sermilik* who had challenged the angakok *Kunit* at *Norajik* to a drum-match, enumerated all the people his wife and mother-in-law had eaten in the famine at *Kernertorsuit* (as to which more anon), which made them so miserable that they burst into tears.

The opponents stand facing one another. They sing one at a time in the position we have already mentioned, the other party standing quiet and apparently indifferent in front of him. The singer mocks the other in a great number of ways, as a rule by snorting and breathing right in his face and by striking him with the forehead (*tulartauput*), so that he tumbles backwards¹).

The other party receives this treatment with the greatest composure, nay even with mocking laughter to show the audience his

¹) The word *tulartauput* is used on the West coast in the meaning of 'to butt' of goats (Kleinschmidt's Dictionary p. 378).

indifference to it. When his opponent is about to strike him, he shuts his eyes and advances his head to receive the blow.

They may go on the whole night in this way, taking turns to beat the drum and sing, but otherwise not budging from their place. In the intervals between the songs, and before and after the match, the opponents do not show the very slightest sign of their hostility, but appear to be quite good friends.

The singing is followed with the greatest interest by the whole audience, who often join in, especially at the refrains. They give vent to their feelings in loud shrieks, and try to egg on one party to hit the other. When a drum-match is held in the open air, all the lookers-on appear in festive attire. As the singing may be protracted far into the night, the lookers-on often get tired and lie down to sleep; if the night is cold, they take skins with them and cover themselves and their children with them, but do not leave the place where the drum-match is held.

A man has often several drum-matches going on at one time. When one party dies, the other plumes himself on it and boasts over it to others. Thus, for instance, *Ilinguaki* related with a certain amount of pride that three out of the four opponents he had had were dead. Women as well as men may settle their differences in this way.

The natives sometime have drumming and singing matches with each other for the mere pleasure of it. Although they only do it for amusement, they often carry on the singing-match with such violence that one of the parties not unfrequently gets a black eye.

Women too have singing-matches with each other for pleasure; but besides this, they have a song during which a woman goes round to the men who are present and calls upon them to seize her pudenda; of course she wears the indoor-costume, the little drawers called *natit*. This song is performed with universal merriment; we have seen both young and old women, even a great grandmother, play this game to great amusement both of themselves and the others.

The drum-matches may be regarded as the chief pleasure of the natives. Occasions which give rise to them and the songs themselves can be seen in the tales (part V, 48 and 49).

GAMES. — Another favourite amusement is a sort of 'playing catch'. Someone runs round with a whip, lashing about him so violently that the skin breaks where the whip touches, or with a knife on the point of which there is sometimes something burning, the man trying to stab or burn those who approach him. This game is

sometimes played in the dark and is often pretty dangerous, especially as the players are naked. Sometimes, however, the game is more harmless, a man merely dressing up in a clownish way and running thus attired after the others, shouting and shrieking at the top of his voice. When *Adlagdlak* played this game, he dressed up as a woman. He was padded so as to look like a pregnant woman, and the hood was stuffed so that it looked as if it contained a baby. His hair was tied up in a top-knot; his eye-brows and cheeks were blackened with soot, and a thin seal-thong was stretched under his nose and over both ears. Thus disguised he ran round and terrified the company. This game is called *uajartek*¹).

Our neighbour *Narsingertek* came home when a boy to the house when they played this game in the dark. A man who had broken his leg sat in the middle of the floor, and with a large nail stuck at those who drew near him. *Narsingertek* saw that there was something sitting in the middle of the floor, but he thought it was a big dog. He came too near him and received a deep wound from the nail in his chest, so that he lay ill for a long time after.

Other amusements that may be mentioned are trapeze tricks, which are performed on a sealskin-thong stretched out under the roof, ball-games and wrestling, which are performed in the same way as on the West coast.

It was a favourite amusement for young people to play catch on large rocks with quite perpendicular sides, in which steps had been cut out.

VII.

VISITS AND FEASTING. — WINTER SUPPLIES. — TIME OF DEARTH.

VISITS AND FEASTING. — As has already been mentioned the Angmagsaliks go frequently on visits to each other in winter, not only to perform drum-matches and indulge in other pleasures, but also in order to enjoy the good things that are to be had in other places.

¹) In a game similar to this the Central Eskimo wear a mask (Boas: The Central Eskimo pp. 606—608). Similar games or festivals are met with in Alaska (Elliot: Alaska etc. p. 382), amongst the Makah Indians (Swan: The Indians of Cape Flattery, pp. 68—71), and amongst the Pomo Indians in California (Powers: Tribes of California p. 154).

If the inmates of the house which is visited by guests are rich, or in other words, have plenty of provisions, a ravenous feasting takes place. One seal after the other is taken into the house to be consumed. The food which the guests are unable to eat up is given them to take with them on their journey homewards, and the kaiaks are often loaded full with food. Even after the lapse of two or three days they declare, perhaps out of politeness to their host, that they are still sated with the food they have eaten. It has already been mentioned that, when there are guests in the house, they extinguish the lamps in the evening.

When people have a chance of a feasting at a distant house, they don't mind undergoing any amount of fatigue and exertion. A day's journey in deep snow over hills and ice-covered fjords is a mere trifle to them. In this way they often risk being cut off from coming home.

The hosts sometimes repent of their generosity, as the following instance will serve to show.

In the beginning of winter there was an abundance of provisions at *Kangarsik*. People arrived from all parts and the feasting was most riotous; but before the winter was over, they had run short of provisions, and the men then complained to us of the numbers of guests they had had.

The first time we visited our neighbours after they had moved into houses, they gave a banquet in our honour. A large Greenland seal was dragged in through the narrow passage-way. We were invited to come to the spot where it had been deposited. The most awful scene now ensued. All the men flocked round the seal which now could hardly be seen for the numbers of naked people around it, amongst whose legs the boys crawled about to get their share also. The seal, which had been caught in summer, was *mikiak*, i. e. half-putrefied, and gave forth the most unbearable stench. All were engaged in cutting pieces off the seal, which in an incredibly short time was consumed quite raw with great voracity. Not merely the flesh, but even the entrails were eaten raw, and the blood lapped up with the fingers. Boys who were too small to take part were handed bits of flesh and blubber torn from the seal's body, and soon their faces and bodies were smeared all over with blood. When the men had feasted to their heart's content and the meal was at an end, they each took a piece of flesh home to their wives, who remained quietly sitting on the platform.

When the feasting began, the man who had given the banquet in my honour, and who repeatedly noticed that I did not touch the food, asked me whether perhaps I did not prefer to take the meat

home with me. I could not deny that I preferred to keep it for another time.

WINTER SUPPLIES. — The winter provisions of the Angmagsaliks consist of dried meat, frozen seals, bags containing blubber and also *tugdlerunat*, berries, bear blubber, paws, skin scrapings, *matak* (whale's skin) etc. The blubber bags are made of sealskin.

The dried flesh, which is collected in bundles, in such a way that there is one seal in each bundle, is kept in mountain crevices or caves at a distance from the house, often in places which are difficult of access in winter, in order that they may not be tempted to consume it before it is necessary.

Many seals which are caught in spring are deposited close by the house for them to freeze. In several places we have seen over a score of big frozen seals laid side by side.

Amongst the winter provisions they usually have great quantities of blubber. It is kept in stone pits not far from the house.

In former days angmagsat formed no small part of the winter provisions, but in more recent years the supply of them has been rather scanty.

TIME OF DEARTH. — In the course of the winter there comes a period which is called the 'time of famine'. The name must not be taken literally; actually it is a kind of fast. The 'time of famine' is the period when they have no fresh seal flesh, which, of course, depends upon when their supply of entire frozen seals run short, and also on the game they catch during the winter.

Even if they have large quantities of shark's flesh and dried seal's flesh as well as mussels and eatable sea-weed, they call it famine.

But the famine is genuine enough when the pack-ice which has drifted to land and been pressed forward into the fjords early in winter, freezes fast there. It becomes one frozen mass and is gradually covered with snow, so that hunting is impossible.

This was the case in the winter of 1881—82 at Angmagsalik and in 1882—83 at *Inigsalik*, a little south of Sermilik. The famine in these places was so severe that the survivors even eat the corpses of the dead.

In the winter of 1881—82 there lived at *Kernertorsuit* (between *Tasiusarsik* and *Ikerasarsuak*) the parents of the angakok *Kunit*, *Kunit* himself with his wife *Aitsiva* and two children, *Aitsiva's* mother, *Keligasak* with her husband, two nearly grown-up daughters, two grown-up sons, and three small children, and finally *Kutuluk's* cousin with his wife, who was likewise a daughter of *Keliga-*

sak, and two children. There were thus nineteen people in all, grouped into four families with five hunters.

There was no hunting, and all the provisions were consumed. When the famine became severe, *Kunit* went to *Kingerarjuit* (near *Kujanilik*) to fetch assistance; but his return was cut off. The first to die were *Kunit's* parents, who were cast into the sea. *Kutuluk's* cousin went to *Sermilik* to fetch assistance, but froze to death on his way back; people said this happened because the angakok *Augpalugtok* had robbed him of his soul. When spring approached, the people were in great extremity. The walls were covered with ice. They had not even any blubber left, so that they became emaciated with hunger and cold, and the people died one after the other. In April the survivors had to resort to eating the corpses of the dead, in order to keep themselves alive. Altogether thirteen people were eaten. They were boiled with the aid of blubber, which was scraped up outside the house in the blubber pits. The only ones who lived through the winter in this place were *Keligasak* and her daughter *Aitsiva*. *Keligasak* had joined in eating her husband, eight of her children, and four grand-children. At the time when the inhabitants of the fjord went out to hunt angmagsat, the two survivors were fetched away by *Kunit*.

In all parts of the Angmagsalik district famine prevailed during that winter. All the dogs were killed, except a couple at *Norajik* and a couple at *Sermilik*.

At *Nunakitit* during the same winter at least fifteen people perished of hunger and disease. The angakok *Avgo* with his grown-up son went away, leaving his two wives and four children behind him, before the famine became extreme. Of the other inhabitants only one woman survived the calamity. She was fetched away in the spring in an umiak. Two men who tried to go over the ice to the opposite side of the fjord froze to death on the way. Some of the others went to the sea-shore, and threw themselves into the sea. One of *Avgo's* wives went outside the house, where she died. The rest died in the house, where their skeletons still lay when we visited the spot. Their supply of blubber had not yet run short, nay people actually declare that a seal or two was caught now and then, but that disease came on the top of famine, and consummated the destruction of the people.

Kutuluk was living at that time at *Umivik* (on the Angmagsalik fjord). There too they nearly starved to death; but just in the nick of time his wife caught a bear¹⁾, and later on *Kutuluk* caught

¹⁾ People say that the man, woman, or child who first 'catches sight of a bear' that is being killed: 'catches a bear'.

a ringed seal. *Tigajat*, who lived together with him, was so weak that he was quite unable to move, and *Kutuluk* himself could hardly walk, but had to lean on his sledge, which he pushed in front of him, when he went out hunting.

The next winter was likewise very severe, but there were many bears at Angmagsalik, so that they managed to ward off extreme famine. Further south at *Inigsalik* the state of things was worse. Six people died here of starvation and disease combined. There too the survivors consumed the corpses.

It is not merely in the last few years that the distress has been so great that the natives have had to eat corpses: similar calamities are also spoken of in several old tales.

Starvation seems to have occurred in its worst form at *Kialinek*, and the people there have been obliged to feed on corpses on several occasions. This has had such a deterrent effect that in recent years people do not go up there as much as before. However, death by starvation cannot well be reckoned amongst the most frequent modes of death, considering that the coast has continually remained inhabited.

On the West coast the people are often heard to tell that the people on the East coast kill people in order to eat them. The same thing was told us by the Easterners living further south as to the Angmagsalik people. At Angmagsalik itself, however, there are only a few stories about this, and they are said to have happened many years ago and are probably to be regarded as legends. The two most common of these tales shall now be related.

When the inhabitants at *Kialinek* were dying of starvation, a man with his wife and two children drove on a sledge to an island off the coast, called *Igdllitalik*. In winter a girl came out to them to escape starvation. The man killed her, and she was eaten. Her head was put on a stake over the lamp, and the man chanted a magic charm over it. After this there was again open water, many seals were caught, and the inhabitants afterwards returned back to Angmagsalik.

Many years ago the people at *Kulusuk* had suffered from severe famine in winter. Many people died of starvation, and the survivors eat the corpses. In the spring, when they again began to catch seals, a man eat his own child, 'because he had such a terrible longing to taste human flesh once more' (see tale 43). People say that human flesh tastes quite as nice as bear flesh, but that one can always see from people's looks that they have eaten it; and those who have been compelled to eat it shrink from speaking of it.

VIII.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE ANGMAGSALIKS TOWARDS US. —
TRAITS OF CHARACTER.

(OUR FIRST RECEPTION. — HOSPITALITY AND GRATITUDE. — CALUMNY. — CURRYING FAVOUR. — CURIOSITY AND IMPORTUNITY. BEGGING. — BARTERING WITH EUROPEAN WARES. — MANNERS AND FEELINGS. — THEFT. — MURDER. — SUICIDE. — CONCLUDING REMARKS.)

I presume that the character of the natives will have displayed itself to the reader in the fragmentary accounts of incidents from their life that we have already given. I shall endeavour to throw still more light upon it by describing their behaviour to us, as well as some little traits in their relations to one another.

OUR FIRST RECEPTION. — The Angmagsaliks were at first very frightened and kept at a great distance from us; but as soon as they had spoken to their fellow-countrymen who had travelled with us, their alarm passed away at once. They were very unwilling to speak of previous European visits, and they also exhibited great fear, when they heard that it was possible to come to them in ships. They averred the reason of their fear to be that they were afraid the Europeans would take vengeance on them because their ancestors in olden days had burnt down the house of the old *Kavdlunaks*. Otherwise they knew nothing about the relation of their ancestors to the old *Kavdlunaks*; they did not even know ‘if it had happened here or further north’.

The information about their having burnt our ancestors’ houses they had probably received from the West coast, for DANELL¹⁾ heard even here accounts of the hostilities between the Greenlanders and the old Northeners.

From the south the people of Angmagsalik had heard reports that many years before a ship entered the country on the other side of *Kangerdlugsuak*. The inhabitants fled inland, fearing the vengeance of the *Kavdlunaks* for the reason given above — especially when they heard the sound of the ship’s guns, which was something quite new to them. “When the people from the ship landed, they took some of the Greenlander’s articles and laid others in their place”. This agrees completely with FROBISHER’s account of his intercourse with the West Greenlanders.

It is hardly to be wondered at that they are still afraid of

¹⁾ JOHN ERICHSEN: Extracts from CHRISTIAN LUND’s report to King FREDERICK III as to the maritime expeditions to Greenland undertaken in the years 1652 and 1653 under the management of HENRIK MØLLER. Copenhagen 1787.

Europeans; for they related that in olden times a ship had appeared on the coast and carried away some of the natives. They must thus have heard accounts of how the Europeans behaved to the Eskimo on the West coast, and notably how LINDENOW, CUNNINGHAM, and DANELL abducted the natives and even shot them outright.

It is easily understood that the first tales of the Europeans' behaviour towards the Eskimo have impressed themselves on their memories in such a degree, that they disregarded the peaceful intercourse of later times.

Whereas the southern East Greenlanders had lent us their assistance in unloading and loading our boats, the Angmagsaliks did not move when we arrived up there, but stood quietly looking on: in other words we were not very welcome¹).

HOSPITALITY AND GRATITUDE. — As soon as it was rumoured that we had come to Angmagsalik, people arrived from all the inhabited places of the fjord in kaiaks and umiaks to see us. They all brought us presents, consisting of fresh and dried meat, sealskin-thongs, sinew-thread etc., and one and all expressed their joy and wonder at our arrival there, and promised to come to us with a share of all the game they would catch in the course of the winter.

When we visited the natives at their dwelling-places on subsequent occasions, they were exceedingly obliging and hospitable and could not do enough for us. They were very pleased and grateful when we visited them in their tents or houses. They spread out the most beautiful of their seal-skins for us to sit on. They were very pleased when we showed interest in their children, or partook of the food they offered us. They were especially delighted when on a short journey we committed ourselves to their mercies, leaving our West-Greenland crew behind. They took pride in gratifying our utmost wish, and their helpfulness and obligingness knew no bounds. When we went to see them, they always made us presents

¹) DALAGER tells us about a custom of the Greenlanders which is most characteristic, as it shows how anxious they are to avoid doing anything which might offend others: "When a boat approaches an inhabited place in order to pitch tents, they row slowly, and when they are a gun-shot from land, they lie still resting on their oars, without uttering a sound. If the newcomers are welcome, the people on land address them friendly saying: 'Here you have an excellent place to pitch your tent and a place where the umiak can lie; come and rest!' The inhabitants then lend their assistance in unloading the boat and carrying up the baggage. But when they depart again, they do not help to launch the umiak, nor do they assist with the cargo.

On the other hand, if the strangers are unwelcome, the by-standers on land stand still, and the newcomers then row away as fast as they can to another place". (Lars Dalager: Grønlandske Relationer etc. Kjøbenhavn 1752.)

of large quantities of various foods, if they had any themselves, so that we returned home from them with a full load. Nay, they even carried their generosity to such a pitch that they made us presents of whole seals. Sometimes, however, it happened that they wished for some definite thing in return from us.

Amongst those who behaved with the greatest disinterestedness to us, I ought to mention our friend *Ilinguaki* (fig. 1), a capital fellow, who was the headman in the umiak which went with us up to Angmag-salik. He had just been on a trade journey south. In his behaviour to us he was unvariably most amiable and modest. Both he and his family always made us presents of large portions of the seals which they had caught, so that as long as we travelled with him we always had great abundance of flesh and blubber. But he never asked us for anything whatever in return. If we gave him a present, he came back at once with a present in return, thereby often depriving himself of valuable objects. The East Greenlanders cannot conceive of accepting anything without giving something in return. The flesh and blubber, however, was not considered of any account, as long as they had enough of it themselves.

Ilinguaki's whole family were excellent and most amiable people: we have never had the least occasion to complain of them. They were always very eager to help us in every way. When we had pitched our tent in the evening, they often came to see us and would sit quietly for hours, and amuse themselves by looking at the veriest trifles. If we had anything to do, they were most anxious not to be in our way and crept out of the tent again at once. None of them ever wore a sour look to us, but they have always been only too glad to be allowed to sit a little with us and get a pinch of snuff. We could not have found more capital travelling companions than this family. When we were about to take leave of them next year, *Ilinguaki* had settled to give me a fine dog; but when he heard that I had no room in the boat to take a dog, he racked his brains to find other things to give me which I should value, and he brought me a pair of bear-skin breeches, a fox-skin cap, and a nicely carved eye-shade and other things which he doubtless set great store by himself¹).

When we helped sick people, not only was the sick person himself extremely grateful, but all the inmates of the house overflowed with thanks and presents. However it is possible that this was not so much a matter of gratitude as an outcome of the idea with

¹) Cook gives instances of similar disinterestedness amongst the Nootka Indians. (Cook: Voyage to the Pacific Ocean 1776—80. Vol. II, p. 286.)

which the angakut had imbued them, that all assistance must be paid for, if the sick person is to recover. When a man who had been driving in a sledge fell through the ice and we helped him out of the water, we were received at his home as if we had done something heroic.

The mutual hospitality of the natives knows no bounds. It is not counted as a virtue by them, but as a stern duty. They are hospitable to all without exception, and always share with one another, even with strangers, till they have reached the end of their supplies. Even if the inhabitants of two different places do not cherish amicable feelings towards each other, there is nothing to prevent them going to stay with one another and partaking of one another's provisions.

CALUMNY. — Even before our arrival at Angmagsalik, the other East Greenlanders told us that there were only bad men that lived there, that they were importunate and told lies and stole. We did not suppose this to be anything more than idle talk, the motive of which was to detain us in the place where we were. When we came to *Tasiusarsik* on the Angmagsalik fjord, the inhabitants there informed us without being asked, that the people on the opposite side of the fjord were bad men; for we had spoken of overwintering at *Kulusuk*. Afterwards when we spoke with the inhabitants of the other places on the fjord, they said that in their place there were only good people, but that the people we had not yet seen were bad. At last it ended by there being only good men on the Angmagsalik fjord, and that the bad were dead or had gone to *Sermiligak*. Afterwards when we got to know the inhabitants better, we saw that it was very common for one to slander the other, while at the same time they endeavoured to present themselves in the best possible light.

The hated *Avgo* came from Sermiligak over the ice to Angmagsalik in order to trade with us. On his way he was obliged to spend some time at *Kumarmiut*, where he had to leave one of his wives, who was ill. Here there lived a divorced woman with her ten-years-old son and the family of his sick wife's former husband, who had been murdered two or three years ago in the kaiak by *Maratuk*. Afterwards he had to spend a whole month at *Kangarsik*, where they all hated him. In both places he himself, his two wives, and a step-son were hospitably treated, but after his departure both sides slandered one another. *Avgo's* hosts heard that he had told people that he had to look on while they were eating, without receiving anything himself. In their turn his hosts came to us and informed us that *Avgo* had stolen from us

and told us lies. Before *Avgo's* arrival at Kangarsik, an old man from this place, *Tigajat* by name, came to see us. He told us that *Avgo* and his step-son *Maratuk* were the only bad people up there. *Tigajat* said he had had several children, but that *Avgo* had robbed their souls, so that they died. He desired to revenge himself, but as he was alone, he had no means of doing so. Now, when *Avgo* came on a visit to him, he treated him with great hospitality and even went so far as to lend him his *kaiak* so that he might be able to go on a visit to us.

CURRYING FAVOUR. — They tried to flatter us in every possible way, as, for instance by saying that their children, no matter whether they were boys or girls, were our namesakes. A married woman exhibited with evident pride her child, who she said, was dressed just like us — it was clothed in some wretched rags.

We saw at *Sermiligak* a remarkable example of how a man tried to ingratiate himself with us. It was the case of the *angakok* *Avgo*, who told us how some years ago he had helped some of our countrymen, whom he had met among the ice. Their *umiak* had been broken to pieces, but he assisted them and showed them the way south. In return for this service our countrymen had promised him that when *Kavdlunaks* came up there again, they would bring something up for him. He also told us that the year before a man had come over land from the West coast. As he had drifted out from land on the winter ice, *Avgo* helped him to push the ice to land again, after which the stranger went back over the inland ice. Both this man and the ones he had spoken of before were dressed just as we, but spoke a language which *Avgo* was able to understand. He was therefore extremely astonished when he afterwards found that he could not understand what we said.

CURIOSITY AND IMPORTUNITY. BEGGING. — In one particular the judgment passed on the *Angmagsaliks* by the people further south turned out to be correct, viz., with regard to their importunacy. But when we bear in mind that these men had never before seen Europeans among them, it is not to be wondered at that they displayed great curiosity to see all the marvels we brought with us, and amazement at, what seemed to them, our enormous wealth. Naturally, therefore, our first intercourse with them was attended by a great deal of inconvenience. Everything had to be examined and felt, and when we showed something to one, the others came up and demanded to see the same thing.

Some of the people were so curious about our things, that they went into our tent when we were not there and opened our boxes to examine the contents. When, on the other hand, we were pre-

sent ourselves, they always left the tent as soon as we went out; but the moment we reentered it, we had it once more full of people. They asked us whom each thing belonged to, and often gave vent to expressions of admiration; then they asked us whether we had made it ourselves.

It cannot be said, however, that all of them were importunate; there were not a few honourable exceptions. Especially among the older folks there were many who possessed a rare tact and great modesty. In this respect the inhabitants of the Sermilik fjord are far superior to those on the Angmagsalik fjord.

Begging was not uncommon, especially when they had told us anything about *Timerseks*, the dwellers in *Akilinek*, or other mythical beings. Possibly, however, this may have been out of fear for these beings, just as a man after having told us about his mother's death and burial, demanded payment for it, in order as he said, 'that his dead mother might not be angered thereat'.

They were especially importunate when they had something to sell; for when we had made a bargain with one, the others imagined that we were thereby obliged to deal with them also and give them the same thing we had given the first. Thus, for instance, a man asked for and received a dart-head of iron in exchange for a piece of driftwood twenty feet long, which at the butt end was about one foot in diameter. Immediately after another man came with a piece of an old board, in exchange for which he also demanded a dart-head of iron. When I told him that it was too much to give for the board, he asked whether it could not be used in our house. As I was unable to deny this, he began to hold forth in a very loud voice that up there people always gave people whatever they asked for, in exchange for their wares, and insisted that I needed timber, but had enough of dart-heads of iron, whereas he needed such a dart-head. When I informed him that I could easily do without the board he offered me, he answered that he would not take it back with him again and that I was to have it, just as he was to have a dart-head. I had to give in and tried to come to terms, and in fact succeeded in effecting a compromise: I enquired what other things he had which I could use, and obtained a promise of a large Greenland seal skin to go along with the board.

BARTERING WITH EUROPEAN WARES. — The people of Angmagsalik displayed no small cunning in their traffic. When they had several things they wanted to sell us, they produced the worst first, and when the bargain for it had been concluded, the better things came to light; but invariably only one at a time. In this

way they received far too high payment, because I was hoaxed into paying the first of the lot far too high, merely in order to gratify their desire for things which they declared they were badly in want of. Had I known that the seller had more and better things of the same kind, I would of course never have given him a more valuable thing in exchange for an inferior one.

When we arrived at Angmagsalik, there were only a few of the inhabitants who understood the use of tobacco — and even then only in the form of snuff — with which they had become acquainted on their journeys south. The southern East Greenlanders on their trade journeys to the West coast often make large purchases, often buying a whole big roll of Dutch tobacco. The tobacco is prepared just as on the West coast, being ground together with quartz in order to make it last longer, and is kept in, and used from, a horn specially made for the purpose. (Specimens of these snuff-horns are seen in fig. 287; one of them is made from the thigh-bone of a reindeer, the other from a bear's leg, and the third from a bear's tooth.) However, all the inhabitants at Angmagsalik had heard of tobacco as being an extraordinarily refreshing stimulant. Many of them therefore were at once very eager to make acquaintance with it, even if at first it cost them much coughing and made the tears start to their eyes. They went on, however, pouring snuff into their noses, until they nearly choked with coughing. Groaning heavily and with the tears trickling down their cheeks, they snuffed enough to keep them going quite a long time. When they had once acquired a taste for tobacco, they all became very passionate votaries of it, so that we were able to pay almost everything in tobacco. They said that when they were sleepy, tired, or hungry, they only needed to take a pinch of snuff in order to be set up again at once. When *Ilinguaki's* snuff ran short in the course of the winter, he sent his foster-son to us from Sermilik — a very toilsome and difficult journey — in order to have his supply renewed; for, he declared, this stimulant had become quite a necessity to him.

When we left Angmagsalik, we of course left the inhabitants as plentiful supplies as possible, but many of them told us that they didn't know how they could do without the snuff when the supply ran short, and they besought us to see that when *Kavdlunaks* came up to them in the future, they should take plentiful supplies of it with them.

I am sure that of all the things we brought with us for them, there was nothing that was in such universal request and was therefore likely to be missed so much as tobacco. It is of course to be regretted that we gave them a taste for this luxury; but it

seems to have the same stimulating effect on them as coffee and spirits on the West Greenlanders: Used in the form of snuff and mixed with quartz it takes up very little room and is very cheap, so that it will be very easy to keep them supplied with it. But it would be well to avoid giving them a taste for smoking or chewing tobacco, which they have not yet learnt to do.

Second in place amongst articles of bartering come stuffs. The Angmagsaliks naturally were ambitious of obtaining light stuffs for warm summer days, when fur clothes are very burdensome, especially in the kaiaks and umiaks. Both men and women use cloth for *anoraks*, but men also use it as trimmings on their broad-crowned caps, and women as head-kerchiefs. The most popular colour is red.

Hardware is of course another welcome article of barter, but now that all of them have been provided by us with the most essential things, it cannot compare in importance with stuffs.

While I am dealing with this topic, I should mention that fire-arms were known up there before our arrival, the natives having seen them on their trade journeys in the possession of the East Greenlanders living further south, many of whom were furnished with them. A man from Sermilik, *Ingmalukutuk* by name, had actually brought a gun up to Angmagsalik, but, as he omitted to bring any ammunition with him, the gun was cut in pieces to serve as mountings for harpoons and lances. Two young men were furnished by us with guns, viz., *Ilinguaki's* foster-son *Kitigajak*, as a reward for his guiding us up there, and *Napardlugok*, the son of our neighbour *Kutuluk*, because he was such a good neighbour. The former especially was an excellent marksman with the rifle. A third rifle of our giving also made its way up there, *Umerinak* having inherited it from a man who had promised to guide us to Angmagsalik, but died. The possessors of the rifles have been supplied with ammunition which will probably suffice for two or three years.

MANNERS AND FEELINGS. — The natives exhibited great politeness in their behaviour. They never entered our tent or house when we were present, without letting us go in first, just as they entered their own tent or house first in order to show us the way. They always drew their hoods over their heads before they entered, and let them down again as soon as they were inside. They did the same when they went out. They observed these ceremonies not only towards us, but also towards each other. They have no form of greeting to express a welcome, but the valedictory greeting 'take care of yourselves', or the wish that the travellers may 'sail in open waters', are very common.

Altogether, the Angmagsaliks are very polite, forbearing and accomodating in their behaviour towards one another. We have even seen instances of deeper feelings such as devotion and love between relations.

The following incident will serve as an instance of the devotion of a brother to his sister.

Adliortortok, who lived at *Norajik* far down the Angmagsalik fjord, had caught a narwhal. As is usual under such circumstances, the inmates of the house, the neighbours and all the strangers who came on visits, received from him large supplies of the food.

In this there was nothing unusual; they will do the same for him again. But the point is that, though in the course of the winter there had been no communication between *Norajik* and *Sermilik*, he undertook a very long and fatiguing journey to *Sermilik*, where his married sister lived, carrying a large parcel of meat by means of a strap round his forehead. He was afraid that she might suffer want while he himself had more than he could do with. He covered a distance of about 32 miles over very difficult country in the teeth of a biting north wind. Although it was towards evening when he arrived at our place — about half-way — he said he had no time to stay, but passed on with darkness coming on.

Their politeness often passes into falseness. Even if a person had just been with us slandering another, he showed it neither by word nor look when he happened to meet him outside. They refrain from every form of open offence, such as abuse or blows. The only exception are the drum-matches, where they abuse one another and try to hold each other up to ridicule as much as possible. But as soon as the performance is over, they can behave to each other as if they were the best friends in the world.

The natives often show great fear of one another. The angakut *Avgo* and *Maratuk* were feared and hated by all, because they killed people, robbed people of their souls, and in fact took anything they had a mind to.

The only good point they could find in *Avgo* was his affection for his children. He had two divorced wives, each with two children, whom he went to see now and then. Even *Avgo* and *Maratuk* were not on the best footing with each other. The latter betrayed *Avgo* to us without cause as a thief and liar, and when *Avgo* fell ill, he said he might as well go home and drown himself. Having committed several crimes, this pair no longer felt themselves safe at Angmagsalik, and so in winter they travelled with their whole family by sledge to *Sermiligak*.

Amongst the inhabitants here was one *Utuak*, who lived in mortal dread of the vengeance of the angakut. In his youth he

had intended to become an angakok and had therefore remained for three days rubbing a big stone, but had neither seen nor heard anything. He had not seen any spirits and had never heard anything but the angakut's own voices when they performed their incantations. He had heard all the usual stories that the angakut relate, but did not believe in them at all. He does not believe either, that the angakut have the power of curing the sick or help people who have had no success in hunting. He had once been a good hunter himself, but when his ability failed him, he went to the angakut for help, but found that they could do nothing for him. Now he does not believe in them at all, and says there are many people who have no faith in them either.

Now, when *Avgo* and *Maratuk* came up to Sermiligak, *Utuak* and the others who lived in those parts were seized with alarm, especially as *Maratuk* had once tried to kill *Utuak*. As soon as they saw their chance, they took their departure, and *Utuak* was even obliged to leave behind him his umiak, of which *Avgo* at once took possession.

Now *Utuak* with his two wives and seven children lives practically on *Kutuluk's* charity. He dares not go out hunting without being accompanied by people he can rely on, for fear of vengeance on the part of some angakok.

THEFT. — Actual thieving did not come to our notice at the beginning of our stay; however a few knives disappeared from our rowers.

Later the natives pilfered from us quite a number of things, not only bread, hardware and clothes, but even things such as spoons and forks for which they had no use.

One day when I was bargaining with *Suvdluitek*, I gave him five *ulos* (woman's knives), to make his choice of one. After long deliberation he showed me the one he wanted to have and at once handed it to his wife, who was standing outside in the passage-way, and then he returned three of them. When I told him that he had received five from me and he saw that I knew what I was about, he let out that he had laid two on top of one another, showed me them, and handed them to his wife. At first he assured me that this had happened quite accidentally, the knives being so thin, but his deep blushes betrayed him, and afterwards he confessed that his neighbour had whispered to him to do like that, for 'we would not detect it'. He was very unhappy about it, but insisted that he himself was innocent, whereas the blame was to be laid on the man who had lead him astray. Even the big, strong *Maratuk* blushed deeply and felt very uncomfortable when

he was caught in the act of stealing, while the shrewd and cunning *Avgo* took the matter from the humorous point of view, when he was caught pilfering some beads.

Generally speaking, however, they became exceedingly embarrassed when we spoke of the thefts, and their blushes almost always betrayed them. The natives never demand back stolen objects, even when they are aware who has taken them, or have actually seen them in the hands of the thief, but we have known instances of their having applied to us, when something that they had received from us had been taken from them, in order that we might get the thief to hand it back, or give them compensation.

Thefts of our bread must have taken place especially during the dark nights. Our bread sacks, which were placed under the umiak, which rested on high props, were cut in two, in order that they might get at the bread. The leader in these thefts was the angakok *Narsingertek*, the man who had terrified our crew by telling them about the spectre which stood at night on the hill outside our house.

I presume that his motive for frightening them in this way was that if anyone chanced to see people hanging about our provisions at night, the idea of the spectre would occur to them and terrify them. The first time that bread was stolen, they attached the blame to the inhabitants on the opposite side of the fjord, but afterwards we found out that it must be our neighbours, as they began to inform about one another for fear of being suspected themselves.

Alusagak and his wife, who lived in a tent close by us, came one day and informed on his wife's own mother, who had just been staying with him, as having stolen blubber from us. *Angitinguak* came to us and informed on his own son and son-in-law as being the thieves, in order thereby to avert the suspicion from himself. As, however, we happened to know that not only his son and son-in-law but he himself had been at our house during our absence, we dismissed him with scorn, whereas he thought he deserved a reward for having informed on the thieves.

As soon as a man was accused of theft, his first question invariably was, who had informed on him. Not only the man himself, but his whole family, were always very eager to know who the accuser was. Sometimes, when a man was accused of theft he said that people were so ready to slander him because he had no relations, but lived by himself. It was universally characteristic of the natives that, as soon as they heard that something had been stolen from us, they came to us and said that 'such or such a one' must have done it. They said themselves that they dared not steal, for

they were afraid to die. An elderly man declared that his mother had told him that he might not steal. They usually ended by requesting us not to say who had told us. Sometimes they followed this up by a request for a present of some kind.

They stole not only from us, but also from each other. The fine old man *Kutuluk*, the head of the house of our neighbours, came one day and told us that he would soon be short of provisions; for his fellow-housemates had had practically no provisions, and so he had had to go shares with them, and now they had actually stolen a bag with coagulated blood which had lain under his umiak. As usual in such cases, he did not dare to make a complaint or demand back the stolen goods, but put up with it quite composedly without saying a word to the thieves.

Our boatman, HANSERAK, had been so much in the company of Europeans that he could no longer submit to the thievings of the natives. When, in connection with the already mentioned thefts of bread from us, he gave our neighbours a piece of his mind, and when he afterwards visited another dwelling-place, he received a warning against going out alone at night, as our neighbours were sure to be meditating vengeance. When we bear in mind that not less than three murders have occurred in Angmagsalik in recent years, it will be understood that he might have good reason for entertaining fear.

MURDER. — I have already mentioned that *Maratuk's* mother, *Angmalilik*, was married to a younger man from *Kumarmiut*. As she was too unfaithful to her husband and besides performed her household duties badly, he often beat her. One day, when he was out in the kaiak, his stepson, *Maratuk*, came up behind him and thrust his harpoon in his loins. The step-father shrieked and tried to escape, but *Maratuk's* cousin, *Sanimuinak*, killed him by sticking his harpoon in his back between his shoulders. According to *Sanimuinak's* account, the reason why he put him to death was because *Maratuk* had threatened to kill him, if he did not do so. Afterwards they cut a hole in the dead man's kaiak, so that it sank. Although this was only three years ago, the murderer wanders alone about the fjord, and even comes on visits both by sledge and boat to the near relations of the murdered man. He is spoken of with dread, but not on account of the murder, but 'because as *angakok* he has robbed so many souls from people who afterwards died'.

When in the autumn of 1884 we were about to travel to *Sermiligak* where *Avgo* and *Maratuk* lived, we were warned against

doing so by several people at Angmagsalik. But when they saw they could not move us from our purpose, they asked us to rid the world of these two bad men by shooting them.

The angakok *Augpalugtok*, who has been mentioned above, four or five years ago killed his sister's husband, because he was too severe with his wife. Her only child was dead, and so, in accordance with the prevalent superstition, he had strictly forbidden her to go to the shore. And so Augpalugtok and his brother killed him in a similar way to that just related.



Fig. 52. *Augpalugtok* (Knutsen phot. 1885).

Ardluarsuk, who is also an angakok, had killed his father-in-law some years ago. The latter had once, when he was a child, shut him in a stone provision-cave, which he had run into, and from that day he brooded on vengeance. When *Ardluarsuk* was divorced from his wife, he got wrestling with his father-in-law in the passageway. At the coming of spring he harpooned him. Whether he, like the others, had an accomplice in the murder, we did not hear.

All these three murderers are young men, and it does not seem as if anybody bore them a grudge on account of the murders.

People said that in former days murders had been quite frequent, but these stories are perhaps mere legends which have crowded

together into a short space, and exaggerated things, that happened during the course of many years. It is, however, by no means uncommon for people in drum-matches to accuse one another of attempted murder.

SUICIDE. — It may seem at first sight remarkable that suicides are not infrequent among the Angmagsaliks, who entertain such fear of death, though especially when brought about by inner or secret causes. This paradox may, however, be explained by the courage and the contempt for death which they exhibit in the open dangers which they incur well-nigh daily in the pursuit of their livelihood.

As has already been mentioned, sickness is the most common motive for suicide, the sick man getting tired of his suffering. However, examples of suicide from other motives are not unknown.

When *Tigajat's* sister, after having lived for many years up at Kialinek, returned to Angmagsalik, she went to live with strangers, instead of living at home with her father. This grieved him so, that he lay down to sleep in the open air on a cold night and thus brought about his death.

A man reproached his mother-in-law with being so old that she was no longer any use in the world, and he told her he could not understand why she did not die. After that she went down to the sea-shore and drowned herself.

Upakangitek accompanied his father to the shore where he went into a kaiak. When he had got some distance from land, the son observed how he purposely caused the kaiak to capsize. Before any kaiak could get out to him, he had already drowned.

On the West coast of Greenland when anyone, on account of wrongs he has suffered, turns his back on society, people believe that he obtains supernatural bodily powers and the properties of a ghost. A person of this kind is called *kivitok*. The East Greenlanders said that among them *kivitoks* were unknown; they had heard about them, but only from the West coast.

CONCLUSION. — It will appear from the above description of the Angmagsaliks that they are smart, clever, and understand how to turn to good account the things which fall into their possession. In their hunting expeditions they display endurance and audacity. They are lively, and are endowed with considerable power of dissimulation. They are polite and accommodating in their behaviour to one another, but at the same time careful not to offend, reserved, and suspicious. Deeper feelings, such as love, devotion, or real friendship are seldom met with among them.

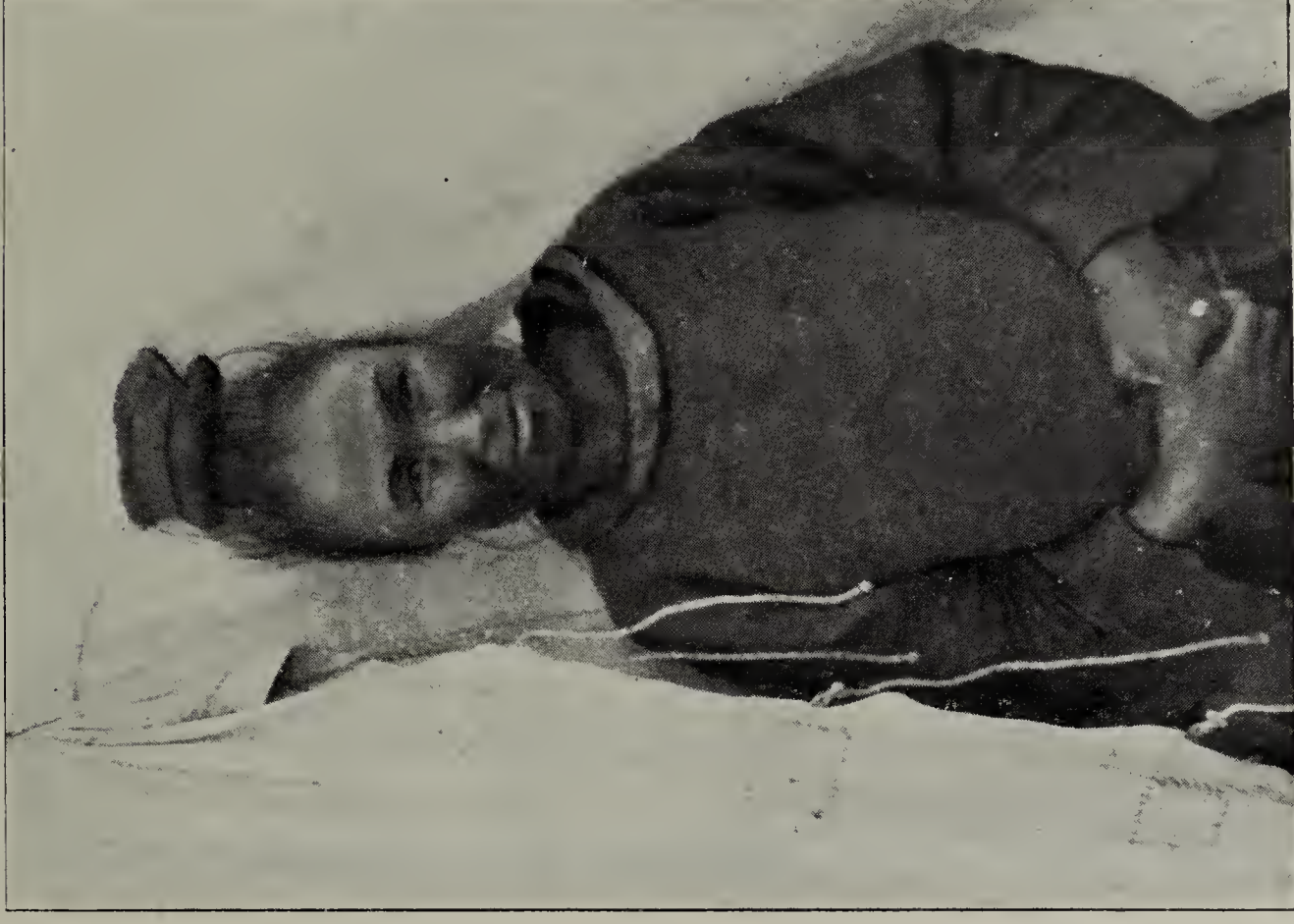


Fig 53. *Tigimiartisak* from Sermilik, Amagainak's wife, about 30 years old. (Knutson phot. 1885.)

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CHRYSLER - 1850/1851



Fig. 54. *Upakangitek*, man from Angniagsalik, about 55 years old. (Knutsen phot.)

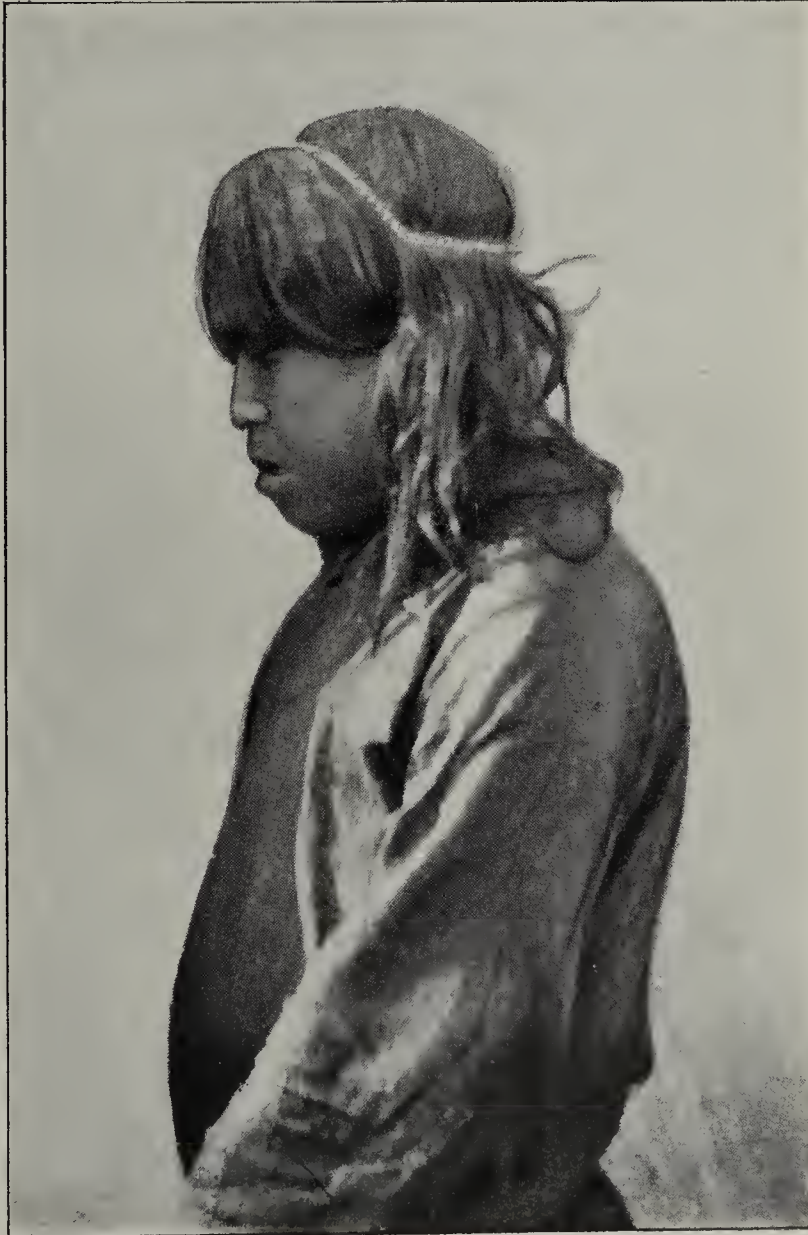


Fig. 55. *Kitigujuk*, man about 20 years old, from Sermilik. (Knutsen phot.)

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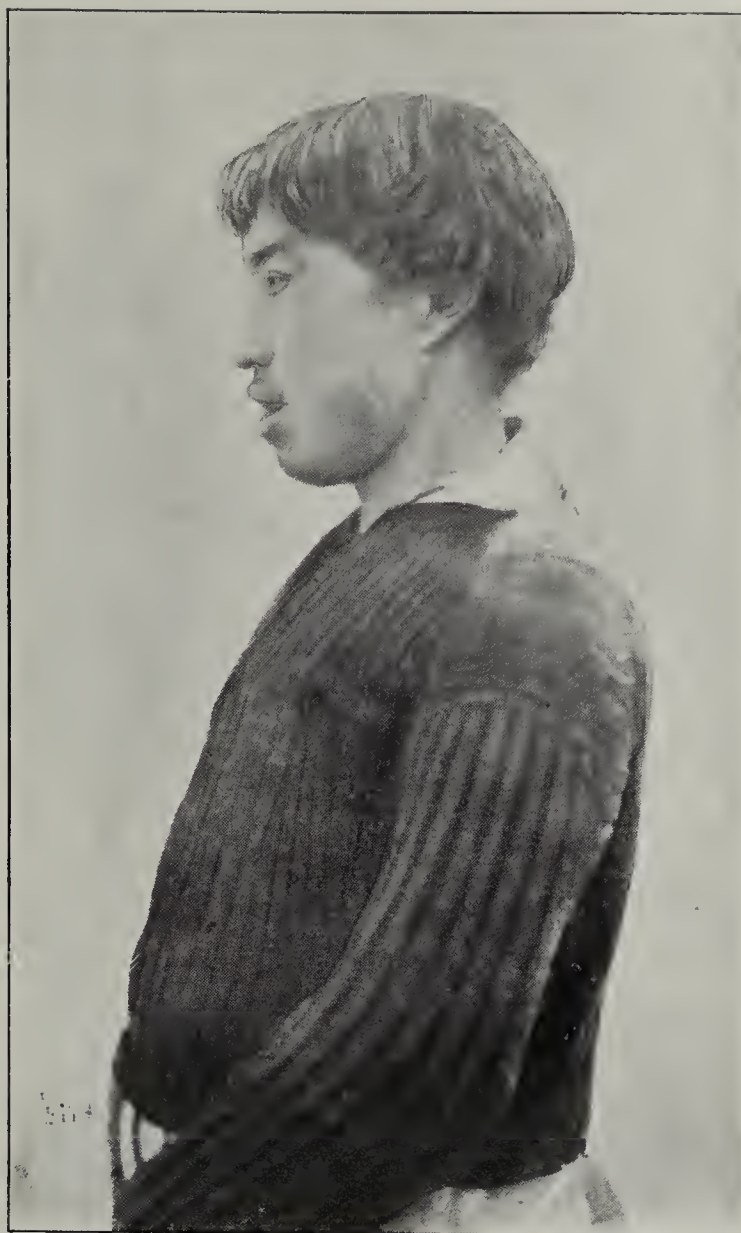


Fig. 56. *Kuania (Pitania)*, man about 25 or 30 years old, from Umanak. (Knutsen phot.)



Fig. 57. *Amagainak*, man about 30 years old, from Sermilik. (Knutsen phot.)

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Fig. 58. *Kavauwak*, woman about 65 years old, from Angmagsalik. (Knutsen phot.)



Fig. 59. *Angitinguak*, man about 55 years old, from Angmagsalik. (Knutsen phot.)



Fig. 60. *Navfulik*, man about 40 years old, from the southernmost part of the coast. (Knutsen phot.)

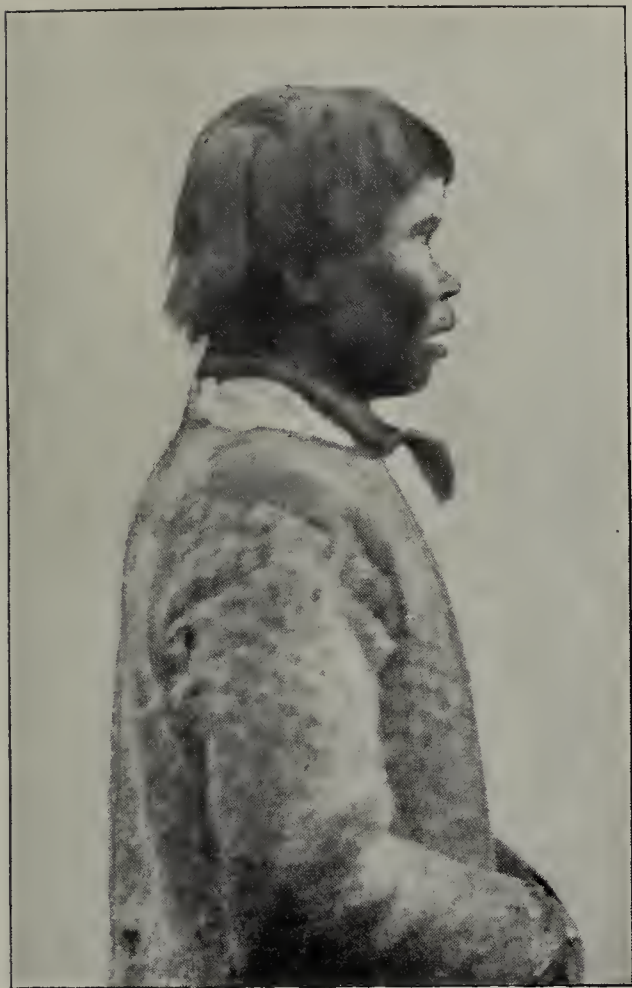


Fig. 61. *Okaluartok*, man about 45 years. from Umanak. (Knutsen phot.)



Fig. 62. Young man from Angmagsalik.
(Knutsen phot. 1885.)



Fig. 63. *Perkitigsak*, man from Sermilik.
(Knutsen phot. 1885.)

U.S. AIR FORCE

II.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ANTHROPOLOGY
OF THE EAST GREENLANDERS

BY

SØREN HANSEN

1911

The original Danish edition was published in 1886 as Part I of "Meddelelser om Grønland", vol. X. The present edition has been revised by the author in 1911.

THE basis for the following description of the bodily structure and other physical characteristics of the East Greenlanders is a series of anthropological researches undertaken by the Danish Expedition to the East coast of Greenland in the years 1883—85.

The total number of persons measured, examined, and described comprises in all 136 grown-up persons of both sexes. 46 of these belonged to the northern part of the stretch of coast explored and were investigated by the leader of the expedition, Captain G. F. HOLM, while he was wintering at *Angmagsalik*; whereas Lieutenant T. V. GARDE has examined 45 persons from the southern part of the East coast, and has supplemented his researches in a most interesting and valuable way by further examining a similar number from the southernmost part of the West coast.

Captain Holm has, besides, furnished me with a detailed general description of the northerly (and largest) part of the population, and, moreover, I have had access to a large and beautiful collection of photographs taken by Kandidat H. KNUTSEN.

Moreover I have had an opportunity of examining a series of skulls brought together by the Expedition, and a few other bones, collected mainly by Kandidat P. EBERLIN, as well as a collection of samples of hair from *Angmagsalik*. To this material should be added a collection of skulls from old graves in the north part of the East coast brought back by the naval officer C. RYDER, which enlarges our knowledge of Eskimo craniology on several vital points. Finally a series of anthropological investigations of the population have been carried on by Dr. KNUD POULSEN, who wintered at *Angmagsalik* in 1898—99 with AMDRUP's expedition, the results of which are of uncommon interest, as evidencing the extraordinary physical stability of an isolated tribe¹).

Our previous knowledge of the appearance of the East Greenlanders was extremely slight and almost exclusively based on a

¹) Contributions to the Anthropology and Nosology of the East-Greenlanders. Meddelelser om Grønland XXVIII.

series of scattered notices in various books of travel, scanty, incomplete and by no means enlightening. CLAVERING¹⁾ has only a few lines on the little, but extremely interesting, Eskimo tribe he met at about 74° lat. N., and his only remark of any value is that PARRY's description²⁾ of the natives at *Iglolik* in all points fitted the tribe in question. GRAAH³⁾ is a little fuller, but his scattered remarks only call up a vague and indistinct picture of this people. The same holds good of all the other authors who have occupied themselves with this subject, and it is therefore both intelligible and excusable that the physical characteristics of the present population have right down to modern times served to bear out the hypothesis of an old Norse colonisation of the East coast of Greenland⁴⁾, in spite of the fact that little or nothing was known as to the actual appearance of the natives. It ought, however, to be noted that PANSCH, after a careful investigation of the skulls which he had himself collected in the vicinity of Cape Borlase Warren, pronounced himself in unmistakable terms against this hypothesis of an admixture of European elements⁵⁾. The skulls which CLAVERING and the younger SCORESBY may possibly have brought home from this district, have, as far as we know, never been described, and have perhaps entirely disappeared among other Greenland skulls; this is also the case with one GRAAH brought home with him. On the other hand, VAHL, who was GRAAH's companion on the first part of his journey, presented A. RETZIUS with a skull from the East coast, which the latter described in conjunction with one from Upernivik⁶⁾.

The circumstances being such, the Expedition may be said to have brought an entirely new people within the pale of anthropology; and although the picture which might have been formed of them, but for the disturbing influence of the hypothesis of an admixture of Scandinavian blood, might have been more or less in accordance with the facts, it would without this material have entirely lacked the firm ground of positive, detailed information.

1) Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal 1830.

2) Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage. London 1824.

3) Undersøgelsesrejse til Østkysten af Grønland. Kbhvn. 1832, pp. 77, 119 etc.

4) Nordenskiöld: Den andra Dicksonska Expeditionen till Grønland. Stockholm 1885, p. 462.

5) 'Here too there is not a single trace of foreign influences from the East, of a mixture of 'Norman' blood, as so many would fain believe'. Zweite deutsche Nordpolarfahrt. Leipzig 1874. II, p. 153.

6) Förhandlingar vid de Skandinaviska Naturforskarnes tredje möte. Stockholm 1842.

According to the census taken by the native missionary JOH. HANSEN (HANSEK) under the supervision of Captain HOLM, the population of the East coast of Greenland amounted in the autumn of 1884 to 548 souls, all told. With such a small number we can hardly expect to arrive at entirely reliable statistics; but, while making this acknowledgement, I consider it permissible to give an account of a single peculiar circumstance of special interest for anthropology, while I regard it as outside my sphere to investigate other aspects of this interesting document.

Out of the 548 persons, 245 belonged to the male and 303 to the female sex. There were thus 1237 women to every 1000 men, a proportion which looks quite natural in the following setting¹⁾:

	Women per 1000 men
Denmark	1035
Faeroe Islands	1050
Iceland	1121
West Greenland	1154
East Greenland	1237

It might seem natural to explain this considerable predominance of the female sex as a result of the increased mortality of grown-up males due to the perilous nature of their pursuits, but although it is not a priori presumable that East Greenland should differ to any great extent in this respect from the Danish districts on the West coast, a glance at the figures in the different age-classes will show that the matter is by no means so simple as it looks.

The accuracy of the ages given in the census can only be relied on in the case of the smaller children, whereas in other cases it has only been possible to give a rough estimate. As all the persons (amongst them 13 whose age has not been given) are designated respectively as 'men' and 'boys', 'women' and 'girls', the line being drawn at the age of fifteen, the difficulty of reckoning according to age-classes is not so great as it might otherwise be; and when we have to deal with such small figures, this division may be regarded as the only one of any value.

By dividing the whole population in this way, we arrive at the remarkable result that the numerical predominance of the female sex is greater in the case of children than in that of adults, although the analogy of the West coast would lead us to expect the very opposite.

¹⁾ Folketællingen i Grønland 1. Oktober 1880. Statistiske Meddelelser. 3. Række. 6. Bind.

	Men	Women	Women per 1000 men
Children	99	128	1293
Adults	146	175	1199
Total...	245	303	1237

In spite of the small figures, I cannot look upon this phenomenon as a pure coincidence. It must be admitted that it may well be ascribed to a false estimate of the age of the different persons — if only a few young men had been reckoned as boys and a few girls as adult women, the proportion would not have been so remarkable; nevertheless the figures seem to show that the difference between the number of men and the number of women is due rather to peculiar characteristics of race, than to the different mortality of the two sexes depending on their pursuits.

This view of the case, moreover, receives weighty confirmation from the information we possess as to the state of things on the West coast at the time when the comparatively unmixed population living there in those days approached the East Greenlanders in habits and conditions of life much closer than now-a-days. In 1762 CRANZ put the proportion between men and women in the German communities of South Greenland at 1000 : 1348, and at the beginning of this century there were in the whole of South Greenland about 1500 women to every 1000 men, while in the last half century in the whole of West Greenland there have only been between 1100 and 1150, rather more in the southern than in the northern district of inspection.

Unfortunately it was not possible during the short stay the Expedition made on the coast to gather together sufficient materials to form an estimate of mortality, the only safe means of determining the question, and so we shall have to be content for the present, and perhaps for good, with the facts given above.

The opinion which people used commonly to entertain as to the tallness of the East Greenlanders, as compared with the population on the West coast, has been shown by the measurements taken by the Expedition of a fairly large number of men and women — 136 in all — to have been somewhat exaggerated. As far as anything can be gathered from a comparison of the material at our disposal with the measurements which had been taken on the

West coast, the fact seems to be that the measurements taken by the Expedition show a considerable increase from the southernmost part of the West coast (the districts of Julianehaab) through the southern up to the northern part of the East coast.

Height	Men				Women			
	Number	Average ¹⁾	Maximum	Minimum	Number	Average	Maximum	Minimum
Northern East coast.	31	1647	1760	1540	15	1551	1650	1450
Southern —	22	1604	1682	1486	23	1529	1630	1430
Southern West coast.	21	1576	1684	1520	24	1518	1602	1452

Although the differences are in themselves pretty considerable, we cannot regard this result as decisive, considering the relatively small number of persons measured; the question, however, is of some interest, because we often find it stated that the Eskimo's height decreases from West to East. If this theory, which is traceable to statements made by TOPINARD in his excellent "Etude sur la taille"²⁾, was at all tenable, the measurements given here might seem to bear out the hypothesis broached by RINK³⁾ that East Greenland has been populated by immigration from the north, by going round north of the whole island. It must be insisted, however, that a hypothesis of this nature requires to be supported by much more solid grounds; moreover, if we glance through the available sources, viz., a number of descriptions of travels in the arctic regions, we will find that the theory as to the decreasing height of the Eskimo can by no means be considered to be firmly grounded, even if we do not put nearly so severe a strain on the materials as TOPINARD himself has done in the conclusion of his above-mentioned treatise.

The superior height of the population on the East coast to that on the West can hardly be accounted for by the difference in the natural conditions of life; on the other hand there seem to be grounds for presuming that the more or less intimate contact with European civilisation has had some effect in this direction, though there are no positive indications to show in what manner this influence has worked. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that the population on the north part of the East coast, between

¹⁾ Here and in the sequel all measures are given in metres, where there is no express statement to the contrary.

²⁾ Revue d'Anthropologie V. 1876, p. 61.

³⁾ Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn. Kbhvn. 1866. Indledning p. 44.

$65\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and 66° N. Lat., in the district round Captain HOLM's wintering place *Angmagsalik*, has hitherto had practically no contact with the Danish colonies, while there is continuous communication between the latter and the population on the southern part of the East coast, where the bodily height does not differ greatly from that of the West Greenlanders.

If we consider the East coast as a whole, the average height for 53 men is 1629 mm and for 38 women 1538 mm; in this case too the average height will be found to be slightly greater than on the West coast, where it is 1620 mm in the case of men and 1520 mm in the case of women.

As compared with other peoples, the East Greenlanders are no doubt below middle height (1650 mm), but yet above the accepted maximum standard for small races (1600 mm), and notably taller than many Asiatic races, such as Ostiaks (1560), Samoyedes (1595), Japanese (1598) and the different groups of the Indochinese race (from 1525 to 1600) as well as Bushmen (1444) Negritos (c. 1500) and a number of other African, South-American and Australian tribes¹).

If we now group them in classes according to height with an addition of 5 cm, we shall find the results in fair accordance with the calculated average.

Height	Men	Women
1400—1450 mm.	—	3
1450—1500.	1	4
1500—1550.	6	17
1550—1600.	10	9
1600—1650.	15	5
1650—1700.	15	—
1700—1750.	5	—
1750—1800.	1	—
Total...	53	38

This may be regarded as a capital verification of the correctness of the results, of particular value in consideration of the small numbers.

I attach less importance to the arrangement according to age-classes which is given below, partly because the figures are in this case too small, and partly because the results would be quite different, if the grouping were in periods of 10 years, instead of as here in periods of 5 years.

¹) Cf. Topinard: *Elements d'Anthropologie generale*. Paris 1885.

I therefore append the table subject to the necessary reserve, and mainly in order to show how cautious one must be in treating such small groups statistically.

Age-class	Men		Women	
15—20 years	5	1611	18	1539
20—25	17	1621	8	1545
25—30	8	1665	5	1516
over 30	23	1626	7	1541
Total average . . .	53	1629	38	1538

However, as far as we may venture to draw conclusions from the material before us, we gather from the table that men attain the greatest height between the ages of 25 and 30, while women attain their greatest height between the ages of 20 and 25. The irrelevancy of the figures is, moreover, further increased by the circumstance that it has only been possible to give a rough estimate of the ages of the different persons.

The general proportions of the body, the relative dimensions of its members, is one of the weakest points in comparative anatomy.

By the employment of a great variety of methods, an enormous quantity of material has been collected all the world over; but as yet it has not been possible to reduce the vast numbers of single details to a system, and hence the value of the results obtained is still problematic in the extreme. An accurate measurement of many of the dimensions demands a knowledge of anatomy and a practised skill such as the investigators very rarely possess, and in many cases even knowledge and practice is unable completely to cope with the technical details. These observations apply particularly to the relative length of the limbs — the subject which will first engage our attention — and the reader must therefore not expect to find thoroughly satisfactory results in this section.

The best description of the proportions of the limbs of the East Greenlanders will be found in a brief written statement made by Captain HOLM, which runs as follows: "While the arms are very powerfully developed, the legs are inferiorly developed in proportion to the rest of the body".

These words give the essence of the matter, but it should be added that the arms are not long, whereas the legs must be designated as short in connection with their slightly developed muscles (thin calves).

The simplest expression for the relative length of the arms is to be found in the length of the outstretched arms, i. e. the greatest distance between the finger tips of the horizontally outstretched arms; but it is by no means so easy to measure this distance as might be imagined; in fact quite different results are reached by measuring in front than by measuring at the back.

Hence, instead of giving the calculated averages of measurements to which I am unable to attach thorough accuracy, I shall confine myself to the statement that the length of the outstretched arms in the case of the East Greenlanders is about equal to their height, frequently a trifle less, and in this respect as in many others they fall midway between the Japanese and the American Indians. This length might on the surface of it appear to approach the normal standard for length of arms, but seeing that, as we shall see later, these people have powerfully developed chests, and hence the shoulders take up a comparatively large part of the arm-length, the arm itself ought certainly to be designated as short.

Otherwise the arms are strong and muscular, the biceps being of considerable girth. The hands are small and fat, but well-shaped, having only in exceptional cases long bony fingers. The nails are white.

In order to determine the length of the lower extremities, we may take partly the distance from the perinæum to the ground, partly the height of the body in a sitting posture, and both these measurements accord well with the scanty measurements of European tribes which we find in the literature of the subject; according to these measurements, the race as a whole must be designated as very short-legged. The muscles are, as has already been stated, slightly developed, thighs and calves having quite a small girth.

The feet are small and quite well-formed, but are often somewhat broad and flat, with a low instep, though the term 'flat foot' cannot possibly be applied to them.

The gait of the men is described as "easy, elastic, with feet turned out; on the other hand their run is waddling with stiff arms and crooked knees, while their steps are extremely short and quick. The women's gait is waddling, a little bent forward, bandy-legged in a high degree, and the arms are held, with elbows turned in, stiffly out from the sides".

As regards the interpretation of these peculiarities, it may be questioned whether they are to be regarded as professional or as a general character of race. It is a well-known fact that the relative development of the extremities is often intimately connected with the calling and mode of life of the individual; seamen have long

arms, blacksmiths short thick arms, tailors short, thin legs etc. When we bear in mind the pursuits of the Greenlanders, how assiduously they exercise themselves in casting the harpoon from the time when they are quite small, and how they pass many hours a day from their youth up in the incredibly narrow kaiak, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that their strong arms and weak legs have thus been developed as a direct consequence of their pursuits.

This suggestion, however, is put forward merely as a hypothesis; in order to prove it it would be necessary to prosecute far more exclusive investigations, examining individuals of different ages, both among the Eskimo whose pursuits are the same as those of the East and West Greenlanders, and particularly among the tribes who do not make use of the kaiak, that is to say especially those that live in the northern districts about Hudson Bay¹⁾. Unfortunately we are not yet in possession of this material; but there is no doubt that we should thus be enabled to go a long way towards the solution of the problem of the stability of races, the far-reaching importance of which it would be superfluous to point out.

It follows from statements just made as to the short legs that the body is comparatively long, but at the same time it is broad and strongly built. The chest especially is powerfully developed in a quite unusual degree, as is strikingly shown by the chest measurement which on an average is 837 mm in the case of men and 856 mm in the case of women. When we bear in mind that the chest measurement of healthy and well-developed persons in Denmark is not more than half of the height, we can form a fair notion of the size of the East Greenlander's chest. The difference of sex is more marked here than with regard to the height, as appears clearly from the proportions, the average chest girth being 575/1000 of the average height in the case of men, and only 557/1000 in the case of women. Individual variation is very slight, being only 18 pro mille in the case of women, whereas the individual variation of the height is 99 and 79 respectively pro mille of its average.

The abdomen is well-formed and not very prominent, rather

¹⁾ We need not, however, go so far afield to find Eskimo with powerfully developed legs. In Danish North Greenland, where there is often open water only for three months in the year, the time spent in the kaiak is too short to cause crippling of the legs, the kaiaks, moreover, being comparatively roomy; and in the South Greenland reindeer regions the people's mode of life in the summer-time cannot but have a beneficial effect this way. On the whole West coast, however, the matter is complicated by the strong admixture of foreign blood.

more in women than in men; its girth is considerably less than that of the chest. The umbilicus is large and ugly, a natural consequence of the primitive way in which the navel is severed, it being either cut with a shell or bitten in two by the mother.

The women's mammae are often rather pointed and begin to droop at an early stage.

There are no materials for determining the outer form and size of the pelvis; it may, however, be of some interest to give an account of some pelvic bones which the Expedition has brought home. It has not been possible to take measurements of the dimensions of the pelvis on the basis of these bones, but they present certain osteological peculiarities, one of which is deserving of particular attention. Immediately in front of and under the edge of facies auricularis there extends over os ilei a slightly curved, flat, sharp-edged groove, with a smooth but uneven bottom. Its breadth is from 5 to 10 mm, it is about 50 mm in length and tapers off behind in the vicinity of the spina ilei posterior inferior and in front immediately under the back end of linea arcuata interna. This groove, which corresponds to the course of the arteria glutæa superior, has been described by VERNEAU¹⁾ under the name of "*sillon préauriculaire*", and, as far as we know, has hitherto only been found among a few tribes of South American Indians. However, it also occurs frequently in pelvic bones from West Greenland, and thus appears to be a race characteristic of no small importance.

As to the shape of head of the East Greenlanders there are abundance of materials to hand, consisting partly of measurements taken by the Expedition on living persons, and partly of a collection of skulls. As far as the former are concerned, it has proved necessary to discard a large part as useless, not out of distrust of the accuracy with which the manual work has been performed, but because some of the measurements have been carried out on different principles and therefore cannot be compared, and because as a general rule it is undesirable to encumber science with a mass of more or less unimportant material, which is bound to crowd out and overshadow the essentials, or to tempt us to draw conclusions of doubtful value. I hope, however, that I shall be able to show all the same that a residue of positive results has been left, even if I do not venture to regard this section as exhaustive.

The most important race characteristic of the head, its cephalic index, the relation between its greatest breadth and its greatest length, has been determined by measurements taken on 136 individuals

¹⁾ Le bassin dans les sexes et dans les races. Thèse. Paris 1875.

of both sexes and on 15 skulls. Before I pass on to a statement of the results which have been obtained in this way, I must first try to account for the divergence which exists between the index of the skulls and the heads of living persons. As will appear from the special investigation of the skulls to follow below, their average index is 72.1 (maximum 78.0, minimum 69.0), that is to say they are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. If, for convenience, we consider the two sexes under one head, the average index for the 91 men and women measured on the East coast is 76.4 (maximum 84.2, minimum 69.9), that is to say larger by 4.3 than the index of the skulls, and the living population thus turns out to be mesaticephalic. The question now is whether this difference is to be regarded as evidence that the skulls have belonged to a more dolichocephalous, and perhaps older, tribe than that now living, or whether it should be ascribed to special circumstances in the measuring. In this connection it may be premised that the skulls brought back by the "Second German Expedition" and described¹⁾ by PANSCH had an average index of 73.3, while RYDER's male skulls had an average of 75.0, his female skulls 75.8.

Quite apart from the intrinsic improbability of the first alternative, there seem to be no grounds for doubting that the cephalic index of the living East Greenlanders is considerably greater than that of their skulls, notably on account of the powerful development of their masticating muscles, of which the musc. temporalis alone might easily increase the latitudinal diameter by the few millimeters in question. It was formerly regarded as a fixed rule that the measurement of living heads always gave a larger cephalic index than that of the skulls, though scientists were not agreed as to the exact extent of the difference.

Even the more careful investigations of recent times do not seem to have settled the question; hence it seems advisable to keep the two things quite apart, while at the same time bearing in mind that the difference in question must naturally be greater in a vigorous primitive race like the East Greenlanders, than in the population of European towns, which latter have furnished the materials for most of these investigations, where persons emaciated by sickness must often have been the subjects of examination.

It is not possible to show a proportion between the local variations of cephalic index corresponding to that which was found in the case of the stature; but as the differences in this respect are nevertheless by no means inconsiderable, I shall indicate them in a similar manner.

¹⁾ Zweite deutsche Nordpolarfahrt II. 1874, p. 147.

	Men				Women			
	Number	Aver- age	Maxi- mum	Mini- mum	Number	Aver- age	Maxi- mum	Mini- mum
Northern East coast.	31	77.8	84.2	72.5	15	76.5	80.7	70.2
Southern —	22	75.7	78.6	71.3	23	75.0	81.2	69.9
Southern West coast.	21	78.1	88.4	62.6	24	76.8	84.5	70.5

The table requires no comment, as there seems to be no possibility of establishing a connection between the variations and the locality with any degree of cogency. For this same reason I consider it preferable to treat the whole East coast under one head. The average breadth-index for 53 men is thus shown to be 76.9, with 84.2 as a maximum and 71.8 as a minimum. The average for 38 women is 75.6, with a maximum of 81.2 and a minimum of 69.9. We have thus, as we have already pointed out, a pronounced mesaticephalous skull with a difference of 1.3 between the sexes, the women being more dolichocephalic than the men. The difference is, however, so slight, especially considering the very limited number of individuals, that there seems to be no objection to throwing the sexes together, in order to see into what groups the 91 individuals fall, as tested by the generally accepted index scale.

	Index	Number
Dolicho- cephalic	—69.9	1
	70.0—70.9	1
	71.0—71.9	4
	72.0—72.9	2
	73.0—73.9	8
	74.0—74.9	10
Mesati- cephalic	75.0—75.9	12
	76.0—76.9	16
	77.0—77.9	13
	78.0—78.9	10
	79.0—79.9	6
Brachy- cephalic	80.0—80.9	4
	81.0—81.9	3
	82.0—82.9	0
	83.0—83.9	0
	84.0—	1

The figures thus presented show as plainly as one could wish that the calculated average index, 76.4, is really a correct expression for the typical head-shape of the East Greenlanders, which may accordingly with still greater certainty be designated as mesati-cephalic with a tendency towards dolichocephaly.

KNUD POULSEN's measurements gave quite a similar result, and this coincidence in the results of two independent observations on an isolated tribe is of the greatest interest to anthropology, as it shows the great stability of the characteristic features despite considerable variability in individual cases.

In the accompanying table the cephalic index of the head has been given side by side with its greatest length and greatest breadth according to these two series of measurements, which were carried out at an interval of fourteen years on different groups of individuals, POULSEN having measured subjects who had not previously been measured by HOLM.

		Men			Women		
		Aver- age	Max.	Min.	Aver- age	Max.	Min.
Greatest length of the head	G. Holm 1884—85	192	201	185	187	195	178
	K. Poulsen 1898—99 . . .	192	205	181	184	193	178
Greatest breadth of the head	G. Holm 1884—85	147	157	140	141	153	131
	K. Poulsen 1898—99 . . .	147	156	142	140	146	134
Cephalic index	G. Holm 1884—85	76·9	84·2	71·8	75·6	81·2	69·9
	K. Poulsen 1898—99 . . .	76·5	80·2	73·2	75·7	78·9	72·0

The remaining measurements have reference mainly to the parts of the face, and are as follows: breadth of zygomatic arch, breadth of lower jaw, height of face, and breadth and height of nose.

These measurements have resulted in the determination of a index gonio-zygomaticus, an index facialis, and an index nasalis, the last of which I shall deal with first, not because I attach most importance to it, but because it possesses a certain technical interest.

The height and breadth of the nose has been measured in 43 subjects from the northern part of the East coast, and gives an average index of 62·8; according to which the Greenlanders must be designated as very narrow-nosed (leptorrhine). This result, however, does not accord with the accounts commonly given as to the shape of the Eskimo nose, nor with KNUD POULSEN's investigations, according to which the nasal index must be put at circa 72; but this divergence is due to the difference in the methods employed. A careful examination of the figures shows that the difference between

these indexes exactly corresponds to the difference of breadth of circa 2—2·5 mm on each side which is obtained by measuring, in accordance with BROCA's directions, between the extreme points of the wings of the nose and, on the other hand, according to VIRCHOW's method, by taking the distance between the bottom of the grooves behind the wings of the nose. The first of these methods is unquestionably entitled to the preference, partly because in this case, as in anthropology in general, it is not a question of strict anatomical correctness, but of finding an expression for the characteristic features, as they present themselves at first sight, and partly because it is easier, and hence yields more reliable results. While it devolves upon me to point out that the nasal index ascertained cannot be used for comparison without due rectification, I must add that there is a very considerable sexual difference, the index being 63·9 in the case of men, and 60·9 in the case of women.

The unusually large individual variations, which are also noted by KNUD POULSEN, must certainly be regarded as the best proof that the method employed is unpractical, as the distance from a minimum of 40·3 to a maximum of 81·1 is far greater than can reasonably be expected in a race so little mixed as the East Greenlanders and moreover represented only by 43 individuals.

In the case of a number of the subjects examined there have been given, besides the measurements, short descriptive notes on the shape and size of the nose, from which it will be gathered that it is as a rule prominent, most frequently regular and well-shaped, occasionally curved or with a hanging tip, only in exceptional cases more or less flat. This agrees perfectly with the above-mentioned low index which characterizes the nose as narrow, but there are, of course, no grounds for supposing that it should be to any great extent less subject to individual variations in its form than amongst other races of mankind. Considered in its relations to the anthropological system, this characteristic brings the East Greenlanders nearer to the American group of the yellow races than to the Asiatic, if indeed they are not to be placed in this respect side by side with the American Indians. However, I shall later on have occasion to return to the importance of the nose as a race characteristic in the section on the skulls.

With regard to the form of the face, it may be remarked at the outset that it is in general oval with a comparatively broad lower portion. It is described as such in the records, and the same appears still more distinctly from the calculated measurements, the index facialis and the index gonio-zygomaticus, the proportion between the breadth of the zygomatic arch and the distance

from the glabella to the chin, and between the breadth of the zygomatic arch and the breadth of the lower jaw¹⁾).

We have at our disposal in this line merely a very scanty supply of materials in the form of measurements taken on living persons of other races; but the results are in perfect accordance with the investigations already made on skulls, when we make allowance for the fact that the length of the face is augmented by the addition of flesh parts only at one end (at the chin), owing to which it appears, as compared with the cross measurement, which is augmented on both sides, as relatively less, even if it is absolutely larger.

These characteristics do not present any certain sexual difference, any more than the cephalic index of the head, and indeed it has proved impossible in this case too to show a local variation of more than purely accidental nature.

They may therefore appropriately be treated under one head for the total number of individuals examined, and the average will then be: —

$$\text{Index facialis s. str. s. superior} = 103.8$$

$$\text{Index gonio-zygomaticus} = 82.3$$

which by a process of simple multiplication gives the proportion between the length of the face and the breadth of the lower jaw, or

$$\text{Index facialis inferior} = 85.4$$

Or, to express it differently, it might also be said that the length of the face (from the glabella to the chin) is a little less than the breadth of the face over the zygomatic arches, and that the latter is about a fifth larger than the breadth over the angles of the lower jaw. The latter measurements is a little larger than has hitherto been found among the Eskimo, and indeed the largest known amongst any people yet examined.

It may thus be considered permissible to regard the East Greenlanders as a thoroughly typical Eskimo race, a conclusion which is in complete agreement with the fact that the East coast of Greenland may be regarded as the extreme boundary for the whole geographical extension of this race. In order to show the reliability of the index gonio-zygomaticus as a distinguishing mark of race, — for though it certainly varies pretty considerably, it follows

¹⁾ I may remark in passing that owing to the lively, almost involuntary, play of the masseter muscles, it is extremely difficult accurately to measure the distance between the angles of the lower jaw in living persons. However, this difficulty might to some extent be obviated by measuring with the mouth of the person open.

the law of variation applying to these series in a perfectly satisfactory manner —, I shall present the figures in the same manner as in the case of the cephalic index.

Index	Number
—69·9	1
70·0—71·9	0
72·0—73·9	3
74·0—75·9	5
76·0—77·9	2
78·0—79·9	10
80·0—81·9 ..	15
82·0—83·9	21
84·0—85·9	16
86·0—87·9	8
88·0—89·9	4
90·0—91·9	2
92·0—93·9	0
94·0—	1

The irregularities in this series can hardly be expected to be less with such a small total.

The facial index proper must, according to what has been remarked above, be somewhat greater than that of the skulls, and, accordingly, no importance can be attached to the fact that the little series of skulls brought back by the Expedition gives a contrary result, as other series in their turn go so far to the opposite extremity that they counterbalance one another¹⁾. The materials at our disposal are, however, so scanty that I must confine myself to remarking that the East Greenlanders belong to the most leptoprosopic races, and are thus more or less on a par with the other yellow races (the Chinese) and the Europeans. It would be interesting to see to what extent the height of the lower jaw (from the chin to the row of teeth) influences this result; its powerful all-round development might lead one to presume that it is a factor of considerable importance, although the examination of the proportion in skulls without the lower jaw also gives a larger facial index among the Eskimo than in other races; but data for a final determination of this question are still lacking.

There is, accordingly, no occasion for dwelling longer on the index facialis inferior, and I shall therefore content myself with remarking that there might be good grounds for terming the Eskimo's face 'elliptic' rather than 'oval', inasmuch as its comparatively greater breadth in its lower part renders the latter term less appropriate, as it leads one to think of the classical "almond-shape".

¹⁾ Pruner Bey: Resultats de craniometrie. Mem. Soc. anthr. Paris II. 1865.

The sixteen human skulls which the Expedition has brought home are in the main very well preserved, and, with the exception of one, have the lower jaw attached. Only a single specimen, a child's skull and thus of minor importance, is in a condition to preclude craniometrical examination.

A couple of them must have belonged to scarcely full-grown individuals. It has not been possible to determine the sex with complete certainty, and I therefore present the conclusions at which I have arrived in this respect, with great reservation. In the following list I have in most cases only noted the peculiarities which are of importance for the determination of age and sex, as well as a few minor anomalies, particularly with regard to the condition of the teeth, while the ordinary individual variations can be seen from the annexed tables of measurements.

1. *Dronning Louise's Island* ($60^{\circ}30'$ lat. N.). Male skull with moderate muscular insertions, powerfully formed facial parts and pronounced scaphocephaly. The sutures open; the teeth as a whole slightly, and the last molar not at all, worn. Inter-maxillary suture persisting on the palate.

2. *Dronning Louise's Island*. Male skull with moderate insertions. The sutures open; the teeth highly worn. In the lower jaw the last molar on both sides missing.

3. *Kutek* ($60^{\circ}45'$ lat. N.) Elderly man. Rather strongly developed insertions. The teeth highly worn. The two hindermost third parts of sutura sagittalis and the whole of sutura lambdoidea closed. The palate highly excavated; in the middle of the sutura sagittalis the lacunar is raised in a torus and behind this flattened.

4. *Kutek*. Elderly male, powerfully built skull with well-developed insertions and partially closed sutures. The teeth highly worn; the lower jaw lacks the last molar on the left side. The nasal bone does not appear to have been present, as processus orbitales max. sup. meet each other for a distance of about 2 centimetres from proc. nasalis oss. frontis, but this part is, like the part around spina nasalis inf., somewhat damaged. Small suture bones in the left sutura lambdoidea.

5. *Kutek*. Old female skull with sharp cristae atrophied by senility, and orbital walls thin as paper. With the exception of squama temporalis all the flat bones are completely united. The teeth highly worn.

6. *Kutek*. Elderly female skull with moderate muscular insertions. Sutura sagittalis and coronalis closed. The teeth highly worn. Traces of suture bones in the left lambdoidea.

7. *Kutek*. Elderly female skull with weak insertions and sharp cristae. Almost all the sutures closed. The teeth highly worn; in the upper jaw the last molar on the left side is missing.

8. *Anoritok* ($61^{\circ}30'$ lat. N.). Male, heavy and powerfully built skull with strong muscle insertions and open sutures. In the upper jaw the third molar on the left side is missing, whereas the second is unusually large. On the right side the last molar is very small. In the lower jaw it is missing on the left side. Only two front teeth in the upper jaw.

9. *Anoritok*. Elder male(?) cranium with partially closed sutures. At the bregma a moderate saddle-shaped depression. The teeth as a whole small and not much worn; the left canine tooth in the upper jaw is somewhat chisel-shaped

with a broad talon, and strongly resembles the foremost premolar; in the lower jaw the last molar on either side is missing.

10. *Anoritok*. Fairly young female skull with open sutura sphenobasilaris. In the left side of the upper jaw the last molar is missing; on the right side it is visible, but has not yet emerged. The lower jaw is missing.

11. *Anoritok*. Female skull with moderate muscle insertions and open sutures. Teeth rather much worn. The left upper canine tooth large, chisel-shaped with edge worn off.

12. *Anoritok*. Not full-grown, female(?) skull with open sutura sphenobasilaris and slightly worn molar teeth. In the lower jaw the last molar on either side is missing. The skull has an anomaly in the reciprocal relations of the sutures, the so-called 'pterion retourné' (Broca), which consists in the angulus sup. ant. oss. tempor. on either side being pushed up right up to the os frontis between ala magna oss. pteryg. and os parietale; on the left side, however, with a little square detached suture bone.

13. *Angmagsalik* (65°40' lat. N.). Elderly male skull with strongly developed muscle insertions and supra-orbital curves. Most of the sutures closed and the teeth highly worn¹).

14. *Angmagsalik*. Elderly male skull with weak muscle insertions. The sutures open, but the teeth highly worn. On the left side on the lower jaw the innermost front tooth is missing. The canine teeth have a pronounced chisel form with edge worn off.

15. *Angmagsalik*. Not full-grown, female(?) skull with open sutura sphenobasilaris and traces of sutura medio-frontalis and intermaxillaris. Weak insertions. The canine teeth chisel-formed; the developed molar teeth somewhat worn. In the lower jaw the hindermost on either side is missing; in the upper jaw the right one has fallen out, the left is about to emerge.

16. *Anoritok*. Skull of a child of about five. The sutura medio-frontalis is closed, but there are traces of an os intermaxillare, as well as of a real interparietale, and the four pieces in the occipital bone are still quite free. The shedding of the teeth has just begun, and some of the coming teeth are visible; however, only the first real molar on the left side of the upper jaw and on both sides of the lower jaw have emerged, and they have now fallen out, like the front teeth and the canine teeth of the row of milk teeth.

As will be seen from above, the condition of the teeth of the skulls presents a number of peculiar features to which no small anthropological interest attaches, as they show a general variability of an otherwise comparatively constant feature, which we would not expect to find in this race. The chisel shape of the canine teeth seems to be significant as a race mark, but the materials are too slender to allow us to determine this point with certainty, as the information we possess on this head as regards other races is very scanty. The other peculiarities as regards shape and size are of minor importance. On the other hand, the absence of the last molar, the wisdom tooth, deserves special mention on account of the extraordinary frequency of its occurrence. It has been supposed

¹) In both canales carotici there are loose fragments of thin, granulated, calcareous tubes, the remains of arteriosclerotic arterial walls.

that a peculiar significance attaches to this anomaly, as an instance of an organ that is on the point of becoming rudimentary in a race which stands high in intellectual development; the explanation being, either that the maxillary parts are thrust back to make room for the development of the cranium proper, or that they do not stand in need of such a powerfully developed set of teeth as races which still remain at a lower stage of development. This theory, which was tentatively put forward first by DARWIN¹⁾ and afterwards confirmed by MANTEGAZZA²⁾ after direct examination of a large number of skulls, is certainly very attractive, but hardly deserves the response with which it was so speedily met. Quite apart from the questionableness of intruding the intelligence into a purely anatomical question, it will first have to be substantiated that the occurrence of the third molar really is so intimately connected with the development of the maxillary parts of the skull as has been presumed.

At any rate as regards the East Greenlanders, who have the maxillary parts uncommonly well developed, and whose whole mode of life renders a strong set of teeth particularly necessary, an anomaly of the kind cannot be placed in conjunction with this theory. Out of fifteen skulls eight have one or more wisdom teeth missing. Nor is the absence of front teeth in two of these skulls altogether devoid of interest, particularly as it does not seem to be a consequence of disease.

The lower jaws attached to the skulls are powerfully formed, high, and above all very thick, their inner surface being markedly protruding, rounded, and without any special prominence of linea mylohyoidea. This peculiarity, which is common enough among the Eskimo and certain Siberian tribes, but is otherwise exceedingly rare, must be regarded as a hyperostosis of the same nature as the so-called torus palatinus. It is a partly pathological formation due to a peculiar mode of life rather than a true morphological mark of race.

It has not been found possible to measure the breadth over the anguli with any accuracy, as all these lower jaws have straightened themselves out a little under the influence of air and damp, as in fact has already been observed by K. J. V. STEENSTRUP as regards the skulls he has collected in North Greenland³⁾.

¹⁾ Darwin: Descent of man. I, p. 26.

²⁾ Mantegazza: Il terzo molare nelle razze umane. Reale istituto Lombardo. Rendiconti. Ser. 2 T. XI, p. 440.

³⁾ Meddelelser om Grønland. V, p. 23.

As to the weight, the facts have served to confirm the theory propounded by MORSELLI¹⁾, according to which the lower jaws of men are heavier than those of women; all the skulls which, for independent reasons, particularly the development of the muscle insertions, I have considered to be male having heavier, and in fact much heavier, lower jaws than those I had ranked as female. I must, however, not omit to call attention to the admission I made above, that I could not regard the general determination of sex as quite certain in all cases. This is particularly the case as to no. 14, the edges of which have been knocked off, and which as a whole has suffered a good deal from wear and tear, as well as nos. 10, 12 and 15, which are not quite full-grown. The determination of the sex of skulls is in general a matter of difficulty, and in the case of the Eskimo often practically impossible²⁾ (amongst other reasons, on account of the slight development of the arcus supraorbitalis). I hesitate therefore to regard conclusions arrived at in an examination of such a small series, as a demonstration of a theory which, indeed, does not appear to be definitely established or generally accepted. The facts as they are will be seen from the following table, where the 14 lower jaws are arranged according to the weight in grams.

Men		Women	
Number of skulls	Weight in grams	Number of skulls	Weight in grams
8	143	15	80
13	109	7	74
14	107	11	72
2	98	6	57
1	96	5	55
3	96	12	53
4	86	"	"
9	84	"	"
Average	102	Average	65

The distinguishing mark of these East Greenland skulls is a development on typical lines of the features peculiar to all other genuine Eskimo races, with those features somewhat exaggerated.

¹⁾ Sul peso del cranio e dello mandibola in rapporto col sesso. Arch. per. l'Antrop. e l'Etnol. 1875. Ref. in Revue d'Anthrop. V, 1876, p. 711.

²⁾ Cf. Bessels: Die Inuit des Smith-Sundes. Archiv für Anthropologie VIII. 1875, p. 115.

However, the significance of the various craniometrical racemarks as such is still so little known, that there can be no question of using them to distinguish the sub-divisions of a single race; and, as the materials which have been collected from other quarters are scanty, and moreover have not been published in a harmonized form, it will only in exceptional cases be possible to show the special significance in the whole system, of the results gained by a detailed examination. But even if we cannot count on an immediate tangible result from such an investigation, it is nevertheless of value partly for its own sake, as a positive contribution to our knowledge, but particularly because we have here to do with a tribe which in virtue of its geographical position must be regarded as the extreme link in the development of a widely distributed race, and which, moreover, on account of its almost complete isolation, must be regarded as relatively pure and unmixed.

The skulls must in general be designated as long, narrow, and high (hypsistenocephalic) with a powerful development of the face parts. Seen from in front (*norma frontalis* Prichard, *facialis* Camper) the skull is pyramidical, high in the sagittal plane, narrow above the forehead, and broad above the cheek-bones, the bottom edge of which recedes to the sides; the eye sockets are large and round (*megaseme*), the nose particularly narrow. Seen from above (*norma verticalis* Blumenbach) the skull is long, broader behind than in front, with large *tubera parietalia*; seen from the side (*norma lateralis* Camper) it is prognathic, with highly prominent upper jaw, weak *arcus supraorbitalis*, high vaulted forehead, and bulky occipital part; the *linea semicircularis* reaches up to and often passes beyond *tuber parietale*. Seen from behind (*norma posterior s. occipitalis* Laurillard), the skull is pentagonal (ogival) with a broad basis, and seen from below (*norma inferior* Owen), it is long, broad in front over the protruding zygomatic arches; the upper jaw is thrust forward, so that the descending sphenoid wings incline sharply backwards, and the palatal parts are large.

The way in which the several skulls diverge from this general delineation requires no special mention in this place, and the individual variations are on the whole without significance.

The sexual differences are in general so little noticeable, that as a rule I have not deemed it necessary to take them into consideration in calculating the average, and, as the few immature skulls seem notwithstanding to have attained full dimensions, I have thought fit to include them also.

Before I proceed to pass in review the contents of the following table with a special view to the salient points in it, I must

first make a remark as to the nomenclature. As none of the anthropological schools of foreign countries employs Latin terms for the various craniometrical dimensions, and as such terms exist only in exceptional cases, I have considered it out of place to attempt to introduce them here, as I should have been obliged to invent a whole series of new terms, yet without smoothing the path of those who might desire to make use of the materials laid before them. I have therefore thought fit to translate the French nomenclature which BROCA created as need arose, and which TOPINARD, amongst others, have completed, partly because of its own intrinsic excellence and expressiveness, and partly because it is well-known to all anthropologists.

The capacity of the skull has been determined in accordance with BROCA's method by means of shot and given without rectification. On an average it is 1446 cubic centimetres, with a maximum of 1655 and a minimum of 1165, a result which agrees perfectly with the data regarding other series of Eskimo skulls. As, however, the scientific value of this point is extremely problematical, and as the different methods yield varying results, I shall content myself with calling attention to the fact that the Smith's Sound Eskimo have somewhat smaller skulls (circa 1380 ccm), which fact might be explained by their probable inferiority in culture to the East Greenlanders. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the capacity of the male skulls — 1517.5 — is in this case too considerably greater than those of the female skulls — 1363.6 —, but this difference is due to a concurrence of various factors, which defy all known mathematical laws in such a degree that none of the linear measurements have any value as marks of sex, even though, in large series, they show a higher average for men than for women.

Most significant in this respect are the curve measurements of the skull, out of which I may select by way of illustration the horizontal circumference, the average of which is 524.4 mm for men and 501.4 mm for women. The sagittal curve from the root of the nose to the hindermost edge of the occipital foramen is on an average 378.3 mm long, and the transversal curve between the upper edge of the ear-openings over the crown of the head is 311 mm long. By taking the length of the foramen, 37 mm and the distance from its foremost edge to the root of the nose 103 mm, the sagittal arch is prolonged into the vertical or sagittal circumference, which is thus 518.3 mm.

The most important measurements in the cranium proper are: the greatest length of the head from the glabella to the most

prominent point on the back of the head, 185, the greatest breadth of the head, which as a rule falls below and in front of the tubera parietalia, 133, and its height, which here has been measured from the front edge of the foramen to the bregma, the point of contact of the sagittal and coronal sutures, 138 mm. From these three measurements have been calculated a cephalic index of 72.1, a vertico-horizontal-index (or better index of height) of 74, and a vertico-transversal-index of 103.4. I have already spoken of the relation between the first of these and the corresponding index of the living heads, and the two others cannot be obtained on living heads. I might here take occasion to compare these points, viz., the cephalic index and the index of height with what we know as to other Eskimo tribes, but as a great part of the available material has regard to very small series and to some extent is lacking in local indications, this material cannot be used as a basis for examinations into the reciprocal race relations of the different tribes or the origin of the whole race; however, in the near future the materials will be augmented by the treatment of the large series of skulls from West Greenland (about 200) which are to be found in our museums, and as we can likewise expect valuable supplementation from North America, there is no occasion for drawing hasty conclusions.

The smallest breadth over the forehead between the reciprocally nearest points of the lineae semicirculares is on an average 95 mm. This measurement, the smallness of which is to a great extent responsible for the pyramidal form of the skulls in the norma facialis, particularly in proportion to the breadth over the zygomatic arches, is of particular interest in the case of the East Greenlanders, because they are seen in this case too to diverge more widely from the Asiatic groups of the yellow race than the other Eskimo tribes, and thus again appear at the tail-end of the line. If we consider the breadth of the forehead in proportion to the length of the head, we get an index of 51.0, whereas BROCA's Eskimo skulls have an index of 49.8; in relation to the breadth the index is 70.7 among the East Greenlanders, 69.7 among BROCA's Eskimo, and 65.9 in his Chinese skulls. Unfortunately BESSELS has failed to take this and many other important measurements on his numerous skulls from Smith's Sound.

The different face measurements on skulls are not so instructive as the corresponding measurements on living persons, owing to the fact that a large number of teeth have fallen out, which has made it impossible to measure the sagittal distances. Referring the reader to my previous observations on the form of the face amongst the

living East Greenlanders, I shall confine myself to a few remarks on the measurements taken.

The total length of the face has been measured from the chin to the centre of the upper tangent common to the two eye-sockets, thus setting a fixed mathematical point in place of the indefinite glabella.

The two components of the total length, the height of the lower jaw and the height of the face taken in a narrow sense — i. e. from the edge of the upper incisor teeth — have often proved impossible of measurement, and the latter has therefore been supplemented by the height from the alveolar arch, which indeed ought to claim greater interest.

As for the transversal measurements, the breadth of the lower jaw is, for the reason above mentioned, entirely missing, but it has been partially replaced by the distance between the centres of the articular surfaces on the temporal bones, which at the same time gives a cross measurement from the base of the skull. The greatest width over the zygomatic arches and the three other cross measurements all refer to the cheek-bone; the bijugal breadth has been measured at the angle between its frontal and temporal process, the external biorbital breadth at the outer end of the suture which unites it with the frontal bone, and the maximal bimaxillar breadth at the nethermost outward end of the processus zygomaticus of the upper jaw-bone.

I have only given one single ratio between the length and breadth of the face, viz. the general facial index, which corresponds to the above-mentioned facial index on living persons, and which on an average is 93·1.

The height and breadth of the eye-sockets is on an average 34·8 and 39·9 respectively. The index is 87·2. The height of the nose from the spina nasalis inferior to the root of the nose and its greatest breadth in the apertura pyriformis, 51·5 and 21·5 respectively, gives a nasal index of 41·7 with a minimum of 34·5 in No. 13, which accordingly has the smallest nose hitherto known on any skull¹). Both these features once again mark out the East Greenlanders as the Eskimo race which is furthest removed from the cognate races, the Mongols and the Americans proper.

The length of the palate and its greatest breadth gives an average index of 78·1, which is considerably greater than in other Eskimo

¹) Topinard: *Anthropologie générale* p. 293. — Captain RYDER has now brought home an Eskimo skull from North Greenland with a nasal index of 33·9.

Measurements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Aver- age
Capacity of skull	1565	1420	1500	1395	1250	1165	1340	1655	1430	1600	1440	1400	1650	1525	1350	1446
Horizontal circumference	540	515	525	520	495	495	500	535	505	510	510	500	535	520	500	512
Transversal arch	325	310	320	300	290	295	300	325	310	315	325	305	322	315	308	311
Sagittal arch	400	375	384	369	362	370	370	397	385	380	364	366	395	393	365	378
Basiscranial length	110	108	110	104	98	94	100	110	102	94	104	92	112	104	102	103
Length of occipital foramen	38	36	35	34	35	35	35	37	37	37	39	39	40	36	40	37
Sagittal circumference	648	519	529	508	494	499	505	544	524	511	507	497	547	533	507	518
Greatest length	196	183	188	184	178	180	179	104	184	180	182	182	197	188	178	185
Greatest breadth	136	130	138	130	124	128	132	139	132	136	142	136	134	131	130	133
Basilo-bregmatical height	149	(142)	140	136	(126)	(125)	—	146	138	136	140	126	146	144	145	(138)
Inferior frontal breadth	100	94	101	94	93	88	94	98	94	98	90	93	96	99	92	95
Cephalic index	69.4	71.0	73.4	70.7	69.7	71.1	73.7	71.6	71.7	75.5	78.0	74.7	68.0	69.7	73.0	72.1
Index of height	76.0	(77.6)	74.5	73.9	(70.6)	(69.4)	—	75.3	75.0	75.5	76.9	69.2	74.1	76.6	75.8	(73.3)
Total height of face	132	132	138	128	125	122	112	141	126	—	(123)	—	133	(136)	130	(129)
Genio-dental height	42	—	48	44	—	—	36	49	41	—	—	—	43	49	42	44
Dento-superciliar height	90	—	90	84	—	—	76	92	85	—	—	—	90	—	—	87
Alveolo-superciliar height	81	81	83	81	81	73	74	86	76	74	79	—	87	83	—	80
Bizygomatic breadth	146	138	142	149	130	132	130	141	128	125	(138)	124	144	—	—	136
External biorbital breadth	110	108	110	114	104	—	104	106	102	100	102	98	105	110	98	105
Bijugal breadth	126	120	126	126	113	—	115	120	114	107	118	108	117	(126)	104	117
Maximal bimaxillar breadth	104	100	108	108	98	105	95	115	96	94	102	90	103	106	92	101
Biglenoidal breadth	106	95	92	104	95	96	95	102	92	94	98	94	101	98	91	95
General facial index	90.5	95.7	97.2	85.9	96.2	92.4	86.2	100.0	98.4	—	89.1	—	92.4	—	—	93.1
Breadth of orbit	40	39	43	42	42	38	40	40	39	38	40	37	40	42	38	40
Height of orbit	33	32	34	36	35	30	35	39	36	35	37	36	37	34	33	35
Orbital index	82.5	82.0	79.7	85.7	83.3	78.9	87.5	97.5	92.3	92.1	92.5	97.3	92.5	81.0	86.8	87.2
Nasal height	56	54	53	51	49	47	47	54	50	50	52	45	58	55	52	51.5
Nasal breadth	21	22	23	23	23	22	21	21	21	21	21	20	20	22	22	21.5
Nasal index	37.5	40.7	43.4	45.1	46.9	46.8	44.7	38.9	42.0	42.0	40.4	44.4	34.5	40.0	42.3	41.7
Length of palate	54	50	54	50	47	51	51	50	51	41	45	41	50	50	46	49
Breadth of palate	40	36	34	44	38	40	36	45	41	33	35	35	41	37	34	38
Palatal index	71.1	72.8	63.0	88.0	80.9	78.4	70.6	90.0	80.4	80.5	77.8	85.4	82.0	74.0	73.9	78.1

skulls, but the individual variations are here so considerable (from 63·0 to 90·0), that there do not seem to be any grounds for attaching any importance to this point.

The question of the colour of the races of mankind is undoubtedly one of the most difficult problems in anthropology. Quite apart from the admixture of subjectivity in the different observers' conception and description of the often extremely delicate nuances in the human complexion, iris, and hair, the numerous individual variations and the dependency of the colour on sun and wind serve to complicate the question in such a degree that it is a matter of extreme difficulty to establish an accurate formulation of the colour of a race. And in fact the latest French school has, in view of these difficulties, tried to facilitate the determination of colour by abandoning the use of BROCA's well-known and formerly much used standard tables¹⁾, and proposing a simple scale — with quite a small number of colours — which it requires no special practice to use and which gives quite sufficient information as to these proportions²⁾.

Unfortunately the Expedition has not been able to use this method to any great extent, but by oral communication with its members we have succeeded in supplementing the records in such a way that the following account must be regarded as correct in all essential particulars.

The colour of the skin on the uncovered surfaces, that is especially on the face, is in general yellowish brown with a few exceptions, shading off now into yellow, now into brown. On the trunk and the other covered parts of the body the skin is lighter, with a bluish tinge, whence it might well be described as light olive. The parts which are darkly pigmented also in European tribes, viz., particularly the genitalia externa and the nipple with the areola, have amongst the East Greenlanders a pronounced bluish tinge, which merges into the yellowish-brown ground colour, or even prevails over it to such an extent that the colour of the parts in question must actually be designated as blue. — The women are considerably lighter than the men.

In this connection I must also mention that in new-born children there has been observed in the sacro-lumbar region a distinct bluish-

¹⁾ In 'Instructions générales pour les recherches anthropologiques'. 2. Ed. Paris 1879, and in 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology' publ. by the British Association for the Advancement of Science. London 1874.

²⁾ Topinard: *Anthropologie générale*, p. 301.

black spot which vanishes in the course of the first year of the child's life. SAABYE¹⁾ had previously pointed out this peculiarity as regards the West Greenlanders, and ESCHRICHT took occasion to recall this fact in one of his treatises on whales; but otherwise this observation appears to have been forgotten, and at any rate it has not left any traces behind it in recent anthropological literature. The observation has, however, acquired a new significance through the circumstance that Dr. E. BAELZ of Tokio, at the same time that HOLM made his observations, mentioned quite a similar spot in the same place in Japanese babies, in a treatise on the physical characteristics of the Japanese²⁾.

This peculiarity has subsequently been observed in many other tribes, particularly those belonging to the yellow races, and it is now no longer possible to attach any importance to it as evidence of the possible affinity of the Eskimo to the Mongolians. The spot, or rather the spots, as there are often two or more, occurs not merely among the Japanese, the Ainos, the Koreans, the Chinese and Indo-Chinese, but also in North and South America, in Hawaii and, though extremely seldom, in Europe itself.

The question is, however, too wide and moreover too obscure and intricate for me to enter into here. I need only say that at any rate it has nothing to do with the question of the immediate descent of the Eskimo, as their possible immigration from Asia in any case is to be placed much further back than their immigration into the arctic countries from the south, which after RINK's extensive investigations must be considered no longer open to doubt.

The colour of the iris among the total number of East Greenlanders examined must be designated as brown with certain nuances: blackish-brown, dark-brown, greyish-brown — with only a single exception, a twenty-year-old girl from Umanak, who had blue eyes.

The colour of the hair must in general be designated as black or dark-brown, but here we remark a very peculiar sexual difference, which we must now pause to examine. It will be seen from the following table, in which I have grouped together the nuances found, viz., blackish-brown, brownish-black, blackish-red (one man) and dark-brown under the common designation 'dark-brown', that

¹⁾ Brudstykker af en Dagbog, holden i Grønland 1770—78. Odense 1816, p. 136.

²⁾ Die körperlichen Eigenschaften der Japaner. Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens. Yokohama 1883. Cited in *Globus*. Vol. 48, 1885.

the great majority of the men of the East coast have black and the rest dark-brown hair, whereas only three women have black and all the rest dark-brown or brown hair.

Colour of the hair	Men				Women			
	Number	black	dark-brown	brown	Number	black	dark-brown	brown
North East coast	30	17	13	"	15	1	14	"
South —	21	14	7	"	23	2	16	5
South West coast	21	16	4	1	24	16	8	"

If this were a case of a real race-mark, which indeed would not be at all strange, it would be curious that the women on the southern West coast should possess the very same characteristic as the men here and along the whole East coast, as, judging by other evidences, there does not seem to be any essential difference in these two tribes of the same race. Thus we must look about for another explanation. We find the solution of the riddle in a little notice by Captain HOLM¹⁾ that the women daily wash their hair in the urine-tubs, a treatment which might indubitably lead to such a change of colour, and so the whole matter is after all merely a mystery of the toilet.

The growth of hair is in general abundant. The hair of the head is smooth and close; it is never cut. The men have as a rule a well-grown beard, but they frequently pull out the hairs of the beard either entirely or partially. They have also hair in the arm-pits, sometimes likewise on the chest and legs, and both sexes have hairy pubes. Baldness is unknown, and only a few old men have grey hair. The hair of the women is shorter and considerably finer than that of the men, as also appears from a microscopical examination of a collection of hair samples which the Expedition brought with them.

The cross section of the single hairs is, as in most other tribes, elliptical, scarcely double so long as broad. Although I do not believe that any particular scientific significance can be attached to this characteristic, I nevertheless give, by way of further elucidation, a series of the measurements ascertained, especially in order to show how considerable the difference in the sexes is.

¹⁾ Geografisk Tidsskrift. Copenhagen vol. VIII, 1886, p. 90.

	Breadth	Length		Breadth	Length
Men:	0·08 mm	0·15 mm	Women:	0·07 mm	0·13 mm
	0·09 —	0·15 —		0·08 —	0·15 —
	0·09 —	0·14 —		0·08 —	0·14 —
	0·10 —	0·16 —		0·06 —	0·11 —
	0·08 —	0·15 —		0·08 —	0·13 —
	0·08 —	0·14 —		0·07 —	0·12 —
	0·10 —	0·15 —		0·06 —	0·10 —
	0·07 —	0·14 —		0·08 —	0·13 —
	0·07 —	0·15 —		0·08 —	0·12 —
	0·09 —	0·14 —		0·08 —	0·12 —
Average:	0·085 mm	0·147 mm	Average:	0·074 mm	0·125 mm

The main conclusion from the investigations which have been set forth here is that the East Greenlanders must be regarded as a pure and unmixed Eskimo tribe without any ostensible traces of foreign elements. As far as it may be permissible to draw any conclusions from the scanty stock of materials at command, it may be added that the population of the East coast in physical development surpasses most other East Eskimo, and particularly the other Greenland tribes, not only the cowering hordes which rove about the coasts of Smith's Sound, but also the strongly mixed population in the Danish commercial districts of the West coast. Whether with the same premises we are entitled also to assume that here just at the extreme boundary line of the expansion of the Eskimo race we encounter its culmination, will in the last resort depend on how its relation as a whole to the kindred races in North America and East Asia is conceived.

III.

LIST OF THE INHABITANTS
OF THE EAST COAST OF GREENLAND

MADE IN THE AUTUMN OF 1884

BY

JOHANNES HANSEN,
CATECHIST

NOTES ON THE LIST

BY

G. HOLM

[1887] 1911

THE population of the East coast of Greenland consisted in the autumn of 1884 of 548 souls. Of these 413 lived in the *Angmagsalik* district, and 135 on the more southerly stretch of coast.

GRAAH states that the population in 1829 was about 600 souls, but in 1832 only about 480¹⁾. These persons all lived on the more southerly stretch of coast. It can hardly be supposed that there were many who went up from the South to the Angmagsalik district since Graah's time, as the trend of the people is round towards the West coast, to which they are attracted by the prospect of procuring European wares. In the church register in *Frederiksdal* on the West coast we find that since 1832 there have been entered as having come from the East coast and been baptized: 274 persons²⁾; so that if Graah's statement was correct, the population, even if we deduct the emigrants, must have diminished considerably.

Of the people of Angmagsalik 6 to 8 were between the ages of 60 and 70. Several of them were able to remember that a man from *Sermilik* who had seen Graah, came up to them and related of him that he had intended to visit them in the same year.

In the course of the 10 months we were at *Angmagsalik* there were 10 births and 13 deaths³⁾.

It is possible, however, that the number of births was larger. On the southern part of the coast there were 6 births and no deaths. Out of the 13 deaths, 3 persons perished in kaiaks (viz. nos. 61, 92 and 280), one (no. 25) was thrown into the sea on account of disease, and one (no. 79) threw himself at the instigation of others into the sea on account of age and weakness.

¹⁾ Graah: *Undersøgelses-Rejse til Østkysten af Grønland* (1832), page 118.

²⁾ According to information obligingly furnished by the missionaries at *Frederiksdal* (Table I).

³⁾ The dead are designated in the list by a †.

Five violent deaths out of 13 is indeed an extraordinarily large percentage. It is, of course, impossible to draw any conclusions from a single year; we merely note that on the East coast that year 23 % of the deaths were in kaiaks, while the corresponding figures in the southern inspectoral district of the West coast were 7 %, and in the northern inspectoral district 6 %¹⁾. The average for a longer series of years on the West coast is 8 %²⁾. Similarly it may be noted that the deaths on the East coast, calculated for one year, were 2·8 % of the population, whereas those in the southern inspectoral district on the West coast in 1884 were 5·4 %, and in the northern inspectoral district 2·0 %. The average number of deaths on the West coast is 2·8 %³⁾, thus the same as in that one year on the East coast.

Table I.

The number of East Greenlanders who were baptized and entered in the church register at Frederiksdal.

According to information kindly supplied by the missionaries at Frederiksdal.

Year	Male	Female	Year	Male	Female	Year	Male	Female
1822	3	5	1844	"	"	1866	2	1
1823	2	6	1845	1	1	1867	"	2
1824	36	32	1846	3	1	1868	2	"
1825	32	43	1847	3	1	1869	"	"
1826	28	20	1848	11	8	1870	5	4
1827	12	10	1849	8	4	1871	"	1
1828	10	9	1850	1	3	1872	5	5
1829	4	15	1851	3	"	1873	"	"
1830	18	21	1852	6	9	1874	1	1
1831	10	19	1853	1	2	1875	"	"
1832	10	13	1854	"	"	1876	"	"
1833	12	8	1855	"	1	1877	"	"
1834	8	8	1856	1	"	1878	"	1
1835	6	9	1857	1	1	1879	"	"
1836	6	2	1858	1	8	1880	"	"
1837	"	2	1859	8	9	1881	1	1
1838	2	3	1860	5	5	1882	7	5
1839	"	"	1861	4	6	1883	"	"
1840	1	2	1862	5	5	1884	"	"
1841	1	1	1863	2	2	Total . . .	290	319
1842	"	"	1864	"	1			
1843	1	"	1865	1	3	In all	609 persons	

¹⁾ Meddelelser fra Direktoratet for den kgl. grønlandske Handel 1886. No. 1.
²⁾ Rink: Danish Greenland. Page 229.
³⁾ Rink: Grönland geografisk og statistisk beskrevet. Vol. II. P. 259.

Table II.
Comparative table of the East Greenlanders and the West Greenlanders in 1884.

The information from the West coast has been obligingly furnished by the Director of the Royal Board of Greenland Trade.

	Male	Fe- male	Houses	Tents	Kaiaks	Umi- aks	Dog- sledges	Number of females per 1000 males	Per 1000 natives				Danish boats	
									Houses	Tents	Kaiaks	Umi- aks		Sledg- es
Angmagsalik	193	220	13	37	119	28	¹⁾	1140	31	90	288	68	¹⁾	..
The south part of the East coast.....	52	83	7	12	32 ²⁾	7	¹⁾	1596	52	89	237	52	¹⁾	..
The Julianehaab and Frederikshaab districts	1387	1646	412	³⁾	715	113	0	1187	136	³⁾	236	37	0	7
The central districts.....	1142	1294	224	..	469	54	0	1133	92	..	193	23	0	37
The colonies round Disko Bay	1259	1362	267	..	668	80	148	1082	102	..	255	31	56	9
The Umanak and Upernivik districts	803	904	186	..	336	15	154	1126	109	..	197	9	90	11

¹⁾ The Easterners had at least as many dog-sledges as umiaks, but hardly as many as tents.
²⁾ Two of them belonging to women.
³⁾ We have no information from the West coast as to tents.

It will be seen from Table II, that the proportion between men and women at Angmagsalik is as on the West coast, viz., 114 women to 100 men. It is certainly only a coincidence that at present there are such a large number of women on the southern part of the East coast, viz., 160 women to 100 men; for among the people who emigrated from there to the West coast, the proportion is 110 women to 100 men, which is very favourable (Table I).

It is an advantage for the Eskimo to be gathered together in a large company in one house. The people are thus not so liable to fall into poverty through mere chance circumstances, as e. g. when the man who supports the family is unable to go out hunting owing to illness or accident. Whereas at Angmagsalik, there is only one house in each settlement, which is inhabited on an average by 32 persons, the southern Easterners have often two houses in the same settlement, with an average of 19 inhabitants. At all trading-places on the West coast, each family generally lives in a house to themselves; the reason is no doubt, that they do not want to share the European provisions with the housemates, while they do not mind sharing their hunting spoils with them. In the *Juliane-haab* and *Frederikshaab* districts there are only 7 persons on an average per house, whereas further north on the West coast there are 10.

As regards tents information is lacking about the West coast. On the East coast there are 9 tents per 100 persons.

The umiaks of the southern Easterners are in general larger than those of the Angmagsaliks; hence it is nothing remarkable that on the southern East coast there are 19 persons per umiak, while at *Angmagsalik* there are only 15 (Table II). Notwithstanding the far greater proportion of women among the southern Easterners, they have comparatively more umiaks than the southernmost Westerners — where there are 27 persons per boat —, and that though the Easterners also have sledges. In the rest of the southern district on the West coast (north of *Frederikshaab*), where there are very few umiaks, there are also Danish boats.

In the colonies round Disko Bay, with which the Easterners may be compared as regards hunting conditions, the number of umiaks is greater than in the central districts, viz., 32 persons per boat, and they also have dog-sledges. I have no reliable information as to the number of the dog-sledges on the East coast, but I can say for certain that the Easterners have at least as many dog-sledges as umiaks, but hardly as many as tents. That is to say that as regards the number of sledges the Angmagsaliks are just as well-off as the colonies round Disko Bay, while with regard to the

number of umiaks, they have twice as many as the latter, and far more than in the Julianehaab District.

The southern Easterners have far fewer kaiaks than the people of Angmagsalik, viz., not more than the southernmost Westerners. This is, however, solely a consequence of the great number of women there; for not only all the men, but actually two women, have a kaiak. It will be seen then, that, though the southern Easterners are in quite an abnormal position with regard to the number of women per man, they have just as many kaiaks and far more umiaks than the southernmost Westerners, and besides they have dog-sledges, which, as we know, are not found in the southern districts on the West coast.

It will be gathered from the foregoing that the Easterners are far better-off in these respects than the Westerners.

In the following list of names JOHANNES HANSEN's mode of spelling has been followed¹). He has tried particularly to get at the meaning of the names, and he has therefore spelt them according to the dialect and mode of spelling of the West coast. Many of the names are accordingly pronounced quite differently from what one would suppose from this list. Whereas as regards *Angmagsalik* I have followed the principle of writing the names according to the pronunciation (except where this would have hindered the understanding of names the meaning of which was known from the West coast), in this list I have not corrected the spelling of the names, as there were many I had never heard pronounced.

As regards the ages given in the list, it is obvious that in many cases they are merely a rough estimate, and can make no pretence to perfect accuracy.

However, we had a few fixed points to start from; thus, in the case of the older people, the year a man from *Sermilik* came across GRAAH, viz. 1830²), and as regards the younger people; the year where people saw the 'Star with the great shining tail', namely *Donati's* comet of 1858.

¹) The following alterations have however been made; the guttural *k* has been replaced by an ordinary *k*, *ss* by a single *s* and the accent *~* by *^*.

²) Compare page 73 and Graah's *Undersøgelses-Rejse* (1832), p. 140.

JOHANNES HANSEN: List of the Inhabitants of the East coast of Greenland between Cape Farvel and Angmagsalik 1884.

The Southern Easterners	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
<i>Tingmiarmiut</i> (2 houses).								
1. <i>Navfalik</i>	40	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
2. <i>Pavfigigsek</i> his wife.....	?	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
3. <i>Márnaitsek</i> } their daughters.....	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
4. <i>Ulijitima</i> }	1 ¹⁾	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
5. <i>Igsiavik</i>	?	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
6. <i>Narvalinek</i> his wife.....	?	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
7. <i>Angmarfik</i> }	9	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
8. <i>Saggatsiak</i> } their children.....	7	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
9. ? }	1	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
10. <i>Mérék</i> widow.....	50	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
11. <i>Atsarajik</i>	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
12. <i>Ingiük</i>	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
13. <i>Pinerték</i>	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
14. <i>Majivariak</i>	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
15. <i>Kâvarnak</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
16. <i>Akisarujugsuak</i> his wife.....	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
17. <i>Kingupukujôk</i> }	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
18. <i>Tarkavnarsivasik</i> } their children...	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
19. <i>Uvikasia</i> }	4	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
20. <i>Kisimîtek</i>	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
21. <i>Nipujuk</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
22. <i>Natserkortok</i> his wife.....	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
23. <i>Upat</i> }	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
24. <i>Pekilak</i> } their children.....	7	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
25. <i>Alekalá</i> }	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
26. <i>Nuliakángilsortát</i>	40	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
27. <i>Putsók</i> his wife.....	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
28. <i>Okausikitsek</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
29. <i>Arpajík</i> his wife.....	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
30. <i>Nákartôrsimasek</i>	?	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
31. <i>Kitsigpak</i>	?	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
32. <i>Tingmiak</i> his wife.....	?	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
33. <i>Misarkalák</i> }	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
34. <i>Kinarigsek</i> } their children.....	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
35. <i>Pigigsártek</i> }	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
36. <i>Sunôrsivik</i> }	2	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
37. <i>Masik</i>	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
	"	9	4	12	12	9	1	3

¹⁾ The age of all children under the age of one year is given in the list as 1 year.

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
<i>Umanak</i> (2 houses).								
	"	9	4	12	12	9	1	3
38. <i>Avâtdlat</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
39. <i>Anuk</i> his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
40. <i>Ikulôk</i> their son	3	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
41. <i>Pápitalik</i> widow	45	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
42. <i>Iníkah</i>	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
43. <i>Nájik</i>	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
44. <i>Napalilak</i>	14	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
45. <i>Nukartârajik</i>	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
46. <i>Napa</i>	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
47. <i>Okaluartâk</i>	45	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
48. <i>Nukarpak</i> his wife	45	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
49. <i>Tamok</i>	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
50. <i>Nukarajik</i>	16	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
51. <i>Kángiuk</i>	14	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
52. <i>Súnguamik</i> } their children	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
53. <i>Pigigsârtek</i> }	5	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
54. <i>Kivijek</i> }	2	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
55. <i>Aviâja</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
56. <i>Kasiángivak</i> his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
57. <i>Kivijek</i> their daughter	3	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
58. <i>Ajivarkortók</i> widow	45	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
59. <i>Sanimukagtak</i>	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
60. <i>Pangákârfik</i> his wife	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
61. <i>Tipigigsek</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
62. <i>Pikíme</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
63. <i>Agsarkek</i> widow	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
64. <i>Pâguak</i>	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
65. <i>Karajok</i>	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
66. <i>Pitsânia</i> (<i>Kuánia</i>)	25	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
67. <i>Kardlit</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
68. <i>Mákival</i> } their children	6	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
69. <i>Kivijek</i> }	4	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
70. <i>Aaritak</i> widow	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
71. <i>Ajipagtak</i>	9	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
72. <i>Misarkartak</i> } her children	7	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
73. <i>Pigigsârtek</i> }	5	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
<i>Akorninarmiut</i> (2 houses).								
74. <i>Ijâjuk</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
75. ? his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
76. <i>Pikíme</i> their daughter	4	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
77. <i>Kivingasortáliak</i>	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
78. <i>Takákivât</i>	?	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
79. <i>Navfalik</i> his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
	"	19	10	30	20	19	3	7

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
	"	19	10	30	20	19	3	7
80. <i>Kutsukujôk</i> their daughter.....	20	"	"	1	"	1	"	"
81. <i>Igitsak</i>	40	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
82. <i>Puernîât</i> his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
83. <i>Misarkalernek</i> } their daughter	4	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
84. <i>Kiánissek</i> }	2	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
85. <i>Najagsiak</i> widow	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
86. <i>Kajaitsilik</i> her daughter	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
87. <i>Ijátivat</i>	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
88. <i>Kigdlermarsortok</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
89. <i>Kúngusinek</i> his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
90. ? }	?	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
91. ? } their daughters.....	?	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
92. ? }	?	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
93. <i>Putugorsît</i>	40	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
94. <i>Kivdligak</i> his wife	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
95. <i>Kekartek</i> }	10	"	"	"	1	1	"	"
96. <i>Kaliak</i> } their daughters	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
97. <i>Agsákat</i> }	6	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
98. <i>Nakivak</i> }	3	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
99. <i>Nángajâk</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
100. <i>Pajavatsiak</i> his wife I	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
101. <i>Mâkalak</i> }	18	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
102. <i>Nekisinâk</i> } their sons	14	"	1	"	"	1	"	"
103. <i>Autdlâritât</i> }	12	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
104. <i>Kavsangnek</i> }	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
105. <i>Agdlunârtok</i> his wife II	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
106. <i>Mikiserajik</i> }	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
107. <i>Kinâvekángitsek</i> }	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
108. <i>Taunarsivasik</i> } their sons	6	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
109. <i>Kianisek</i> }	4	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
110. <i>Ilekilârtek</i> }	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
111. <i>Kainijisat</i> widow	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
112. <i>Kupersima</i> } her sons	18	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
113. <i>Kukigsâjik</i> }	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
114. <i>Uternek</i>	?	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
115. <i>Sakek</i> his wife.....	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
116. <i>Márnâke</i> } their children	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
117. <i>Kúsokartek</i> }	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
<i>Igdلولuarsuk</i> (1 house).								
118. <i>Napasertalik</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
119. <i>Tukûtûngâk</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
120. <i>Perkingitsek</i> } their children	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
121. <i>Usûsók</i> }	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
122. <i>Napârtek</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
	"	28	22	40	32	31	7	12

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
	"	28	22	40	32	31	7	12
123. <i>Kujanángitsek</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
124. <i>Sunôrsivik</i> their daughter	4	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
125. <i>Kisime</i> widow	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
126. <i>Kinatdlak</i> } her daughters {	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
127. ? }	4	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
128. <i>Ujarnek</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
129. <i>Nuliarpak</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
130. <i>Kavsarnek</i> } their daughters (twins) {	4	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
131. <i>Tórnaviarsik</i> }	4	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
132. <i>Núkok</i> widow	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
133. <i>Nukartásá</i> widow	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
134. <i>Míkíke</i> her son	14	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
135. <i>Pitánge</i>	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
	"	29	23	46	37	32	7	12

Males 52. Females 83. In all 135 persons.

The Northern Easterners	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
<i>Sermilik.</i>								
<i>On journey 1884 (1 house).</i>								
1. <i>Angmagainak</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
2. <i>Tigimiartigsak</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
3. <i>Panertarujuk</i> } their sons {	6	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
4. <i>Utuánge</i> }	3	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
5. <i>Umérinek</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
6. <i>Napa</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
7. <i>Kiarran</i> their son	4	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
8. <i>Úkak</i> widow	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
9. <i>Naitsikasik</i> } her daughters {	7	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
10. <i>Utilia</i> }	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
11. <i>Kagsivât</i>	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
12. <i>Pikíme</i>	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
13. <i>Anginók</i>	50	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
14. <i>Inekinartek</i> his wife I	45	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
15. <i>Kúna</i> } their children {	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
16. <i>Amârtivat</i> }	14	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
17. <i>Kúminek</i> }	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
18. <i>Najagtárajik</i> his wife II	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
	"	4	4	7	3	4	1	1

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
19. <i>Kavdlunâk</i>	"	4	4	7	3	4	1	1
20. <i>Sernêko</i> † ²⁾	12	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
21. <i>Kutak</i>	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
22. <i>Pilerkaok</i>	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
23. <i>Mikisérajik</i>	6	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
24. <i>Kitsék</i> widow	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
25. <i>Kavigtivinak</i> †	55	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
26. <i>Kalia</i>	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
27. <i>Ajivalik</i>	14	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
28. <i>Kúnak</i> his wife	45	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
29. <i>Morsujuk</i>	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
30. <i>Kágâk</i>	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
31. <i>Kutsukujók</i>	15	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
32. <i>Kiluk</i>	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
33. <i>Ulúmakek</i>	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
34. <i>Katiték</i> his wife	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
35. <i>Ilekilârtek</i> their daughter	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
36. <i>Angmalikagtak</i>	1	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
37. <i>Ingivak</i> his wife	45	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
38. <i>Pérna</i>	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
39. <i>Kipakêk</i>	16	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
40. <i>Ilerkaok</i>	14	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
41. <i>Mamángiük</i>	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
42. <i>Amorse</i>	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
42. <i>Amorse</i>	3	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
<i>Ikatek</i> (1 house).								
43. <i>Ilingivákêk</i>	60	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
44. <i>Tumik</i> (<i>Tók</i>) his wife I	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
45. <i>Kúna</i>	14	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
46. <i>Kalla</i>	13	"	1	"	"	1	"	"
47. <i>Tertiko</i>	11	"	1	"	"	1	"	"
48. <i>Apúsuk</i>	9	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
49. <i>Putorkortók</i>	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
50. <i>Sorfia</i>	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
51. <i>Apúsuk</i> his wife II	55	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
52. <i>Mamerâk</i>	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
53. <i>Pítingivasik</i> †	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
54. <i>Nauja</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
55. <i>Ják</i> their daughter	1	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
56. <i>Alámârkartek</i> his daughter	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
57. <i>Kilsikajêk</i>	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
58. <i>Akusína</i>	45	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
	"	15	13	16	14	17	5	5

1) Sometimes this designation covers children who have been reared together.
2) † designates that the person in question has died after the list was made.

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
	"	15	13	16	14	17	5	5
59. <i>Kâtsiarajik</i> his wife	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
60. <i>Sipingaine</i>)	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
61. <i>Saunikok</i> † } their children	15	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
62. <i>Kingartek</i>	30	1	"	"	"	"	"	"
63. <i>Pangatdlak</i>	50	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
64. <i>Sianîtsuk</i> his wife	50	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
65. <i>Pike</i>)	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
66. <i>Kujârak</i> } their children	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
67. <i>Nutarka</i>	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
68. <i>Amitsukujôk</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
69. <i>Niuatigâk</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
70. <i>Tértiko</i> their daughter	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
71. <i>Augpalugtok</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
72. <i>Aukák</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
73. <i>Narrinángitsek</i> their son	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
74. <i>Miane</i>	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
75. <i>Kiláupaluk</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
76. <i>Nakíka</i> his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
77. <i>Uvdlume</i> their son	2	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
78. <i>Kâkasik</i> †	50	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
79. <i>Okunarpajik</i> his wife I †	50	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
80. <i>Perkigsunguasik</i>)	18	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
81. <i>Kujanaut</i>)	16	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
82. <i>Kôrse</i>) their children	12	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
83. <i>Pajagarsik</i>)	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
84. <i>Anuk</i> his wife II	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
85. <i>Sâruat</i>)	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
86. <i>Nakíka</i>)	15	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
87. <i>Kâritsek</i>) their children	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
88. <i>Kalivalak</i> †)	9	"	1	"	"	1	"	"
89. <i>Usortorfik</i>)	6	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
90. <i>Pijimassak</i>	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
91. <i>Pitsekiagdlak</i> his wife	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
92. <i>Pápik</i> †	35	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
93. <i>Kivingalâk</i> his wife I	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
94. <i>Kivsâlik</i>)	11	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
95. <i>Sijerâvak</i>)	9	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
96. <i>Timitek</i>) their children	7	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
97. <i>Kúnîte</i>)	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
98. <i>Pujók</i> his wife II	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
99. <i>Sukalik</i>)	4	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
100. <i>Amerdlavfârik</i> } their daughters	1	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
	"	27	18	31	24	29	7	7

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
<i>Sivinganârsik</i> (1 house).								
	"	27	18	31	24	29	7	7
101. <i>Kivdlakartek</i>	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
102. <i>Kakatsakasekaok</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
103. <i>Artârtek</i>	40	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
104. <i>Akipe</i> his wife I	38	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
105. <i>Têrtiko</i> their daughter	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
106. <i>Imâjane</i> his wife II	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
107. <i>Sâjók</i> their son	18	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
108. <i>Kujanarpê</i>	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
109. <i>Nukalât</i> his wife.....	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
110. <i>Kavdlunâk</i> their daughter	2	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
111. <i>Perkilâk</i>	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
112. <i>Ajaitsek</i> his wife.....	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
113. <i>Ivnârigsek</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
114. <i>Igdlimâtsîkasik</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
115. <i>Agpaliak</i> his wife.....	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
116. <i>Ujulikâk</i>)	15	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
117. <i>Aitsêk</i>) their children	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
118. <i>Arkarnaitsiarajik</i>	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
119. <i>Isângasek</i> his wife	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
120. <i>Siânialik</i>	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
121. <i>Kitsúnguak</i> his wife.....	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
122. <i>Angisêk</i> their daughter	2	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
123. <i>Norajerak</i> widow	50	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
124. <i>Make</i>)	18	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
125. <i>Pilikaitsiak</i>)	15	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
126. <i>Kâritsek</i>) her children	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
127. <i>Silakasik</i>)	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
128. <i>Ingmálukutsuk</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
129. <i>Akipe</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
130. <i>Kúngâk</i>)	15	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
131. <i>Aputsuk</i>) his children	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
<i>Sivinganek</i> (1 house).								
132. <i>Pákának</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
133. <i>Uvilatse</i> his wife.....	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
134. ? their daughter	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
135. <i>Kúnak</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
136. <i>Natsek</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
137. ? their daughter	1	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
138. <i>Akernilik</i>	40	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
139. <i>Kakagtorujuk</i> his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
140. <i>Kisorusuk</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
141. <i>Kingmingersek</i> his wife.....	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
	"	43	20	48	30	45	8	10

		Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
		"	43	20	48	30	45	8	10
142.	? } their children.....	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
143.	? }	5	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
144.	<i>Avârsik</i>	40	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
145.	<i>Sâkivât</i> his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
146.	? } their children	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
147.	? }	3	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
148.	<i>Tusiagtek</i> widow	50	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
149.	<i>Pilagtit</i>	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
150.	<i>Ijârtut</i> his wife	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
151.	<i>Ujorkâk</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
152.	? his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
153.	<i>Uinak</i> }	15	1	"	"	"	"	"	"
154.	<i>Ujulikâk</i> }	12	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
155.	? } their children	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
156.	? }	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
157.	? }	6	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
158.	? }	4	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
159.	<i>Nâko</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
160.	<i>Atânitek</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
161.	? } their sons	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
162.	? }	5	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
<i>Akerninak</i> (1 house).									
163.	<i>Tiggâné</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
164.	<i>Umérinek</i> his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
165.	? their son	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
166.	<i>Unangisakasik</i> widow	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
167.	<i>Singagtât</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
168.	<i>Okârtek</i> his wife	28	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
169.	? } their children	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
170.	? }	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
171.	? }	6	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
172.	<i>Kâvalissok</i>	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
173.	<i>Kâkâk</i> his wife	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
174.	<i>Suitsek</i> widow †	?	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
<i>Angmagsalik.</i>									
<i>Tasiusârsik</i> (1 house).									
175.	<i>Kutsuluk</i>	50	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
176.	<i>Tûgutok</i> his wife	45	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
177.	<i>Nâpardlukok</i> }	22	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
178.	<i>Kivia</i> } their children	14	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
179.	<i>Orssok</i>	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
		"	53	27	59	40	54	11	13

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
	"	53	27	59	40	54	11	13
180. <i>Igsiavik</i>	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
181. <i>Ijartivat</i> his wife, daughter of 175 a. 176	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
182. <i>Nakitsilik</i> widow, sister of 175	60	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
183. <i>Narsingagtok</i> her son	40	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
184. <i>Mamartek</i> his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
185. <i>Angiáungitse</i> }	14	"	1	"	"	1	"	"
186. <i>Páussuak</i> }	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
187. <i>Nakekaok</i> } their children	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
188. <i>Kavdlunâk</i> }	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
189. <i>Nápartak</i> }	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
190. <i>Sanimuninak</i> son of 182	30	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
191. <i>Puitsek</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
192. <i>Atâk</i> }	5	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
193. <i>Igpat</i> } their sons	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
194. <i>Tipigigsok</i>	16	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
195. <i>Autdlâgd lak</i>	50	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
196. <i>Tiparro</i> his wife	45	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
197. <i>Kutsagtek</i> their son	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
198. <i>Nusúkaligak</i>	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
199. <i>Pîlikât</i> son of 195	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
200. <i>Váine</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
201. <i>Utua</i> k	40	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
202. <i>Utsukuluk</i> his wife I	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
203. <i>Kaorkortók</i> }	15	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
204. <i>Amártivat</i> }	14	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
205. <i>Utsukuluk</i> } their children	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
206. <i>Kúpatik</i> }	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
207. <i>Sordluerinek</i> his wife II, sister of 202	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
208. <i>Amarek</i> }	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
209. <i>Púkujukuluk</i> } their daughters	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
<i>Umívik</i> (1 house).								
210. <i>Avók</i> (<i>Kunê</i>)	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
211. <i>Pôrusek</i> his wife, daughter of 182 ..	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
212. <i>Mikajik</i>	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
213. <i>Ikásákitsek</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
214. <i>Avijissak</i> his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
215. <i>Pekinganek</i> their daughter	2	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
216. <i>Angitingivak</i>	55	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
217. <i>Kuâgsak</i> his wife	45	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
218. <i>Ikardligse</i> }	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
219. <i>Arkalivartâk</i> }	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
220. <i>Kivdlikiak</i> } their children	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
221. <i>Ajarajik</i> }	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
222. <i>Kijingnâk</i> }	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
	"	65	37	71	49	67	13	18

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
	"	65	37	71	49	67	13	18
223. Angitáungitsek	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
224. Kitsúnguak his wife.....	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
225. Ningávat	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
226. Unase his wife.....	33	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
227. Pâtêk)	15	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
228. Kalia) their children.....	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
Kumarmiut (1 house).								
229. Inik (Ukutsiât).....	35	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
230. Usungmák his wife †	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
231. Kunuk their daughter	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
232. Pisák †	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
233. Alivát his wife	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
234. Kitsúnguak Silekâva	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
235. Ugpakángitsek	55	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
236. Ekinga his wife	50	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
237. Ulingnek	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
238. Mátak	15	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
239. Umasek	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
240. Kúngák	12	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
241. Kingmiarsik	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
242. Pekitak	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
243. Inik	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
244. Igpat his wife	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
245. Aipátut their son	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
246. Nakitok	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
247. Nauja his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
248. Kiarran their daughter.....	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
249. Karatserfik	40	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
250. Sanerarték his wife	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
251. Agpársik	19	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
252. Amarorssuit	16	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
253. Suakak	15	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
254. Okútak	11	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
255. Akipût widow	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
256. Kajak her son	12	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
Ingmikértok (1 house).								
257. Nútangnek.....	30	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
258. Savigtivarnâk his wife	28	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
259. Nársivak	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
260. Nukardliliak	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
261. Kúnak	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
262. Kavaupak widow	65	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
	"	77	45	86	54	79	16	22

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
	"	77	45	86	54	79	16	22
263. Takinitikitsek	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
264. Ekinga his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
265. Pókse }	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
266. Umatak } their children	6	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
267. Kalasek }	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
268. Ugtokersek	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
269. Ingítuk his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
270. Ikimasek their daughter	1	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
271. Palasek	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
272. Nálagak }	14	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
273. Igtútsuk } her children	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
274. Kimerdlik }	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
275. Mitsuarnianga	22	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
276. Pusó his wife	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
277. Amuko	22	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
278. Uggúnar Kúsimasek	50	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
279. Niarsiak his wife	45	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
280. Suiarkak their son †	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
281. Tikasik his wife	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
282. Pijiva	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
283. Kvikárnát his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
284. Sivfiak }	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
285. Tútamák } their children	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
286. Pitarsivak	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
287. Ajúna his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
288. Pekitigsak	40	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
289. Mátusok his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
290. Kutsórnak }	12	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
291. Kuvnek } their sons	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
292. Nangmák }	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
293. Nanerajik	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
Nórajik (1 house).								
294. Sugdluitsek	55	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
295. Ekinga his wife	45	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
296. Narsingagtok }	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
297. Kivia } their daughters	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
298. Kátávak	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
299. Ernipa his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
300. Uverniva }	12	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
301. Ulingatak } their children	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
302. Kardligpagtalik }	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
303. Maja }	3	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
304. Naugmák widow	50	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
305. Parajitsek	45	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
	"	89	55	98	63	91	18	25

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
	"	89	55	98	63	91	18	25
306. <i>Nâlagak</i> his wife	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
307. <i>Mâtak</i> their daughter	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
308. <i>Milagtek</i> widower	65	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
309. <i>Angâkertâk</i> } his sons	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
310. <i>Agdliartortok</i> }	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
311. <i>Hâhâlâk</i> his daughter	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
312. <i>Igsiavikitsek</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
313. <i>Itsivât</i> his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
314. <i>Kausuarnât</i> } their daughters	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
315. <i>Pujôk</i> }	2	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
316. <i>Pijarsik (Ilisimartek)</i>	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
317. <i>Kulausak</i> his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
318. <i>Kavdlunâk</i> their son	2	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
319. <i>Erak</i>	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
320. <i>Uvia</i>	45	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
321. <i>Angitek</i> his wife I.	45	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
322. <i>Merkerdluk</i> } their children	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
323. <i>Nukardliliak</i> }	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
324. <i>Kerdliât</i> his wife II	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
325. <i>Tivângivârrît</i> } their children	14	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
326. <i>Nînâk</i> }	12	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
327. <i>Kârtuak</i>	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
328. <i>Kîsertok</i> his wife	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
329. <i>Naujâk</i> } her daughters	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
330. <i>Kajalik</i> }	9	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
331. <i>Amâmûkatâ</i>	14	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
332. <i>Kûnitse</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
333. <i>Aitsiva</i> his wife	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
334. <i>Kâsiâkartek</i> their son	2	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
335. <i>Kajaitsek</i>	18	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
336. <i>Ungôk</i> his wife	45	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
337. <i>Amersak</i>	35	1	"	"	"	"	"	"
338. <i>Nâpartok</i> his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
339. <i>Arak</i> } their children	13	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
340. <i>Kvikârânât</i> }	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
<i>Nôrsît</i> (1 house).								
341. <i>Kâkiliortok</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
342. <i>Suuaunâk</i> his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
343. <i>Misartak</i> their son	3	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
344. <i>Sanersak</i>	65	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
345. <i>Kâsuarpâse</i> his wife	60	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
346. <i>Kijâinak</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
347. <i>Ilîkasigpât</i> his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
	"	102	61	110	74	103	21	30

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
	"	102	61	110	74	103	21	30
348. <i>Iverdlaglok</i>)	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
349. <i>Umâjik</i>) their children	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
350. <i>Sikivak</i>	40	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
351. <i>Nârkortôk</i> his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
352. <i>Kivâkek</i> }	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
353. <i>Nalerkîsek</i> }	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
354. <i>Sukasik</i> }	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
355. <i>Nalivîla</i> }	6	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
356. <i>Sangmiôk</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
357. <i>Kûkarnâk</i> his wife, daughter of 359	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
358. <i>Putdlâinak</i> their son	2	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
359. <i>Alûsâkât</i>	55	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
360. <i>Simigak</i> his wife, daughter of 182 .	40	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
361. <i>Pânukasik</i> }	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
362. <i>Tôrdlûko</i> }	10	"	1	"	"	1	"	"
363. <i>Kûitse</i> }	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
364. <i>Pekitak</i> }	5	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
365. <i>Ukak</i> }	1	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
<i>Kangârsik</i> (1 house).								
366. <i>Nârkortôk</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
367. <i>Ingnâlik</i> his wife I	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
368. <i>Okâginalik</i> }	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
369. <i>Kêrsagak</i> }	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
370. <i>Pivfârigsek</i> }	5	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
371. <i>Ukak</i> }	2	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
372. <i>Utsukulût</i> his wife II	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
373. <i>Ikausârkortôk</i> son of 400	18	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
374. <i>Sâningasek</i> his wife	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
375. <i>Tikâjât</i>	60	1	"	"	"	1	"	1
376. <i>Okokûma</i> his wife	55	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
377. <i>Okitsernaussâk</i> }	18	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
378. <i>Okujuk</i> }	14	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
379. <i>Ajingitsingisakasik</i> }	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
380. <i>Utsukulût</i> }	8	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
381. <i>Kisime</i> }	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
382. <i>Sanik</i> his wife	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
383. <i>Arkasâk</i> their daughter	2	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
384. <i>Upernâk</i>	30	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
385. <i>Simigak</i> his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
386. <i>Kingmiarsik</i> their daughter	3	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
387. <i>Kûkak</i>	35	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
388. <i>Umêrinek</i> his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
389. <i>Tuâtekartek</i> † }	14	"	1	"	"	1	"	"
390. <i>Pitsak</i> }	10	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
	"	111	72	121	86	114	25	35

	Age	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Kaiaks	Umiaks	Tents
	"	111	72	121	86	114	25	35
391. <i>Uitsina</i>	20	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
392. <i>Amarek</i> his wife	20	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
393. <i>Tákajámak</i> widow	55	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
394. <i>Amártivat</i> her son	12	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
395. <i>Amatsingnek</i> twin-brother of 366. .	35	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
396. <i>Atekája</i> his wife	30	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
397. <i>Kingika</i> }	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
398. <i>Okujuk</i> } their children	8	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
399. <i>Tipa</i> }	3	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
<i>Sermiligâk.</i>								
<i>Nunakitit</i> (1 house).								
400. <i>Avgo</i>	40	1	"	"	"	1	1	1
401. <i>Napâtok</i> his wife I.....	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
402. <i>Angmalilik</i> his wife II.....	55	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
403. <i>Maratsuk</i> her son	35	1	"	"	"	1	1	"
404. <i>Ama</i> his wife	35	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
405. <i>Ajukuluk</i> }	7	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
406. <i>Tugpaligak</i> } their children	12	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
407. <i>Okârtek</i> }	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
408. <i>Sérnak</i> son of 402.....	25	1	"	"	"	1	"	"
409. <i>Sunauna</i> his wife	25	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
410. <i>Siānek</i> their child	1	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
411. <i>Tarrarsik</i> son af 402	18	1	"	"	"	"	"	"
412. <i>Kānek</i>	15	"	"	1	"	"	"	"
413. <i>Sivfiak</i>	10	"	"	"	1	"	"	"
	"	117	76	129	91	119	28	37

Males 193. Females 220. In all 413 persons.

The Southern Easterners	135
The Northern Easterners.....	413
All Easterners in autumn 1884	<u>548</u>

IV.

THE EAST GREENLAND DIALECT

ACCORDING TO THE ANNOTATIONS MADE BY THE
DANISH EAST COAST EXPEDITION TO KLEINSCHMIDT'S
GREENLANDIC DICTIONARY

BY

H. RINK

1887

[REVISED BY W. THALBITZER 1911]

I received from Captain HOLM after his arrival from East Greenland, a copy of KLEINSCHMIDT's Greenlandic dictionary¹⁾, interleaved with white leaves, on which the catechist (native missionary) JOHANNES HANSEN had at his request made notes in Greenlandic on the words for which the Easterners use more or less differing terms.

Alltogether about 500 words were annotated; a great part of the notes, however, merely regarded minor differences, particularly the pronunciation of certain letters, or contained repetitions of the same root in different combinations. With regard to some of the most divergent terms, it was added that the corresponding West Greenland expression was also known, though not in general use on the East coast. As the information of this latter kind was not so complete as might have been desired, Captain HOLM on his return home enlisted the services of his interpreter JOHAN PETERSEN in going through the whole dictionary again, and supplementing it in the said regard from memory. This was naturally no easy task, and accordingly signs of interrogation had to be placed at many words. But at all events the whole work in its present form must be regarded as one of the best contributions to a knowledge of the Eskimo language.

As we have said, the object of the annotations is to show how the same idea is designated in the two dialects (East and West Greenlandic). When we compare the differences which occur in this regard with what we find in the glossaries we possess from other, even the most remote Eskimo countries, even a hasty survey gives us repeatedly occasion for astonishment. It can reasonably be maintained that none of the other Eskimo dialects exhibit such marked divergences from our Greenlandic dictionary in expression for some of the commonest and most important ideas, as the East Greenland dialect does.

¹⁾ S. Kleinschmidt, Den grønlandske Ordbog. Kjøbenhavn 1871.

A peculiarity which strikes us at once is that the differences in the expressions do not so much lie in the use of new and foreign roots, as in circumscriptions with the help of other well-known roots and suffixes, for which the remarkable Greenland word-construction affords such abundant resources. The author of the notes furnishes us at once in his introductory remarks with an explanation of the most important of these divergences, namely the native custom in cases of death of avoiding the mention of the names of deceased persons, and consequently, when the latter are derived from designations of well-known objects or ideas, for the time entirely changing or circumscribing these designations. It is, however, obvious, that this custom, which is also known from other Eskimo countries, must everywhere have had a certain limit, as otherwise the language must have changed altogether, and in the course of years a general confusion must have taken place among its dialects. In the first place, the change of a word like this cannot have been extended to all the words derived from it; secondly it must have been restricted to a certain period of time, and a certain circle of friends and acquaintances of the deceased, in conformity with other mourning customs. No doubt, the rules as to this must have differed among the different Eskimo tribes, and to judge by all the specimens of language and other information, we know of no tribe in which they may be deemed to have had such an extensive and sweeping influence, as among the people of Angmagsalik.

According to the conclusions arrived at by Captain HOLM, they keep this mourning custom so consistently that they actually deny their knowledge of words with which one has every reason to believe they are familiar. This will be illustrated by many examples in the following, but it is especially conspicuous in derived words and above all in place names, in which latter case, however, they have been unable to carry out the prescriptions. The cause of this unique development of this mourning custom in East Greenland must be sought in the people's isolation. Had the Expedition not possessed a more intimate knowledge of the language than that of most travellers who have supplied us with glossaries from other Eskimo countries, its lexicographical work would certainly have also exhibited a good deal of confusion.

In order to show the significance of the divergences of the East Greenland dialect from that of West Greenland, it has been necessary also partially to include the other Eskimo dialects in the comparison. This seemed to be the only way to show which of the mutually divergent expressions was the commonest. Further, the alphabetical order in the Greenlandic dictionary had to be changed

from Greenlandic-Danish to Danish-Greenlandic, namely in order to show how the several ideas for which the East Greenlanders have special words, are expressed in other dialects. I also deemed it best, in accordance with the methods of American ethnographers, to group these ideas under certain main headings, and then arrange them alphabetically in each. The headings are, as will be seen: —

- I, Earth, Vegetable Kingdom, Water, Ice.
- II, Space, Air, Light, Sky.
- III, Parts of the Body.
- IV, Animals.
- V, Men and the Spirit World.
- VI, Men's Work and Productions.
- VII, Miscellaneous.

In the Greenlandic dictionary, as we know, the alphabetically arranged root words form the headings under which all the other words which are derived from it are grouped. In the list which is to follow the arrangement takes regard only to the meaning, whether the words fall under the same root-word or not. The chief difficulties encountered in the work were firstly that the endeavour was to discover not only whether a given word occurred in a certain dialect, but, strictly speaking, also whether it was probable that a word like this was really missing in given cases, secondly that this had regard not only to the root-words but to the derivations. When these aims are held in view, it must be admitted that the list is very incomplete, and that a tacit 'as far as the author is aware' must constantly be understood where we find such expressions as 'occur' or 'do not occur'. All the same I believe that the conclusions that may be drawn from it with a certain degree of certainty will not be lacking in ethnographical interest.

As to difficulties in the etymological explanation of the words, the East Greenlandic dialect seems to have a number of peculiar formations of words, by sound changes, contractions and to some extent by affixes, which are not to be found in KLEINSCHMIDT's dictionary. Moreover, in these notes, the words are not always given in their normal form, but sometimes with suffixes (e. g. meaning 'his, mine'), and in the plural. As a general rule, everything has been given in the list just as it is, and the West Greenland explanation given in conformity.

The most striking and obvious difference in a dialect is, of course, that certain sounds are pronounced differently, and are therefore usually transcribed with other signs. In the written notes

a change of letters of this kind has been carried out in some of the East Greenlandic words, but not in all. As I have gathered from other Eskimo glossaries, similar variations in the pronunciation are found repeated practically everywhere. They occur even on the West coast of Greenland, and they are shown by various archaic spellings. As far as we can judge at present, they have mostly a local character, holding good of certain districts, tribes, or small communities, and a special expert investigation would be required in order to discover whether they might possibly have greater importance for comparative linguistics. The following letters in the West Greenland dialect appear in the East Greenland, in the following form:

West Greenland		East Greenland	
For <i>ts</i>	is often substituted	<i>d</i> , <i>gd</i> , or <i>j</i>	
— <i>p</i> and <i>f</i>	—	<i>b</i>	
— <i>t</i>	—	<i>d</i>	
— <i>s</i>	—	<i>l</i> or (rarely) <i>j</i>	
— <i>k</i> and <i>q</i> (<i>k</i>)	—	<i>g</i> or <i>r</i>	
— <i>u</i>	—	<i>i</i>	
— <i>o</i>	—	<i>e</i>	
— <i>a</i>	—	<i>e</i>	

At any rate, these memoranda from East Greenland, which proceed from native Greenlanders, are of greater value than those from other Eskimo countries, which are generally based on the observations of foreigners. The most striking peculiarity seems to be the change of the vowels, particularly the substitution of *i* for *u*, although this latter change also occurs in some places on the West coast.

On the list which follows below, at the corresponding West Greenland expression has been added (after the sign =), in what other dialects it has also been found by the author, especially if it has been found in them all — that is, missing in East Greenland alone, — in some cases too whether it has not been found elsewhere either. Where the divergences in the East Greenland expressions were only slight, information of this kind was considered to be superfluous. On the other hand, information has been given in the rarer cases in which the East Greenland shows a greater resemblance to remoter dialects than the West Greenland dialect does.

A good deal of explanatory information has also been given as to the derivation of the words, but it is obvious that a fair knowledge of the language is required in order to understand the list. A preliminary bird's eye view of the most important results may, therefore, prove of some use.

As far as the difference does not consist solely in the above mentioned change of letters, the words which deviate from the West Greenland dialect are of two kinds: —

1) The expressions formed — as explained above — of well-known roots and affixes, which, however, are presumably only intended temporarily to circumscribe or replace words the use of which it is endeavoured to avoid, and

2) Words which seem to be of older origin and have apparently different roots and affixes.

As far as the first kind of deviations is concerned, we give here the most important conceptions for which the West Greenland dialect has special words, which, moreover, are in most cases generally found in the other dialects as well up to Labrador and the Bering strait, whereas the people of Angmagsalik replace them with designations which, as it were, are merely a circumscription of those special words: —

English	West Greenland designation	East Greenland (Angmagsalik) designation	Literal meaning.
Berry	<i>paormaq</i>	— <i>pukugaq</i>	‘that which is plucked’
Level country .	<i>narssaq</i>	— <i>manigseq</i>	‘that which is even, smooth’
Stone	<i>ujaraq</i>	— <i>nunaaq</i>	‘soil, earth’
Pot-stone . .	<i>uvkusigssaq</i>	— <i>apitseq</i>	‘that which is soft’
Morning (dawn) .	<i>uvdlâq</i>	— <i>âke</i>	‘giving reflection’
Star	<i>uvdloriaq</i>	— <i>qaumassuatsiaq</i> .	‘half shining’
Wind	<i>anore</i>	— <i>qernerâq</i>	‘lowering or rippling surface of the sea’
Bladder	<i>nakasua</i>	— <i>qordlua</i>	‘urine —’ (?)
Bone	<i>sauneq</i>	— <i>kivkaq</i>	‘gnawed off’
Thumb	<i>kuvdloq</i>	— <i>tatdlimâq</i>	‘the fifth’
Little finger . . .	<i>equerqoq</i>	— <i>avatdleq</i>	‘the outermost’
Foot	<i>isigaq</i>	— <i>tumat</i>	‘footstep’
Hands	<i>agssaitit</i>	— <i>avatit</i>	‘limbs’
Left	<i>sâmik</i>	— <i>kigdlermorssortoq</i>	‘that which does things backwards’
Tail	<i>pamioq</i>	— <i>uniakagtaq</i>	‘that which is dragged along’
do.	<i>pamiagdlua</i>	— <i>isordlutâ</i>	‘its end or point’
Neck	<i>qungaseq</i>	— <i>nâpaleq</i>	‘that which is erected’
Head	<i>niaqoq</i>	— <i>qaratserfik</i>	(‘brain’ .. ? ‘place of the brain’ ?)

English	West Greenland designation	East Greenland (Angmagsalik) designation	Literal meaning.
Lungs	<i>puai</i>	— { <i>anernere</i> <i>erdlavê</i>	‘breath’ ‘intestines’
Lips	<i>qardloq</i>	— <i>oqalugtautipsinai</i>	‘border of the speaking medium’
Nail	<i>kukik</i>	— <i>qitsîk</i>	‘scratching medium’
Collar-bone	<i>qutua</i>	— <i>ikârilâ</i>	‘cross-piece’
Skin	<i>ameq</i>	— <i>posâq</i>	‘case, bag’
Beard	<i>ungmit</i>	— <i>qalequtit</i>	‘covering’
Blubber	<i>orssoq</i>	— <i>mingugtoq</i>	‘that which greases(soils)’
Tongue	<i>oqaq</i>	— <i>alugtût</i>	‘instrument for licking’
Tooth	<i>kigut</i>	— <i>nerrit</i>	‘instrument for eating’
Rectum (anus)	<i>erdloq</i>	— <i>singiagssaut</i>	‘instrument for press- ing out’
Eye	<i>isse</i>	— <i>takungnit</i>	‘instrument for seeing’
Ear	<i>siut</i>	— <i>tusaut</i>	‘instrument for hearing’
Eider-duck	<i>miteq</i>	— { <i>malêrsertaq</i> <i>ugpateqortôq</i>	‘the hunting one’ ‘the thick-thighed one’
Hawk	<i>kigssaviarssuk</i>	— <i>nâpalekitseq</i>	‘the short-necked one’
Salmon	<i>eqaluk</i>	— <i>kaporniagaq</i>	‘that which is speared’
Louse	<i>kumak</i>	— <i>ûmassukajik</i>	‘the mad animal’
Gull	<i>nauja</i>	— <i>tingmiaq</i>	‘bird special’
Raven	<i>tuluvaq</i>	— <i>tingmiakajik</i>	‘the mad bird’
Ptarmigan	<i>aqigsseq</i>	— { <i>erqerniagaq</i> <i>mileriagaq</i> <i>nakatagaq</i>	‘that which one tries to hit’ ‘that which one casts at’ ‘that which one causes to fall’ (?)
Bearded seal	<i>ugssuk</i>	— <i>angneq</i>	‘the biggest’
Owl	<i>ugpik</i>	— { <i>tingmiakasîpnanua</i> <i>kîalik</i>	‘the bear (enemy) of the raven’ ‘the one with the face’
Inland-dweller	<i>tuneq</i>	— <i>timerseq</i>	‘living furthest towards the inland side’
Mother	<i>arnâ</i>	— <i>ânivia</i>	‘place of issue (origin)’
Man	<i>angut</i>	— <i>tiggaq</i>	‘fetid male seal’
Umiak	<i>umiaq</i>	— <i>autdlarit</i>	‘means for travelling’
Kaiak-float	<i>avataq</i>	— <i>pûtaqit</i>	‘means for floating’
Kaiak	<i>qajaq</i>	— <i>sarqit</i>	‘means for wandering’
Kaiaker	<i>qajartortoq</i>	— <i>saqissoq</i>	‘the wanderer’
Throwing-stick	<i>norssaq</i>	— <i>ajagsit</i>	‘means for shoving off’
Chest	<i>igdlerfik</i>	— <i>tûngmeraq</i>	‘stool’
Lamp	<i>qutdleq</i>	— <i>ûnarqit</i>	‘means for heating’

English	West Greenland designation	East Greenland (Angmagsalik) designation	Literal meaning.
Stocking	<i>alerse</i> —	<i>ilipâq</i>	'the innermost'
Old	<i>utorqaq</i> —	<i>qanganisaq</i>	'from olden time'
White	<i>qaqortoq</i> —	<i>akisugtoq</i>	'that which gives reflection'
Summer	<i>aussaq</i> —	<i>mangineq</i>	'getting mild'
Black	<i>qernertoq</i> —	<i>târteq</i>	'that which is dark'
Sleeps	<i>sinigpoq</i> —	<i>ilángauvoq</i>	'is deprived of a part of himself' (?)

As for the second kind of deviations from the West Greenland dialect, namely those which appear to have an older origin, there are some which seem to contain quite special roots, or whose derivation from the West Greenlandic roots is at any rate not as simple as that of the words mentioned above, and secondly others which I have not found recurring in general West Greenlandic, but now in other Eskimo dialects, now in the old language used by the angakut, now apparently connected with the telling of tales. Among the conceptions which are found designated in these ways, the following may be mentioned.

Sea-weed *missarqat*, *sarpiussaq* (special kind), *imertigkat* (red kind). *anâgdlákâq* (edible kind of seaweed), the latter designation perhaps corresponding to that from Labrador (*annârluk*). West Greenland *qerqussat*.

Moon *aningat*. The designation is derived from the mythical name which FABRICIUS (Grønlandsk Ordbog 1804, p. 41 *anningat*), however, gives as having been formerly in general use. Modern West Greenland *qáumat*.

The Sun *qaumâvaq*. The designation taken from *qauma* 'light' and corresponding most closely to the angakok language in Baffin Land (*qaumativun* 'our sun'). West Greenland *seqineq*.

Three Stars in Orion *ugdlagtut*, *ugsagtut*, the designation corresponding to that from Labrador (*udlaktut*).

Wind *qerneraq*; it begins to storm *arqinarpoq*, this designation corresponding to the Labrador (and Baffin Land?) dialect *akkunakpoq*. West Greenland *anore* and *qernerâq*.

Anus opening *kiâva*, *kiâvia*, *kinâvia*. West Greenland *iteq*.

Heart *âmagâ*. West Greenland *ûmatâ*.

Skin *pikiligsak*. West Greenland *ameq*.

Auk *sârigsît*. West Greenland *agpa*.

Goosander *arpâjêq*, *asaleq*. West Greenland *pâq*.

Snow-bird *pisîrajik*. West Greenland *qupaṇavarssuk*.

Dog *kûkiak*. West Greenland *qingmeq*.

Mussel *kilijitsaq*, *kalumarsaut*. West Greenland *uiloq*.

Fox *oqitsernaq*. West Greenland *teriangniaq*.

Snail *uvâvfaq*, *pusingaseq*. West Greenland *siuteroq*.

Genius (spirit) *târtaq*. West Greenland *tôrnaq*.

Child *tigîmiaq*, *kinguâk*. The former designation corresponds to the Mackenzie River dialect (*tigumiartinga*). West Greenland *nâlungiaq*, *mêraq*.

Wife (my) *ingiaqatiga*. West Greenland *nuliara*.

Second wife *qatseraq*. West Greenland *panerfaq*.

Father (my) *naggiviga*, this designation corresponding to the angakok language (according to P. Egede, *Dictionarium* 1750, p. 118 *negovia*). West Greenland *angutiga*.

Man, human being *tâq*, corresponding to the angakok language, and revealing a resemblance to the Alaska dialects. West Greenland *inuk*.

Pot *ikiseq*, *ûtsit*, the latter designation corresponding to the angakok language in Greenland *ûtsersût* and Baffin Land. West Greenland *iga*.

Outer frock *atâtsit*, resembling the Alaska dialect (*atâschak*). West Greenland *qalipâk*.

Bearskin mitten *pualâtît*, corresponding to the Labrador og Mackenzie River dialect (*puâlo*). West Greenland *ârqatît nanumernit*.

Visits (he) *niorruvoq*, answering to the Labrador dialect *niorguvok*. West Greenland *tikerârpoq*.

Yes *îm*, *îmila*. West Greenland *âp*.

No *êqe*, *eqêla*. West Greenland *nâgga*.

East Greenland Vocabulary

from Angmagsalik

compared with the corresponding West Greenland designations and, in part, with other Eskimo dialects.

Explanations.

Gw. means West Greenland.

L. — Labrador.

C. — Central dialects (Baffin Land, etc.).

M. — Mackenzie river.

W. — West Eskimo (Alaska and Asiatic).

× (after the word) means that the word is rarely used on the East coast.

(NB) do. — the word is not used, although known.

(0) do. — the word does not seem to be known or used, or the natives will not admit that they understand it.

= do. — the word is found in ... (the dialects), at all events appearing in derivations.

All d. means All dialects.

no. — no other dialect (than the West Greenlandic).

c. suff. — with suffix.

plur. — plural.

Where none of the symbols given above are added, G (Greenland) is meant.

The words of other dialects are generally given with the same spelling as the one adopted in my sources.

I. Earth, Vegetable Kingdom, Water, Ice.

Angelica quaralik (having a cluster of flowers).

Gw. *kuáneq* (NB) = L. (a kind of seaweed). — *Kuáneq* is named among the few Greenlandic words which resemble Old Norse (Scandinavian), but this view is difficult to hold in consideration of its meaning in L. Perhaps it originates from the same word as *quaraq* 'a cluster of flowers'.

Berry, berry-shrub *mulásat*, *murárat*; bilberry, blue-berry *tungujortut*; black crowberry, empetrum *pukugaq*.

Gw. blue-berry *kigutaernaq* = L. (*kigutangernak*); *paormaq* (0) = all d., *paormaqutit*; *tungo* juice of berry = L.

Clay qeqik.

Gw. *qeqoq*, most common *marraq* (0) = all d. (*marratdluk* ×, morass).

Ice, on the land, *apusineq* (*aput* snow); new ice is formed *manerkérpoq* (*manerak* = L. smooth ice); ice calving *iserqavoq*.

Gw. *sermeq* ×, *sikuarpoq*, *igarpoq*.

Island ingmikertoq.

Gw. *qeqertaq* = all d.; *ingmikôrpoq* is separated, is set for itself (*ingme*).

Lead, black-lead *sordlomítaq*.

Gw. *torssormiutaq* (*torssôq* entrance of a house), *sordluk* nostril; — *mio* being in —.

Leaf *milâlaq*, *mulausseq*.

Gw. *piloqut* = no., *mulik* (also nipple) = L.

Level country *manigseq* (*manigpoq* is level, even).

Gw. *narssaq* = LC., one of the most common place-names.

Metal *parpaligaaq*.

Gw. *savimineq* (properly 'piece of iron').

Potstone *aqitseq*; he works in potstone *parpalikerivoq* (? cf. metal *parpaligaaq*).

Gw. *uvkusigssaq* = all d. (*aqipoq* is soft).

Root, of plants in general (c. suff.) *erqîlitâ*, *mangeq*, *nûkut*, (c. suff.) *torrutâ* (the end of a feather inside the skin); root of flea-

wort *ivssormijitait*, *lungusungnitserajivil*.

Gw. *nukeruaq*, *sordlok* (0) no.; *man-goq*; roots of fleawort *puperdlûssat* (W. *kilyenera* root).

Seaweed, common *missarqat*; special kind *sarpiusseq*; edible stalk of seaweed *anâgdlâkâq*; red seaweed *imertigkat*.

Gw. *qerqussat* (0) = LC., *qanagdlak* (0); special kind *uisuk*. — L. *annârluk* something black on the ice, seaweed or similar; red seaweed *augpilagtut*.

Sorrel *nutsugkat*, *nutugkat* (*nusugpâ* pulls up, off, plucks).

Gw. *sérnat* ×, *qungordlit* × = LC.

Stone *nunaq* (*nuna* land as opposed to water, sea); heap of stones, *angmaleqisât* (round?)

Gw. *ujarak* = all d. pebbles *tuapait* = L. in W. sand).

II. Space, Air, Light, Sky.

Direction, wrong direction (the arrow goes wrong to the left) *kuaitsêrpoq*.

Gw. *kûngassorpoq*.

Floats over it (bird etc.) *kâvigpa*.

Gw. *agiorpâ* (= L.?).

Hail (shower) *mâkartarnaq*.

Gw. *natarqornaq* = LCM.

Moon *aningat*.

Gw. *qâumat* = no.; *aningat* is the mythic name which, according to Fabricius, has formerly been in use, but would now hardly be used any more, except in the tales; in the angakok language in Baffin's land *qaumavut* is used, otherwise in all dialects *taqik* or a derivative of this word. C. *aniga* her elder brother.

Morning (dawn) *âke*, *akitsilerpoq*.

Gw. *uvdlâq* = all d. (*uvdloq* × day; *akisugpoq* reflection of light).

Narrow *amitserajik*.

Gw. *amitsoq* (0), *amipoq* × = all d.

North *qava*; in the north *qavane*.

Gw. *qava* south (left side when you face the sea).

Snow, drifting (snow) *parnuarpoq*.

Gw. *perserpoq* = all d.

South *ava*; (c. suff.) *orqua*; moves towards south *orqungmukarpoq*.

Gw. (c. suff.) *avangnâ* × = all d., with slight variations in the meaning (in Gw. 'north' i. e. right side when you face the sea).

Star *qaumassuatsiaq*, *angmâlivatsiaq*.

Gw. *uvdloriaq* = all d.

Stars — Atair *asît*; Vega *nalarsik*.**Stars**, constellation of—, three stars in Orion *ugdlaqlut*, *ugsagtut* (viz. *nanumik* hunting a bear?).

Gw. *siagtut*; in L. *udlaktut* three stars in Orion, from *udlapa* runs in order to catch it (not certain if known in West Greenland).

Stars, constellation of —, the Pleiads (the Seven Stars) *kû-kiât* ("the Dogs", see the following).

Gw. *qilugtússat* as if barking.

Stars, constellation of —, Charles's Wain *pisitdlat*.

Gw. *asalussat*.

Stops, has ceased moving *qang-ingilaq*.

Gw. *uningavoq* = L.; *unigpoq* ×, stops.

Sun, the — *qaumâvak*; the sun shines *qaumavarpoq*.

Gw. *seqineq* (0) = all d. (!), *seqinerpoq*. — C. in the angakok language *qau-mativun*.

Sun, the sun gleams *kíngivarpoq*.

Gw. *qungorssorpoq*.

Wind *qernerag* (black ripple on the water); it begins to storm *qerneragtorssuánguarpoq*, *arqi-*

narpoq; the wind blows gently *péqarpoq*.

Gw. *anore* (NB) = all d., *anordler-ssuángorpoq*; *atorssauvoq*; in L. (and C.?) *akkunak*, *akkunakpok* strong wind; in Gw. *arqunarpoq* to be hurt, injured.

Wind, sea breeze *kanangneq*.

Gw. *isersarneq* (*kana* below here; *kanangnaq* west wind).

Wind, north wind *puángaq* (land breeze) *qavangnarsarneq*.

Gw. *pavánga* from up there; *qava* see North.

Wind, north-west wind (Föhn) *piteraqa*.

Gw. *pitorarpoq* the wind comes suddenly.

Wind, north-west wind *nerrajâq*.

Gw. *tamáké* north-east wind obliquely crossing the fjord (*nigeq* (0) hot land-breeze, southeastern; *nerrâq* (0) gentle south wind).

Wind, south-west wind *avangnarsarneq*.

Gw. *avangnaq* north wind; *ava* see South.

III. Parts of the Body.

Anus *kiâva*, *kiâvia*, *kinâvik*; c. suff. *kinâvia*.

Gw. *iteq* (0), c. suff. *erqa* (0) = LM(W?)

Beard *qalequtit* (plur.)

Gw. *ungmit* (*umik*, sing.) = all. d.

Blubber *mingugtoq*, *aparqâq* (mentioned already by GRAAH), *amarqâq*.

Gw. *orssoq* (0) = all d. (!); *mingugtoq* = L. impure, polluted.

Bone *kivkak*.

Gw. *sauneq* (0) = all d.; *kivkarpâ* = LM. gnaws the meat off it. — In the legends *kivkáinaussoq* skeleton (literally: being only *kivkak*).

Breast, plus. c. suff. *natarque*.

Gw. *sakiai* × = all d.

Cartilage *kivkaq*.

Gw. *natarqoq* × = LCM.

Collar-bone *ikârilâ*.

Gw. *qutua* (*qutuk*) = LM., *ikârut* a cross-piece.

Diaphragm *nataussâ*.

Gw. *kanajautâ* = no.

Ear *siorssugtaut*, *tusaut*.

Gw. *siut* (0) = all d. (!); *siorssuk* whistling of the wind = LCM.; *tusarpâ* hears it.

Eye *takungnit*, *takinit* (plur. *takinisit*); regards it *qungiarpâ*.

Gw. *isse* (0) = all d. (!); *issigâ* regards it; *takuvâ*, *takungnigpoq* sees (it).

Face *kîaq*.

Gw. *kînaq*.

Fin, dorsal fin (plur. c. suff. ?) *talîvai*.

Gw. *angûtâ* ×, *sulugsugut*. — *talerqoq* in M. dorsal fin, in L. fore paw (of a seal)

Finger, the little finger *nâleq* (the last one?), *avatdleq* (the outermost one).

Gw. *equerqoq* (0) = all d.

Flesh *neqe* (also meat).

Gw. *uvinik* = all d.; *neqe* meat = all d.

Foot *túmat*.

Gw. *isigaq* = all d.; *tume* ×, foot-step.

Gullet *kajaitseq*, *ísissarfik*.

Gw. *iggiaq* × = all d.

Hair *qalequtit*, *qaleqitai*.

Gw. *nutsat* (plur.) × = all d., *merque* (plur. c. suff.) — *qalequtit* plate.

Hair, gray hair *nujâgaq*.

Gw. *kêq* × = L.

Hand *avatit*, *agtaut*.

Gw. *agssait*, *agssaut* = all d.

Head *qaratserfik*; has a headache *sujuninguvoq*.

Gw. *niaqoq* = all d.; *niaqeraoq*; *qaratserfik* the back of the head.

Heart, c. suff. (?) *ãmagâ*.

Gw. *ũmatâ* = all d.

Intestines, c. suff. *amuvâjai*.

Gw. *inaluai* = all d.; *amuvâ* draws out.

Leg *igimagssartaq*.

Gw. *amileraq* (*igimâq* bone forepiece of the harpoon shaft).

Lip *qaleqitâ* (its cover); *oqalugtautip sinai* (the edges of the speech instrument).

Gw. *qardloq*.

Liver *itoqut*.

Gw. *tinguk* × = all d.

Lung plur. c. suff. *anernere* (breath), *erdlavê* (intestines).

Gw. *puai* (*puak*) = all d.

Mamma of the woman *mitdli-sagaq*.

Gw. *iviangeq* (0) = LC (MW ?); *milugpoq* sucks. — MW. *miluk* mamma.

Milt, c. suff. *qitugtua*.

Gw. *mavsâ* = L (C?).

Nail *qitsit*, *qisit* (instruments for scratching).

Gw. *kukik* = all d.

Navel, c. suff. *migdliserpia*.

Gw. *qalasia* = all d.; *migdliaq* navel string.

Neck *nápaleq*; stretches his neck to look about for something *taserqalârpoq*.

Gw. *qungaseq* = all d.; *qungaseriarpoq*; *napavoq* stands erect, *tasivâ* stretches.

Paws, hind paws, plur. c. suff. *tuaqutai*.

Gw. *serque* = LC.

Penis *takana*, c. suff. (?) *takanâva* the one down there (also a sand-gaper), *átatamâva*.

Gw. *usua* (0) = all d.

Peritoneum, c. suff. *noqarsernere*.

Gw. *nivfê* (— *fik*).

Rectum *singiagssaut*.

Gw. *erdloq* = all d.; *singigpâ* squeezes it out.

Rib *saningassoq*, *najungassoq*.

Gw. *tulimak* = all d.

Rump *igsiavît*.

Gw. *nuloq* (*nulut* plur.) ×, = all d.; *igsiavik* a seat.

Skin *pikiligsak*; covers the boat with skin *pôrpâ*; takes the skin off *puiarpâ*; boat skin *posaq*; boat skin taken off *poqo*.

Gw. *ameq* (0) = all d. (!); *amerpâ* (0); *amêrpâ* (0); *amiko* (0).

Stomach, c. suff. *imârtâ*, *neris-sarpia*.

Gw. *aqajarua* = all d.

Tail, bird's tail *erqive* (c. suff. ?).

Gw. *paperoq* = L (MW ?); *sarpik* tail of a whale.

Tail of land mammals (!) *uniakagtaq*, *uniakâtâ*.

Gw. *pamioq* (0) = all d.; *uniarpoq* drags (a thing) along.

Tail of a seal, c. suff. *isordlutâ*,
nûkatdlua.

Gw. *pamiagdlua* (NB) = L.

Tendon *nukerivaq*.

Gw. *ujaloq* (0) = all d.

Testicles *mánîsâq* (in the northern district), *alâmak* (in the southern district).

Gw. *igssue* = all d.; in the dictionary of FABRICIUS: *menniursak* testicles.

Throat, c. suff. *qardlertautâ*; calls, shouts *sorsorpâ*.

Gw. *tordlua* (-*dluk*) = all d.; *tordl-orpâ*.

Thumb *latdlimâq*, *tikile*, *tiggît*.

Gw. *kuvdloq* = all d.

Toe, the big toe *isigdleq* ('outermost').

Gw. *putuġoq* = LCM. (W?)

Tongue *alugtût*.

Gw. *oqaq* = all d.; *alugtorpâ* licks.

Tooth *nerrit*, *nerriseq*.

Gw. *kigut* = all d. (*kîvâ* × bites); *nerivoq* eats.

Toupee (women's fashion of doing the hair) *pikîtit*, c. suff. *tagpikivai*.

Gw. *qilertit* (0).

Tusk *kîkâ*, *kivkâ* (?).

Gw. *tûġâq* (0) = all d.

Urinary bladder, c. suff. *qordlua*.

Gw. *nakasua* = all d.

Vertebræ, dorsal vertebræ, spine, plur. c. suff. (?) *qilerqivê*.

Gw. *qimerdlue* = LC.

Vertebræ, lumbar vertebræ *iki-jûtît*.

Gw. *kutsernit* (from *kujak* ×, spine).

Wart *kiligagssak*.

Gw. *ûngoq* × = LCM.

Whalebone *sivdleq*.

Gw. *sorqaq* = all d. — (*sipivâ*, *sivdleq* the direction of the cut).

Wing *isaroq*.

Gw. *suluk* = all d.; also *isaroq*.

Wrist *nakatlua*.

Gw. *pavfia* (NB) = LC. — LCM. *uakat*, *nâkak* the root of a plant.

IV. Animals.

Auk *sârîgsît*; little auk *qutsûlaq*, *qutsûlarajivît*.

Gw. *agpa* (0) = LC. (W?); *agpaliarssuk*.

Birds, small birds (see also snow-bird, sparrow): — ? *qorssuk*, *ingêrsajût*; — ? *tutsugtôrajik*.

Gw. *kugsagtaq* (0) = no. (wheat-ear); *orpingmiutaq*.

Black guillemot (*Uria grylle*) *qû-parmioq* (inhabitant of a crack).

Gw. *serfaq* (0) = no.

Caplin *kêrsagaq*.

Gw. *angmagssaq* (NB) = L. (W?).

Chætopod *qumardlugssuaq*.

Gw. *quperdlorssuaq* (0).

Crab, grapple *pussugutilikasit*.

Gw. *agssagissat*; *pûsugpâ* pinches (between two fingers).

Dog *kûkiak*.

Gw. *qingmeq* × = all d.

Duck, eider duck *malêrsertaq*, *ug-pateqortôq*.

Gw. *âvôq* (0) = W.; *miteq* (0) = LC. (W?).

Duck, long-tailed duck *agterajik*.

Gw. *agdleq* × = LC. (W?).

Duck, wild duck *pigsiqâtarteq*, *pi-kingârnakajik*.

Gw. *qêrdlutôq* (0) = no.

Eider duck, see duck.

Embryo *ilimijeq*.

Gw. *igdlaq* = (L?) CMW.

Fly, dung-fly *tingmiatsiaq*.

Gw. *anariaq* = L. (*annângek*) W?.

Fly, meat-fly, blue-bottle *erniortoq*.

Gw. *niviuvaq* = LCM. (W?).

Fox *oqitsernaq*.Gw. *teriangniaq* (0) = all d.**Gambet**, redshank gambet *sigs-sarmiutaq*.Gw. *sârfârssuk* = no.**Gnat** *kisivajêq*.Gw. *îpernaq* (0) = no.**Goosander** *arpâjêq, asaleq*.Gw. *pâq* = L.**Guillemot**, see Black guillemot.**Gull** *qusêq, tingmiaq, tingmiardluk*.Gw. *nauja* (0) = all d.; *naujardluk*.**Hawk**, falcon *nâpalekitseq*.Gw. *kigssaviarssuk* = L.M. (W?).**Larva**, gnat larve *najingojerraq*.Gw. *eqissâvaq*.**Loon** (*Colymbus glacialis* L. typicus) *qardlîmiortoq*.Gw. *tûgdlik* = all d.**Loon** (*Colymbus septentrionalis*) *qarqarqaoq*.Gw. *qarssâq* (0) = all d.**Louse** *ûmassukasik, ujaqaq*.Gw. *kumak* (0) = all d.; *ujagpoq* is said to be used in Labrador in the sense: comes half way up in view.**Maggot** *qiterialik*.Gw. *quperdloq* (0) = all d.**Mould** *ajorrut*.Gw. *oquk* × = all d.**Musk=ox** *pangneq*.Gw. *umingmaq* (0) = all d.; *pangneq* fullgrown male reindeer, is used in M. of big male mammals in general.**Mussel**, shell *kilijitaq, salumar-saut*.Gw. *uiloq* (0) = L.C.M.**Owl** *kîalik* (one with a face), *tingmiakasêp nanua* (the bear of the raven).Gw. *ugpik* = all d.**Ptarmigan** *erqerniagaaq, mileria-gaaq, nakatagaq*.Gw. *aqigsseq* (0) = all d.; *erqorpâ* hits it; *milorpâ* throws at it; *nâkar-poq* falls (?).**Pteropod**, see snail.**Puffin** (*Mormon fratercula*) *nu-erniagarnaq*.Gw. *qilângaq* (0) = no.; *nuerpâ* hits with the bird dart.**Raven** *tingmiakajik, qernertikajik*.Gw. *tuluvaq* (0) = all d.; in Fabricius's dictionary: *qernertoq*.**Salmon** *kâniagaaq, kaporniagaaq*.Gw. *eqaluk* (0) = all d. (!); *kaporpâ* stabs it, spears (fish).**Seal**, bearded seal (*Phoca barbata*) *angneq, puisseriesisâq*.Gw. *ugssuk* (0) = all d. with some deviations in sense.**Seal**, harp seal (*Phoca Groenlandica*) *nalaginâq*.Gw. *âtâq* (0) = C. (in the angakok language), otherwise no.**Seal**, old fjord seal (*Phoca foetida*) *saggaq*; old male *takâ-nalik* (one with a penis).Gw. Old fjord seal *natsigdlaq* (0); old male *tiggaq* (× in the sense of man) = L.; fjord seal *natseq* × = all d.; but partly in the sense of bearded seal.**Seal**, hooded seal (or bladder-nose, *Phoca cristata*) *nerini-arteq*.Gw. *natserssuaq*.**Seal**, spotted seal (*Phoca vitulina*) *nunaq*.Gw. *qasigiaq* ×.**Sea-anemone** (*Actinia*) *sunâunâq*.Gw. *qituperaq* (0).**Sea-perch** *tautorigsoq*.Gw. *sulugpavaq* (0) = all d. (in W. perhaps meaning another kind); *tauto* aspect, complexion; *-rigsoq* being nice.**Sea-scorpion** *nagssugtôq*.Gw. *kanajoq* (0) = L.C.**Sea-wolf** (*Anarrichas lupus*) *ki-gitilik*.Gw. *kêrak* = no; *kigut* tooth.

Shark *narajarteq*.

Gw. *eqalugssuaq* (0) = L.; (*narajarteq* resembles the name of a frog: in L. *naraje*, M. *narajoq* and in Gw. according to tradition *naraseq*?)

Snail, pteropod *imap qernertikasia* (the raven of the sea?).

Gw. *tuluvkaussaq* (0) resembling a raven.

Snail *uvâvfaq, pusingaseq*.

Gw. *siuteroq* = LCM (W?); in L. *ubverkok* a kind of mussels.

Snow=bird *pisîrajik, piseq*.

Gw. *amauligaq* (0) = all d.; *qupana-varssuk* (0) = L.C.

Sparrow *ivssormijitaq*.

Gw. *narssarmiutaq* (0).

Star=fish *avataussaq*.

Gw. *nerpigsôq*: *avataq* buoy, bladder.

Swordfish (killer) *qajarniaq, napajugtoq*.

Gw. *ârdluk* (0) = L.W.

White whale *qiarpalugtoq*; the young of a white whale *piarângivasik*.

Gw. *qilaluvaq* × = all. d.; *uiaq* = L.

V. Man and the Spirit World.

Aunt, father's sister *ajaq*.

Gw. *atsaq* ×.

Child *tigimiaq, kinguâk*.

Gw. *nâlungiaq* (0) = no.; *mêraq* ×; *qitornaq* × = LCM (W?). — M. *tigumiartinga* bastard child; *tigumiyartinga* 'born of the same mother' (?).

Cousin *avia*.

Gw. *igdlua* ×.

Father, my *naggiviga* (c. suff.).

Gw. *angutiga*; in the angakok language *negovia* his procreator (according to P. Egede).

Grandmother *amariva* (c. suff.).

Gw. *ânâ* = no.

Inland dweller *timerseq*.

Gw. *tuneq* (0) = L.C.

Male *tiggaq*.

Gw. *angut* (NB) = all d.

Man, human being *tâq*; is born *tân-gorpoq*; mountain spirit (fabulous inland people) *târajuátsiaq*.

Gw. *inuk* ×; is born *inungorpoq*; in the angakok language *taursak*; mountain spirit *inuarutdligaq*. — W. man *tan*, plur. *taggut*.

Mother *ánivia* (c. suff.) 'place of issue'.

Gw. *arnâ* = M.W.; *anânâ* = LCM.

Native (of Greenland) *inik*.

Gw. *kalâleq* (0) = no. (?); *inuk*.

Spirit, angakok's *tartaq*; the intermediary between tornarsuk and the angakok *aperqiteq*.

Gw. *tôrnaq* ×.

Step-daughter *paningivâ* (c. suff.).

Gw. *panigssâ*.

Step-mother *ukôq, ukōnguâ*.

Gw. *arnagssaq* (0); *ukuak* = L. sister-in-law.

Wife, my *ingiaqatiga* (c. suff.); second wife *qatseraq*.

Gw. *nuliara* × = all d.; *panerfaq* (0) = L.

Woman *nuliákâq* (also used of female animals).

Gw. *arnaq* (0) = all d. (!).

VI. Men's Work and Productions.

Amulet strap *kigsatit* (*kigsarpoq* desires, longs for).

Arrow: point *erqátaut*, *sujumijeq*.

Gw. *sûgaq* (0) = no.; *erqarpai* throws them out; *sujumioq* frontal.

Bead *nuisagssaq*.

Gw. *sapangaq* (0) = L.C.

Blubber bag *imigaq* ('that which is filled').

Gw. *pôruseq* = L. (W?); *îmerpâ* fills it.

Boat, women's boat *autdlarit*; the laths of a women's boat *qo-qussai*.

Gw. *umîaq* (NB?) = all d. *amitsuai*. — L. *aulat* boat or sledge with cargo.

Boot *atertagaq*.

Gw. *kamik* = all d. (!).

Breeches *qardligpât*.

Gw. *sêrqernit* (0) = L? C?; *qardligpât* trousers.

Buoy, sealing —, *pútaqit*.

Gw. *avataq* = all d.; *pugtavoq* floats on the water.

Button *qiligsit*.

Gw. *átat* = no. (*qilerpa* binds? *qilik* the bone point of the throwing-stick).

Cargo (burden) on a *kaiak* *king-imîpoq* (?).

Gw. *usiarpoq* = L.C.

Carrion, finds a carrion *qigsivoq*,

Gw. *silulivoq* ×; *qissivoq* finds a piece of drift-wood.

Chest *tungmeraq* (stool).

Gw. *igdlerfik*.

Copper *parpaligaq*.

Gw. *kangnúsaq* (0) = all d.; *perpalugpoq* (?) gives a sound, ring.

Creaser, boot-sole creaser *utersît*.

Gw. *tigussaut*.

Dish (wooden) *niulúpik*.

Gw. *ajanguajâq*, *niutsivik*; *niuvâ* scoops out, ladles out (*niulo* the leg or foot of a utensil); *pertaq*.

Drill *angmartît*.

Gw. *nîortût* × = M.W.

Drum *nuánaerit*; drumming stick *katalua*.

Gw. *qilaut* = all d.; *katua*; *nuanârpoq* is pleased, glad.

Earring *orssîssaq*.

Gw. *tugdlerut* = L.

Eye=shade *tâgdlitaq*; *ingíkitaq*.

Gw. *terqiaq* (0) = L.; *tâgdlerpâ* shades.

Ferrule *qârqivaq*; *savigtarfik* (?).

Gw. *qârqussaq*; *gateq*.

Frock, common *atásik*; man's frock *ánorâq*; white outer frock *kiapêteq*; *kaiak* frock *qâjarsît*; gutskin frock *ikiaq*.

Gw. *natseq* (= no.?); gut-skin frock *kapiseq*; man's frock *qulitsaq*; white outer frock *qaqorsorqut*: the upper (loose) part of a *kaiak* frock *kiapequt*; double frock *kapitaq*.

Frock, outer —, *atátsit*.

Gw. *qalipãk* = all d.; in W. is found *atáschak* outer frock of reindeer skin.

Gloves, see mitten.

Goggles, see eye-shade.

Hair strap, plur. c. suff. *sujunequtai*.

Gw. *niaqorutai* = L.M.

Harpoon *savikátaq*; small harpoon for boys *isugdloq*; harpoon shaft *sârqit*.

Gw. *tûkaq* (0) = all d.; *mamagoq*, at Julianehaab also *isugdloq*; *unâq* = all d.

Hood *isisiât*, *pikivak*; hood (or cap?) of the *kaiaker* *qarmaussaq*; hood of the women's frock *isiva*.

Gw. *nasaq* (0) = all d.; women's hood *nasaussaq*.

Kaiak *sarqit*; goes out in kaiak *saqivoq*; a kaiaker *saqissoq*; laths of a kaiak *qainap atai*(?); kaiak jacket *qâjarsît*.

Gw. *qajaq* (0) = all d. (!); *qajartorpoq* (0); *qajartortoq* (0); *siârne*; *tuvilik* (0) = no. — It seems that the word *qajaq* must have been used formerly; for a person's name, *Qajãteq*, and the name of an island *Qajartilik*, was in use.

Knife *pilagtaq*, *pilãtak* (iron, ore *parpaligaaq*); women's knife *sákeq*; big knife *tarqarmioq*.

Gw. Knife and iron (ore) *savik* (0) = all d. (!); woman's knife *ulo* (NB) = all d.; big knife *pana* × = all d.

Ladle *imartît*.

Gw. *niutsît*.

Lamp *ũnarqit*.

Gw. *qutdleq* = all d.

Lamp=stand (platform) *pisitdlat*.

Gw. *nalikagut* = none.

Lance *avalisaq*.

Gw. *anguvigaq* (0) = L.

Leather, see skin.

Mitten *tiggít*, plur. *tiggimisít*; kaiak mittens *mãtat*; mittens of bearskin *pualãtit*.

Gw. *ãrqa*t (0) = MW.; *ãrqa*tit; *qa-jartũtit*; *ãrqa*tit *nanumernit* (of bear-skin); L MW. *puãlo* (sing.)

Necklace *nãpaleqit*.

Gw. *ujamik* (0) = LCM. (in W. neck).

Net *nigat* (Gw. snare).

Gw. *qagssutit* (0) = no.

Oar, steering oar (instead of a rudder) *angît*.

Gw. *aqũt* = L.

Paints, smears over with colour *amerpã*.

Gw. *qalipagpã*.

Platform, side platform *peqiserfik*.

Gw. *ĩpat* × = no.

Pot *ikiseq*, *ũtsit*; inland dweller wearing a pot *ingalilik*.

Gw. *iga* (0) = all d.; *qulivsũt* (NB) = all d.; in the angakok language *ũtsursũt*; pot-wearing inland dweller *igalilik*.

Skin (waterproof skin, leather) *mãtaq*; bottom-skin in the kayak, *ingerqivik*.

Gw. *erisaq*; *ermalisaq*.

Sole (of foot or boot) *alooq*.

Gw. *atungak* (0) = LCM. (W?); *alooq*.

Stocking *ilipãq* ('that which is innermost').

Gw. *alerse* (0) = all d.

Strap *nãterqivik*.

Gw. *nivingaut*; *nãpoq* it hangs.

Swivel *imusisseq* ('rotating').

Gw. *qivssarut*.

Thread *qivsaq*.

Gw. *qipissaq*.

Throwing=stick *ajagsit*.

Gw. *norssaq* (0) = LCM.; *ajagpã* pushes it off.

Tows (a boat) *kingileraqarpoq*.

Gw. *kaligpoq* (0) = L (W?).

Train=oil *sujalãq*.

Gw. *igineq* (0) = all d.

Vessel, tub *qeqartaq*.

Gw. *nãpartaq* (0) = none; in W. *ka-kitã*. (*qeqartaq* perhaps from *qeqarpoq*, stands erect, just as *nãpartaq* from [*nã-pavoq*]).

Wall (house-wall) *ikerferserneq*.

Gw. *qarmaq* = L.

Wedge, c. suff. *aitsãkitã*.

Gw. *qũpaqutã*; *aitsarpoq* gapes, yawns.

Whip *norqartaut*.

Gw. *iperautaq* = LC.

Window *qingaaq*.

Gw. *igalãq* = all d.

Wood *sanãvagssaq*; hard wood *peqitsernaq*; soft wood *par-qerneck*; knot in wood *ãtataq*.

Gw. *qissuk* ×; *ikeq* = L.; *orssuerneck*; *ãkeroq* = LCM.

VII. Miscellaneous.

Apparition, has a vision *avdlaji-varpoq*.

Gw. *aliortorpoq* = no.

Bargains *piseniarpoq* (buys it).

Gw. *niuverpoq* = L M.

Black *târteq*.

Gw. *qernertoq* = LCM.; *tâq*, *târpoq* darkness, is dark.

Carries on the back *kakagpoq*.

Gw. *nangmagpoq* = L M.; *kakagpâ* carries it on the head.

Conjures the spirits for him *tôr-nîsitigâ*.

Gw. *angâkuarpâ*; *tôrnivoq* performs incantations (the *angakok*).

Cramp, be seized with cramp *nakingisaerpoq*.

Gw. *qilutitsivoq* ×.

Custom *parngut*.

Gw. *ilerqoq* ×.

Diarrhoea, has —, *sulugpoq*.

Gw. *tingmigpoq* (0) = no.

Dies, is dead *qardlimaerpoq*.

Gw. *toquvoq* × = all d.; in the *angakok* language *qardlimaerpoq*.

Disgusted, is disgusted with *iler-tavoq* (from *ilo* interior?).

Gw. *maujugpoq* = no.

Ekes it *uiggitarterpâ*.

Gw. *tapertorpâ* (*atissaq*) = L M., *uigo* eking (of a cord etc.).

Excrement *angiôrneq*..

Gw. *anaq* (0) = all d.; *angôrpoq*.

Farts, breaks wind *supulôrpoq*.

Gw. *nilerpoq*.

Flings it *puardlivâ*.

Gw. *nivagpâ* (0) = M.

Friendly *takernijersiarnijeq*.

Gw. *inugsiarnersog*, *takorniûpâ* is glad to see him again.

Green *tûjortoq*.

Gw. *tungujortoq* *qorsuk* (0) = M (W?).

Hard *sikarteq*, *sikak*.

Gw. *mangertoq* × = L.?; *sisak*.

Heavy, is —, *kinimavoq*.

Gw. *oqimáipoq* (0) = all d.

How *kije*, *kise*.

Gw. *qanoq* = LCM.

Know not, I don't know *asijisi-mángilara*.

Gw. *asukiak* × = LCW. (?).

Lascivious, is lascivious or lustful *piusuerpoq*.

Gw. *tîngavoq* = none.

Likes him (her, it) *pînarâ*.

Gw. *kussagâ* = no.; *pînerpoq* is handsome.

Lost, has lost it *siâmarpâ* (scatters it).

Gw. *tâmarpâ* (0) = all d.

Maintains it *îagâ*.

Gw. *eriagâ*.

No *êqe*, *eqêla*.

Gw. *nagga* (0) = (L?) CW.

Old (man) *qanganisag*.

Gw. *utorqaq* = CW.; *qanganisag* old event.

Pregnant, is p. *sâqarpoq*.

Gw. *nârtuvoq* = no. (?).

Recovered, has —, *ajînguarqoq*, *piujungnaerpoq*.

Gw. *ajûngilaq* (0) = L M.; *ajorung-naerpoq* (0).

Red, is — *tauturigpoq*.

Gw. *augpalugpoq* ×; cf. sea-perch p. 218.

Sick, is — *sûjârpoq*.

Gw. *nâparpoq* (0) = no.; *sûvarpoq* feels unwell.

Sleeps *ilângauvoq*.

Gw. *sinigpoq* (0) = all d.; *ilângarpâ* diminishes it.

Sorrowful, is sorry *peqingnarpoq*; is in mourning *paqumigâ*.

Gw. *aliasugpoq*; *aliagâ* × = L. (in the reverse meaning) C.

Soup *imaq*.Gw. *qajog* = LC(M?); *imaq* content; sea.**Spring** *mangilerneq* ('thaw beginning').Gw. *upernâq* × = all d.**Summer** *mangineq* (thaw).Gw. *aussaq* = LCM.**Visits** inhabitants of another part
niorruvoq.Gw. *tikerârpoq* = no.; L. *niorguvok*
sets off in order to visit another district.**Voice** *îaq*.Gw. *erinaq*.**Whistles** *kúkujôrpoq*.Gw. *uíngiarpoq* = all d.**White**, is —, *akisugpoq* (reflects).Gw. *qaqorpoq* (0) = LCM. (W?).**Yes** *îm*, *îmilâ*.Gw. *âp* (0) = LC(MW?).

V.

LEGENDS AND TALES FROM ANGMAGSALIK

COLLECTED BY

G. HOLM

AND TRANSLATED BY

JOHAN PETERSEN.

[1887] 1912

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INTRODUCTION.

THE natives of Angmagsalik while away the long winter evenings by telling legends and tales, which are called *ukiup nalisata* "for shortening the winter with". In these tales they often attach more importance to gesticulation, shouting, and modulation of the voice than to the connection between the different parts of the story. Their dramatic skill is often so great that a spectator can follow the story, even if he understands only a few words of the language.

The following tales were told in our house in the course of the winter 1884—85. They were translated sentence by sentence by the interpreter JOHAN PETERSEN, and were then immediately written down by me. When the interpreter did not understand the narrators, the latter were obliged to repeat or explain sentences or words until the meaning was plain. As the narrators naturally got tired of the constant interruptions, it is almost inevitable that the tales should appear in a somewhat shortened form. Besides these involuntary abbreviations, there are also others due to my having left out a number of frequent repetitions of the same scene, as well as the scenes which were described too realistically to be put down on paper. However, in both regards I have retained enough to give some idea of the way in which the natives spin out their tales.

As will be seen from the comments by Dr. RINK which follow the tales, about a dozen of these can be recognized among those which he has published from the West coast of Greenland¹⁾; but, as even in these there are considerable divergences and fresh material, and as they all, even more so than those from West Greenland, revolve exclusively within the Eskimo's original circle of ideas, I determined to print the whole collection.

¹⁾ H. RINK: "Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn" 1866, and Supplement to the same 1871. — "Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, with a sketch of their habits, religion, language, etc." Edinburgh and London 1875.

As far as some of my records were identical in the main with others in my collection, I have woven them together in one text, citing the variants in foot notes.

Captain JACOBSEN's account of his voyage to the North West coast of North America in 1881—83¹⁾ has drawn my attention to many points of contact between the East Greenlanders and the population of North West America, in their ideas of the spiritual world, in their artistic skill, and in the appearance and use of their household utensils and implements.

I wish particularly to point out that points of contact are found not only with the Eskimo, but also with the Indians.

The Eskimo races on the coasts of Alaska form a ring about the Indians who dwell in the centre of Alaska and are called: *the Ingaliks*. In the Eskimo territory on the banks of the Yukon there are remains of a remarkable large and ancient Eskimo village, which, as we are told, was once 4 miles long and boasted of nigh on a hundred houses for dances and other festivities.

The *Ingaliks* cut wooden tubs out of a piece of wood which is bent to the requisite shape in warm water and sewed tightly together with roots, after which the wooden bottom is inserted. (See the description on page 39 of how the blubber buckets are made). Furthermore Jacobsen (p. 180) writes "The Ingaliks are clever potters. Most of the clay vessels which they make are used as cooking vessels and lamps. The jars are fairly large, being often the size of a half barrel". If we bear in mind that the people of Angmagsalik call certain fabulous inland-dwellers *Ingaliliks*²⁾ (from *ingavok* to cook) and relate of them that they carry large pots in which whole seals can be boiled, it seems to me that there can be no doubt that the "inland-dwellers", the *Ingaliliks*, spoken of by the people of Angmagsalik, are identical with the *Ingalik* Indians.

The Indians on the West coast of Vancouver Island form an ethnographic district apart. JACOBSEN gives the following description of a dancing festival among them:

"Another dance was also most remarkable . . . Three naked Indians represented a wolf. The foremost held a wolf's head, finely carved in wood, in his hand, while two others had rolled them-

¹⁾ "Captein Jacobsens Rejser til Nordamerikas Nordvestkyst 1881—83" ed. by A. Woldt (translated from German by Utheim). Christiania 1887.

²⁾ These beings are called in the West Greenland dialect *Igalilik*. HANSERAK has noted the form *Ingalilik* in the copy of Kleinschmidt's dictionary used by the Expedition.

selves up in a canoe sail, in which they went about quite doubled up. This sail was intended to represent a wolf's body. The sail only half covered the last man, and the latter had behind him a hand-saw of iron attached to his body and arranged close up against it like a tail. . . . This large wolf kept opening and shutting his mouth, and made his way roaring and howling among the spectators, who in simulated anxiety fled before him through the whole house."

If we compare this account with the description given by the people of Angmagsalik of the fabulous animal, "*Parpaligamik Uniakagtalik* (p. 24 and 293), an exceedingly dangerous animal, whose weapon is an iron tail, with which it cuts, it seems to me extremely probable that these two fabulous animals have a common origin.

I have also found a number of parallels to the tales of the East Greenlanders in BOAS' well-known work "The Central Eskimo", and a few in PETITOT'S "Traditions Indiennes du Canada nord-ouest" and in SIMPSON'S "The Western Esquimaux" (Arctic Blue Book, 1875). Here I shall give references to the pages and titles of those of BOAS' tales of the Eskimo in Baffin Land which are identical with, or have certain elements in common with the tales from Angmagsalik given below.

ANGMAGSALIK ESKIMO	THE CENTRAL ESKIMO
No. 1. Kamikinak	Pag. 638. Inugpaqduqdjualung
- 2. Imerasugsuk	— 633. Igimarasugdjuqdjuaq the cannibal
- 7. Natatek	— 632. Qaudjaqduq
- 8. The blind man who recovered his sight	— 625. Origin of the narwhal
- 9. Arfersiartok	{ — 618. Ititaujang
	— 628. The fugitive women
- 10. The Sun and the Moon	— 597. The Sun and the Moon
- 14. Two sisters who married animals .	— 628. Qaudjaqduq
- 16. The Moon's child	— 622. Kiviung
- 20. The origin of Kavdlunaks, Timerseks, and Erkiliks	— 637. Origin of the Adlet and of the Qadlunait
- 25. The two kaiakers who were helped by magic charms	— 624. Kiviung
- 36. Musatak	— 638. The bear story
- 47. Asiak	— 600. Kadlu the thunderer

1. KAMIKINAK

told by *Angitinguak*¹⁾.

Once upon a time there was a big man whose name was *Kamikinak*, but who in tales is called *Kamikinarajik*. He dwelt at *Akilinek*, and was so big that when he sat in his kaiak he could lay his hand on Mount *Orsuluvial*². His parents dwelt in these parts³). One day when he was on a visit to them, he lighted on a shoal of Greenland seals outside the fjord. He took them up in his hand, and poured them out onto the kaiak; then he killed them and stuck them under the thongs of the kaiak. These thongs were so broad that they could completely cover the seals that were placed under them. Then he killed two whalebone whales (*tikagudlik*) with his 'bladder dart'. When he had stuck his dart into one of the whales, it moved a little and then died. He laid one of them in the front end and the other at the back end of the kaiak. He then rowed over to his parents with his booty. When he came to their tent, he cut off one of the paws of one of the whales, and cast it on shore. It reached from the house down to the shore, and ten men were not able to lift it. Before he went on his way again, he took his father's tent by the top and moved it onto a high mountain; for he feared that when he rowed off the waves would wash it away. He told the others, who had their tents close by, to move their tents likewise, in order that they might not be washed away by the waves which would arise when he began to row; but they would not heed him and left their tents standing. He then rowed off and all the tents except his father's were washed away and the dwellers in them drowned.

When *Kamikinarajik* was a child, he did not grow. One day when he was eating, his mother said to him: "Why do you eat? You don't grow all the same. There's no good in your staying here. You are only a puny good-for-nothing". At this *Kamikinarajik*'s anger was kindled, and he went out in his kaiak. When he had got some way out to sea, he espied a big island whence he heard

¹⁾ I have had a slightly different version of the same tale from *Utuak*. As *Angitinguak*'s account is the fullest, I have used it, but supplemented it with *Utuak*'s. The latter begins with *Kamikinak*'s childhood.

²⁾ Headland between the *Angmagsalik* and the *Sermilik* fjord.

³⁾ *Angmagsalik*.

the blows of a hammer. He drew nigh to it, and saw that it was a kaiaker who was fishing for big sea scorpions, many of which lay on the kaiak. When he came up to the big kaiaker, he looked up and cried in wonder and amazement: "Ah! ah!". The big man's attention was thus called to him; he looked down, took him up, kaiak and all in his hand, and set him on his kaiak stand¹⁾. The big man asked him: "What are you doing here?", whereto he replied that his parents had driven him away because he was so small. The big man then told him that he would take him away to his country where tall men dwelt and make a big man of him.

When the big man came to his home in *Akilinek*, he placed Kamikinarajik with his kaiak on a shelf on the wall. He then went out to fetch some food, and came in again with a whale, which he cut in pieces and divided amongst his housemates, for them to eat. At night the big man took Kamikinarajik out of his kaiak and put him under the platform in order that he might grow. When the giant had fallen asleep, Kamikinarajik, who was unable to sleep, saw a red bear close by him. The bear climbed up the big man's hair and onto his head. When the big man moved, Kamikinarajik feared lest the bear should fall down on him, and cried: "Ah, now it is going to fall down on me!" *Kamikinarajik* then climbed up the big man's hair, and sat down on the platform. "How did you get up here?" asked the big man. "Well, I was afraid that the bear might fall down on me", Kamikinarajik replied. "Why, it is only a *pisigsartarajik* (Podura)²⁾", said the big man. Presently he fetched another whale, which he cut in pieces and eat. Kamikinarajik was then set to watch for bears who were wont to come between two great rocks on a little island outside. From the platform was laid a plank which reached to the window, so that Kamikinarajik could crawl along it to the window and look out for bears. Presently he espied a big bear, such as live over here, which filled up the opening between the two rocks. "Ah, ah!" cried Kamikinarajik "there's a big bear!"

"Where's the bear?" cried the foster-father who came up at the shout, "over here we call it only a fox". He kicked the fox to death and gave it to Kamikinarajik, because he had been the first to see it. The fox was cut in pieces, and all in the house received a share of it. Kamikinarajik was again set to watch for bears, and next day he caught sight of a huge bear, such as are found in

¹⁾ The receptacle for the harpoon line.

²⁾ Formerly translated as 'grasshopper', but C. Kruuse in "Meddelelser om Grønland" vol. XLIX pag. 66 now draws our attention to the fact what is really meant is Podura; there are no grasshoppers in Greenland.

those parts, between the two rocks. He shouted: "Ah! Ah! there's an enormous bear!" The foster-father looked to see, and said: "It's a nice little bear". He then laced up his boots and put *Kamikinarajik* into one of them¹). Then he went out and stabbed the bear, who soon after died, whereupon he drew Kamikinarajik out of his boot and cut the bear in pieces. Kamikinarajik was made a present of this bear, too; his foster-father gave him a pellet of blubber to carry home, but he could not manage it, and so his foster-father cut it in two and Kamikinarajik carried one of the halves to the house, while his foster-father carried all the rest of the bear.

Next day they went out to fish for sea-scorpions. *Kamikinarajik* was told by his foster-father to look down through a hole in the ice and to watch and see when the other sea-scorpions ran away, for then a large sea-scorpion would come. When it appeared, the foster-father killed it with a thrust of his spear. They then went home with their spoil.

When day dawned they went out to fish for salmon, and presently they saw a man who was still bigger than the foster-father, lying flat on the ice and peering down through a hole which he had cut for fishing salmon. The ice all around him was asparkle with the salmon he had caught. He was the man from *Akilinek*. He had only one eye in the centre of his forehead and two huge teeth, of which he was ashamed.

Kamikinak was told by his big foster-father to shout "*nerrisilik mardlinik!*" ("Him with the two teeth"). So he shouted: "*nerrisilik mardlinik! nerrisilik mardlinik!*", but the man with the two teeth did not hear him. The foster-father told him to shout still louder, but he answered: "I am afraid of the big man". The foster-father said: "I am not afraid of him; if he comes I shall know how to deal with him". So *Kamikinarajik* shouted again: "*nerrisilik mardlinik! nerrisilik mardlinik!*" The man with the two teeth rose up quickly and, catching sight of little Kamikinarajik, he ran towards him. But the foster-father now stepped forward, and the two giants began to wrestle. At length the foster-father overthrew the man with the huge teeth and slew him. They bore him to land, and, gathering a great quantity of tinder moss, they covered him with it. Thereupon they went homewards, and, when they had got home, the foster-father told Kamikinarajik that he would now make a big man of him.

And so *Kamikinarajik* became a big man, and often came to the aid of the people over here.

¹) Among the Eskimo of Labrador and the Central Eskimo the women had the custom of carrying their children in the capacious uppers of the legs of their boots (Rink: "The Eskimo Tribes" pag. 13).

2. IMERASUGSUK

told by *Utuak*¹⁾.

Imerasugsuk had had many wives; for he never had them long, as he always killed and eat them and their children. In order that his wives might grow fat, they were never allowed to drink water. He was a great hunter, and often went out in his kaiak; when he went out, he hid the water tub from his wife, lest she should drink during his absence. When he came home from hunting, he gave his wives a great deal of food to eat, so that they might grow fat. With his knife in one hand he often felt their arms and the rest of their body, to see whether they would soon be fat enough. When he had been out hunting and had caught nothing, he would kill his wives in order to cook and eat them. After he had eaten one of his wives, he would visit her family and say: "Now I have again lost my wife". Then he took a new wife and dragged her to his home.

At last he got a wife whose name was *Misana*. She had several brothers, and he also took her little brother with him to his home. When *Imerasugsuk* went out hunting, his wife went out into the passage-way and licked up the water which trickled down its loft and walls. One day when he came home from hunting and had not caught anything, he killed *Misana's* brother, cooked him and gave his wife a piece of the flesh to eat. *Misana* made believe to eat it, but dropped it down behind the collar of her *anorak*²⁾, for she would not eat her own brother.

Then when *Imerasugsuk* had gone out in his kaiak, she resolved to run away from him. She dug a large stone out of the back wall of the house, and formed behind it a hollow which could be concealed by the stone. Thereupon she filled her *anorak* with lamp-moss, and laid it on the platform just at the place where she herself was wont to sit by the lamp with her back turned. When she thought that her husband would soon be coming home, she said to the *anorak*: "When he stabs you, shriek!". Thereupon she herself crept into the hole in the back wall.

The husband came soon after, and went with a groan straight into the house with his knife in his hand. He went up to the platform, and stuck his knife several times into the stuffed *anorak*, which began to shriek and wail like a human being. When he discovered his error, and saw that it was her *anorak*

¹⁾ The same legend has been told by *Sanimuinak*, and I have used his version to supplement that of *Utuak*.

²⁾ Fur frock.

that lay there, he said: "How can it be that it shrieks like a human being? — Now she has gone before I could eat her; if I only had not waited so long, but killed her before!"

He now went round the walls of the house and stuck his knife into the wall¹⁾ in several places, and in so doing narrowly missed killing *Misana*; but he discovered nothing. He now went out to look for his wife. When he had been away a long while, she went to the window to look if he had gone, and as she saw no signs of him, she ran off to her brother's house. When she had got a little way, she heard her husband running after her. She hesitated an instant, but when she had got to the other side of a hummock of ice²⁾, she exclaimed: "Well, I have a tree as an amulet; then I wish I may become a piece of wood!" She threw herself down, and at once was turned into wood. *Imerasugsuk* came up soon after. He stuck his knife several times into the tree; it certainly hurt a little, but did her no harm. "Had I only taken my axe with me", said *Imerasugsuk*, "now I must go home and fetch it". When he had gone home to fetch his axe, and he had disappeared from view, she pursued her flight. Presently she perceived that her husband was close behind her again. She fled down to the shore, where the tide was low, and said: "Well, I have seaweed for an amulet; then I wish I may become seaweed!" When her husband got to the spot, he could not find his wife, but thought to himself: "I will wait till the tide is high, that she may drown". After high-tide he went home, and she fled to her brother. As she drew close to her brother's house, a fear came upon her that her husband was pursuing her; so she ran up to her brother's fox-and-raven trap, and cast herself down through the opening, killing all the foxes and ravens. At this her brother came up, and she shouted to him not to be alarmed. "How did you get there?" he asked. "*Imerasugsuk* has killed our brother and is pursuing me in order to kill me too." After they had reached the brother's house, *Imerasugsuk* arrived towards evening to fetch another wife. Having entered, he affected to be very sorrowful and said: "Weep! I have lost my wife". *Misana*, however, was lying on the platform under some skins. *Imerasugsuk* sat down, covered his eyes with his hand, and made believe to weep, but the others did not weep with him. *Misana's* brother wet his drum and began to chant. As he chanted he squeezed the knees of all the company, and when he came to *Imerasugsuk*, he chanted: "*Imerasugsuk* eats all his wives and children!"

¹⁾ In *Sanimuinak's* version: he kicked the stones.

²⁾ In *Sanimuinak's* version: past a headland.

“Who has said so?” asked Imerasugsuk, denying it. “Your wife, who lies covered up on the platform.” *Misana* now cried from behind the platform: “Not only do you want to kill me, but you have also slain my brother and eaten him!” Imerasugsuk answered: “You eat one of his hands!” “No”, answered *Misana*, “I did not eat it, I let it fall down behind the collar of my *anorak*!” Imerasugsuk would now have gone his way, but the others would have him stay.

Someone now said that Imerasugsuk’s dogs were fighting with the other dogs. He would have put on his *anorak* to go out and separate the dogs, but *Misana*’s brother said: “You must go out without your *anorak*”. The brother tied a large knot at the end of his whip, and when *Imerasugsuk* went out to the dogs, he whipped him together with the dogs, so that the skin of *Imerasugsuk*’s back was flayed all over. When he had whipped him, the others thrust him down, and told him that *Misana* would come and take vengeance on him. She took a knife and tried to stab him, but the knife would not pierce him. The brothers would now have stabbed him to death, but he was dead ere the others began to stab him¹).

3. KALULUK

told by *Pitiga*²).

Once upon a time there was a tiny little orphan boy whose name was *Kaluluk*. He lived with his old grandmother. When the kaiakers from the neighbourhood went out hunting, it often came to pass that they did not come home again. When *Kaluluk* began to go out kaiaking, he rowed out one day to an island³) called *Ingmikertok*, and there he went ashore. He took his bird-dart, throwing-stick, and little knife, and went up on the island, where he began to work at his bird-dart. As he sat there, he caught sight of a kaiaker who for a while went in lee of the shore, but presently landed on the island⁴), came up, and seized hold of *Kaluluk*. They now began to wrestle, but when *Kaluluk* perceived that he could not cope with the man, who was much bigger than he, he thought to himself: “Let me think, what have I

¹) In *Sanimuinak*’s version *Imerasugsuk* is whipped to death.

²) There are two other versions of this tale, viz., those of *Angitinguak* and *Adlagdlak*, which I have used to supplement *Pitiga*’s. *Angitinguak* calls the hero *Ukugsulik* instead of *Kaluluk*.

³) *Angitinguak*: a headland.

⁴) *Angitinguak*: he heard a growl proceeding from the interior of the island, and then caught sight of a big man.

as an amulet? Why, of course I have an *alugsugak*¹⁾ (an untimely birth) for an amulet". He now called to the *alugsugak* to come and help him before it was too late. The amulet came at *Kaluluk*'s call; he seized the man from behind²⁾, and throwing him to the ground, dragged him to a great black lake hard by, into which he pitched him³⁾. The man climbed up out of the lake, but *Kaluluk* stabbed him to death with his bird-dart. As he stuck his dart in the water, he felt something soft underneath. He hooked it, drew it in, and perceived that it was a dead man. He drew up one corpse after the other, and recognized in them his lost housemates and neighbours. He then pitched the man into the lake again, and all the corpses on top of him.

When *Kaluluk* came home to his aged grandmother, he told her that he had slain the big man, and that it was no marvel that the neighbours never came home again, when they went out in their kaiaks, as the big man had killed them and cast them into the lake⁴⁾. — Three days after there came many kaiakers from the other side⁵⁾.

They said that the man had not come home, and that it could only have been *Kaluluk* that had killed him. *Kaluluk* answered: "How should I, weak as I am, have been able to kill a much bigger man than myself?" *Kaluluk*'s *avia* (half-cousin) told him that the men 'from the other side' would come and wreak vengeance on him. *Kaluluk* went up into his house, and related all this to his old grandmother, who however said: "Don't be afraid, your amulet will be sure to come to your aid". She now began to sing magic chants; she chanted first over a water scoop; then she took a seal plug out of her bag, and chanted over it, and then over her meat-jack, which was made of a rib, and which *Kaluluk* himself had used as a child.

They now caught sight of the kaiakers coming from the other side to kill *Kaluluk*. *Kaluluk* put on his grandmother's

¹⁾ *Pitiga*'s version speaks of an *angiak* (a supernatural being issued from an abortion).

²⁾ *Adlagdlak*: Twisted the hood of his *anorak* until he was suffocated to death.

³⁾ This scene is told by *Angitinguak* as follows: The big man took *Kaluluk* up under his arms and carried him to the interior of the island to slay him. He struggled and screamed, but it availed him nothing. He invoked the amulet, and when they came to the big lake, the man no longer had *Kaluluk* under his arm, but *Kaluluk* took the man, who struggled fiercely, and pitched him out into the lake.

⁴⁾ *Angitinguak*: There was one who had heard this and who told to the big man's family.

⁵⁾ *Adlagdlak*: from the south.

reindeer boots, laced them tightly, and braced up his breeches well. The grandmother gave him the meat-jack and the seal plug as a weapon¹⁾. As they drew near, the water turned quite red with the many kaiakers.

The grandmother fetched water in the water-bucket and set it down on the shore at the spot where they expected the men would land. She sang a chant over the pail and uttered the wish: "May they hold their paddle on their backs when they go ashore, and may they grow horns on their foreheads like reindeer and drink from the bucket!" *Kaluluk* ran down to the shore. When the first man landed, he put his paddle round behind his back, holding it there with both his hands, and, going up to the pail which the grandmother had set down by the shore, he began to drink. As he drank, *Kaluluk* went up to him and stabbed him with the meat-jack in the side under his *anorak*, but the man went on drinking. Drawing out the meat-jack, *Kaluluk* thrust in the seal-plug. He then drew out the seal-plug, and as he did so the blood gushed out of the man and he dropped down dead. Thus he did with them all, save two. These he bade go home lest they should fare as the others²⁾ had done. When these two came home, they related how all the others had been slain. *Kaluluk* cut the dead men in pieces and cast them into water. Then he departed to the head of the *Sermilik* fjord where he lived on white-whales and narwhals and never again entered the haunts of men³⁾.

4. KUNUK

told by *Sanimuinak*⁴⁾.

There lay two houses close to one another. *Nuerniakajik* slew the inmates of the neighbouring house, so that only two boys survived. The two boys, who were brothers, set out in the dead of

¹⁾ According to *Adlagdlak*'s version, *Kaluluk* was told by his grandmother to stab in the direction of the men first with the meat-jack and then with the seal-plug, and, making as if he was drawing it out, he was to say: "Now I have drawn it out". He did so, and the blood flowed from the men, who died of loss of blood.

²⁾ According to *Angitinguak*'s version all were slain; according to *Adlagdlak*'s only one was given quarter.

³⁾ According to *Adlagdlak*'s version it was the man whose life was spared who was never heard of again.

⁴⁾ The chief incident in this story has been added by *Utuak* to the following story about *Uiartek*. I have omitted this incident there, as I assume it to be an arbitrary accretion, and have supplemented the present story with that of *Utuak*.

night up inland. The next day they saw a man out hunting with his *ituarten* in his hand. They went up to him. He was hunting there together with his wife, because they had no children. "Whence come you?" asked the man. "We come from over yonder, for all the others have been slain". Then the man and his wife ran a race to see which they should have as their foster-son. The woman was the first to touch the elder brother, and so she won him, and her husband the younger one. As they grew up, they hardened themselves by going out in the cold in winter to fetch sea-weed, and they exercised their strength by lifting great stones. When they were almost full-grown, the younger brother died. The elder brother, whose name was *Kunuk*, was quite cast down with grief, but he soon began again to exercise his strength. He now began to hunt, and became a skilful hunter. When he grew older, he married a beautiful wife.

Ungilataki had a way of killing men who had beautiful wives, in order to take their wives himself. When *Kunuk* had married, *Ungilataki* coveted his wife; so he challenged him to a drum-match, although *Kunuk* did not know how to sing. *Ungilataki* had for his accomplice a fat little man, a very strong fellow, whose name was *Ususugmiarsuk*. He shared wives with him. Before *Kunuk* started on his journey to *Ungilataki*, his foster-mother sang over his *anorak*, in order that *Ungilataki* might not be able to harm him. He then set off with an umiak to *Ungilataki*, but the foster-parents remained at home. They told him as he departed that if he slew *Ungilataki*, he should bring a dog and a man home with him. He now set off on his way thither, and arriving after the fall of darkness, made his way into the house. *Ungilataki* had a large house and many wives, whom he had taken from those he challenged to drum-matches. At this time he had already carried off *Kunuk's* wife, and the latter was unable to find her. No one would tell him where she was, as they did not want *Ungilataki* to kill them. *Kunuk* now discovered his wife over on the platform; for *Ungilataki* had already taken her as his fourth wife, having a mind to kill *Kunuk*. The drum-match was now to take place, and the two opponents took up a position, each at his end of the house. *Ungilataki* came forward and began to sing. As a drum-stick he used a big knife (*pana*), it being his way to stab those with whom he had the drum-match. When he had got to the end of one chant, he began another one. As the latter reached its close, the housemates cried out and warned *Kunuk*, saying: "Now he is going to have at you!" *Ungilataki* aimed, *Kunuk* made himself small by dropping down on his hams, the knife was hurled and *Kunuk* leapt

up in the air so that the knife buried itself in the wall under him. The spectators shouted: "*Ungilataki*, who never misses, has missed for once", and they would have had *Kunuk* seize the knife, but *Ungilataki* darted forward and drew the knife out of the wall.

When he had sung another chant, he aimed at *Kunuk's* heart. *Kunuk's* wife, who sat away on the platform, seeing this, began to weep. "Now, Now!" shouted the others; *Kunuk* made himself tall, and so *Ungilataki* aimed high, at his chin, but just at the moment when the knife was cast, he made himself small, so that it passed just above his head. *Ungilataki* darted forward again to seize the knife, but *Kunuk* was beforehand with him and grasped the knife, although he had never sung in a drum-match before. *Ungilataki* told him to do just like him. *Kunuk* now began to sing, and when he had ended, the others shouted to him: "Cast now!" but he did not do so. He began again to beat the drum and sing, and when he had finished he took aim at *Ungilataki*, who tried to make himself narrow by turning sideways¹⁾; but before he had time to move, the knife struck him, and, grazing his chin, pierced his neck. The housemates shouted to *Kunuk* to put him to death. *Ungilataki's* family began to weep, but *Kunuk's* wife drew on her boots. *Kunuk* now took his wife and the most beautiful of *Ungilataki's* wives. As he was leaving the house, *Ungilataki* said to him, speaking from the bottom of his throat: "I have never turned my face away from her when I have slept with her, and you must not turn your face from her either". As *Kunuk* was going out through the passage-way, *Ususugmiarsuk*²⁾ came running and gave *Kunuk* a shove from behind which sent him tumbling forwards. This he repeated several times. When they came outside, they seized each other and began to wrestle. *Ususugmiarsuk* tried to press *Kunuk* down in order to kill him; but he could not get the better of him. *Kunuk* now chanced to tread on a spot³⁾ where the dogs had been digging up the ground; he lost his foothold, and in his fall squeezed the other, who struggled to free himself. *Kunuk* squeezed him so hard that the blood streamed out of his mouth and his bowels gushed out. *Ususugmiarsuk* fell of a heap, shrieking: "*Kunuk, Kunuk, Kunuk* has squeezed me so that the blood is streaming out of my mouth and my bowels are gushing out!" Having said this, he died.

Kunuk now went on his way home. His foster-mother said to him: "He has killed a man, but he ought to have slain a dog and

¹⁾ According to *Utuak*, *Ungilataki* pulled a long nose at *Kunuk*.

²⁾ *Utuak* calls him: *Ususugmajoatak*.

³⁾ *Utuak* said: on frozen urine.

a woman". — Now that he had slain a man, he began to kill the kaiakers whom he met when he was out hunting. When he had grown older and his mother was dead, a desire came upon him to take vengeance on the man who had killed his family. He went off thither in his umiak, keeping close to the shore. When he drew near his birthplace, he began to weep saying: "What mighty wrongs I suffered here in those days!" He sobbed so violently that the boat shook, and he seized the steering-oar as though he would slay the rowers, so that they also began to sob.

When he had come ashore, he inquired where *Nuerniakajik* was. He searched for and found him, but *Nuerniakajik* fled in fear. *Kunuk* went up to *Nuerniakajik*'s cousin, who was working at an umiak, and begged him to lend him his big knife (*pana*), and asked him if he should kill *Nuerniakajik*? "Nay, you must not kill him!" "Why won't you lend me your knife; I have such a desire to slay him". The man now grew afraid, and stepped back a little, saying: "You may slay *Nuerniakajik* if you will." *Kunuk* was, however, unable to find *Nuerniakajik*. When it grew light next morning, he saw something bright away up on the hill. It was *Nuerniakajik* who lay asleep under a roof-skin. *Kunuk* went up to him and lifted up the skin with his long knife, whereupon *Nuerniakajik* caught sight of him. *Kunuk* laid himself down on his belly on the roof-skin with which the other was covered, and pressing him down with one hand so that he could not move, he inserted his knife in his neck close to his shoulder. This he did with studied slowness, because he wanted it to hurt more. Blood began to run out, and *Nuerniakajik* died. After that *Kunuk* stabbed all his children to death, thus wreaking vengeance on them for the wrongs his family had suffered from their father.

5. UIARTEK

told by *Utuak*¹⁾.

Uiartek started with wife and child from here (Angmagsalik), travelling southwards along the coast. Before he rounded the southern corner, he met a man who kept him company with another umiak in which there was likewise only the man's wife and child. *Uiartek*

¹⁾ *Utuak* has furnished me with two accounts of *Uiartek*; one of these begins with the preceding tale "*Kunuk*" and ends with the following "*Kasagsik*"; I have, however, omitted them here, regarding them as adventitious additions. *Kutuluk* has also supplied me with a version of this tale. I have used his account to supplement that of *Utuak*.

and the other man amused themselves on the way by rowing towards each other, seizing the harpoon and taking aim with it. This they did simply for practice. They did not really cast the harpoon, but laid it down again and rowed on alongside of one another. However, when they met any strange kaiakers on their way, they harpooned them, leaving some of them in the sea, and dragging others ashore. *Uiartek* had a dart-point made of a whole narwhal's tusk, the other man had one of a walrus' tusk, and when they came across calf-ice blocking their passage, they hurled their bird-dart against it, so that it broke to pieces.

When they had reached the southernmost¹⁾ point of the country, they rowed up a big stream, in the sides of which the sea had formed hollows in the rocks. Here *Uiartek*'s dog fell overboard and was bitten to pieces by a *kivarkek* ('big sea-scorpion'). While they were rowing up the stream, their companion's child starved to death, as his wife's breasts could not reach over her shoulders to the child, which she carried in her *amaut*²⁾. The parents were sorely grieved at the loss of their child, and in their sorrow they did not notice that the current was carrying the boat into a cave, where they perished. *Uiartek*'s boat came safely up the stream, as he used the steering-oar on both sides, while his wife pulled the oars, and his child lived, as his wife's breasts reached up over her shoulders, so that the child could be carried in the *amaut* and suck the breast, while his mother rowed.

When *Uiartek* had got safely past the stream, he saw a big kaiaker among a shoal of narwhals, and soon after a few houses. But fearing to meet the big man, as he was alone, he waited till night-fall before going up to the houses to have a look at the implements and utensils there.

He now saw a huge narwhal tusk, which was used as a spit, and on which were stuck human hands, bears's flesh and blubber, walrus flesh and blubber, and narwhal flesh and blubber. Being afraid of these folk, he drove away in his sledge at night, skirting their dwellings and passing through a great valley.

When they had made the round of the country, winter set in, so that they had to overwinter and could not travel further before next year. On their way along the coast they saw just as many seals as white grouse, and when the white grouse cried the seals came up. When they had come to the northernmost point of the country (*nuna isua*), they travelled along a steep rocky coast, where

¹⁾ According to *Kutuluk*'s version, both this episode and the following one of the cannibals is relegated to the northernmost point of the country.

²⁾ A woman's frock with a hood in which the baby is carried.

they could not put to, and where the current was strong. When evening came on, they had therefore to land by a steep rock, in which *Uiartek* drove a seal-plug to moor the boat.

They then came to a place which they called *Kigdlivigsivit*¹⁾, because it lay between two peaks which were like the 'horns' of an umiak. Passing on, they came to a great fjord, which never froze and where there were no seals, but always great numbers of narwhals and white whales; when the latter were about to cast their skin, they crawled up the great sand-downs which lay there, and rolled over and over to get rid of their scales. Here *Uiartek*'s wife collected as many narwhal-horn tips as she could carry in her arms; she used them for stretching out skins.

Then they came to *Kâsagsik*, who dwelt not very far north from here (Angmagsalik) and caught bears in traps, and finally they reached home again. Here there was a man who boasted of the land he had travelled to and seen. *Uiartek* therefore challenged him to a drum-match, and composed the following chant²⁾.

6. UIARTEK AND KASAGSIK

told by *Utuak*³⁾.

When *Uiartek* had made the round of the country, he and *Kasagsik* resolved to have a drum-match together. When they were out kaiaking together, and one of them was chasing a walrus, the other stuck his harpoon in the walrus, drew it out again, set it in order once more, and aimed at the other with the harpoon. Afterwards they went home again together. When *Kasagsik* one day was taking aim at *Uiartek*, the latter exclaimed: "Let us not slay each other, but let us rather have a drum-match together". When winter set in, they commenced the drum-match with each other.

Kasagsik had put a walrus paw in the earth, allowed it to freeze fast, and bound a rawhide thong to the paw. He meant *Uiartek* to pull it up. When *Kasagsik*'s wife had gone out to pull up the paw, but was a long time about it, *Kasagsik* told *Uiartek* that he had better go out with him and help her, as she could not

¹⁾ *Kigdlue*: the thwart between the horns in a *umiak*.

²⁾ As I have taken down only the Danish and not the Greenlandic text of *Utuak*'s version, whereas I have written down the text of *Nakitilik*'s version in both languages, and as, moreover, *Nakitilik*'s version is fuller than that of *Utuak*, I shall omit the latter here, referring the reader to the other version given in No. 52.

³⁾ Told as a continuation of *Uiartek*.

manage it. *Kasagsik* being unable to pull it up either, *Uiartek* took hold of the walrus paw, and *Kasagsik* seized him from behind. *Uiartek* now managed to pull up the paw, and lashed about with it behind his back, trying to hit *Kasagsik*; but the latter jumped aside, so that it missed him. "So you are going to kill me!" "Yes, I am, because you seized me from behind".

When *Uiartek* was about to depart, *Kasagsik* brought forth his dogs. They were as large as bears, and began to snap at *Uiartek*'s dogs. *Kasagsik* called out "*Ki, ki, ki . . .*" in order to set his dogs on to fight with *Uiartek*'s. *Uiartek* now retorted by letting loose his dogs, so *Kasagsik*'s dogs at once bounded after them, and they began to fight. When one of *Kasagsik*'s big dogs had its tail towards one of *Uiartek*'s dogs, the latter bit off its rectum, so that it died. It was now *Kasagik*'s turn to run, and *Uiartek*'s dogs went in pursuit. He was near being bitten, when he managed to jump onto an umiak. As the dogs could not reach him there, they began to gnaw at the gunwale of the umiak. *Kasagsik* laid about him with his whip to such good purpose that the dogs parted with now an ear and now a tail. *Uiartek* now called off his dogs, or they would have bitten *Kasagsik* to death.

When *Kasagsik*'s son grew up, and *Kasagsik* was now an old man, his son killed all the strangers that came on visits. He slew them with a club that was covered with walrus skin and in which bear's teeth were set. *Kasagsik*'s son was a strong man and an excellent hunter withal. He had two wives. He and his father each had their own passage-way.

Visitors who came to the house were never known to leave it alive. A man called *Ulivatsiak* came one day on a visit to *Kasagsik*. When it began to grow dark, *Kasagsik*, who had become a good man in his old days, said: "You had better go away, for my son will be home soon". For *Kasagsik* was afraid that his son would kill him. While *Ulivatsiak* was still there, the son approached, towing two walruses. The son's wife now went down to the shore together with *Ulivatsiak*. When *Kasagsik*'s son saw that his wife was accompanied by a stranger, he got angry and rowed up so quickly that the walruses were drawn below the surface of the water. He landed, leapt out of the kaiak, drew up the walruses, and went up to the house to put on another *anorak*. When he had gone up to the house, *Ulivatsiak* took the walruses to a place where the ground was rough, and, as he drew them ashore, the skin on the head of one of them was torn to shreds. This was perceived by *Kasagsik*'s son.

When they came into the house, *Kasagsik* began to relate old

legends. The murderous instrument was hanging over the door by which *Ulivatsiak* was sitting. *Kasagsik*'s son kept going out and rushing in again close by *Ulivatsiak*, in order to frighten him. For he had a great desire to kill *Ulivatsiak*. *Kasagsik*'s son came in, seized the murderous instrument, sprang forward with intent to kill *Ulivatsiak*, but the latter parried the blow with his arm. *Ulivatsiak*, who was very strong, took the club from him, squeezed his arms and legs together, and jammed the club into his eye-sockets. *Kasagsik* was sitting all the while away on the platform, quietly looking on. His son fell to the ground and lay there in a very bad plight, but not dying. *Ulivatsiak* went round to the neighbours, and told an orphan boy there to go and look to *Kasagsik*'s son. When the boy came up to *Kasagsik*'s son, he found his face much swollen. When he began to recover, *Ulivatsiak* departed.

Ulivatsiak could do all that he wanted (*ajugakangitsok*). Once he was set upon by four 'inland-dwellers', but they could not overpower him. He was of *Uiartek*'s family. *Uiartek* returned hither and died here in his old age. *Kasagsik* used to catch bears, just as people here catch foxes, that is in stone traps.

7. NATATEK

told by *Utuak*.

There was once upon a time an old man who lived at *Norsit*¹⁾. He and his wife lived in a house all by themselves, all their children being dead. They had many neighbours, who often asked the man to come and stay with them, but when he came to them, they would always have him tell tales. When he had no more tales to tell, they said he was to tell about his dead children. This he refused to do, but they compelled him, whereat he was wont to be angered. When the people went to eat afterwards, he generally got a seal's paw on which there was no flesh. One day when he had been compelled as usual to tell about his dead children, and had consequently fallen into a rage, they brought in a seal, which was cut up, and *Natatek* as usual got a paw without any flesh on it. When the head of the house went out, *Natatek* threw the bone out into the passage-way, saying that it should turn into a human skeleton, that it might frighten the people to death. He then heard something running outside, and, when he came out, he saw the skeleton running over the man, who was thereat terrified to

¹⁾ Inhabited place on the large island at the mouth of the Angmagsalik fjord.

death; and then it went into the house and frightened all the inhabitants to death.

The following day *Natatek* loaded his boat and went with his wife to *Ingmikertok*¹⁾, where there lived two old people with their daughter. When he had arrived there, he heard that the other people from the mouth of the fjord were coming out to avenge the murders. One day when it was light, he saw a number of umiaks and kaiaks coming out on the fjord, with the head-man in the leading boat. When *Natatek* perceived this, he began to sing magic chants and perform *tornak* incantations, although he was not an *angakok*. As he performed the incantations, he saw that all the wooden trays were filled with salmon, and there appeared a seal with a skeleton for a head which terrified him and the others to death. While he was performing the *tornak* incantations, the old folks and their daughter sang for accompaniment. *Natatek* and his wife soon after came to life again. The head-man now came in from outside and stabbed the inhabitants in the face with his knife, but though they stood perfectly still, the knife was unable to pierce them on account of the *tornak* incantations that had been performed. He had therefore to give up his purpose and went out again.

Natatek and his wife now moved to the head of the Sermilik fjord, and went and lived with the *Timerseks* (inland-dwellers). Here they found a lodging with a man and wife who had no children. While they lived there, they went out hunting reindeer and narwhals, which they harpooned from the land at *Sarfak* ('the stream, the current'). The *Timersek* stuck his harpoon in a narwhal and drew it to land. *Natatek* likewise stuck his harpoon in a narwhal; but at the same moment a *Timersek* on the opposite side of the stream stuck his harpoon in the same narwhal and drew it over to his side.

When *Natatek* came home, his house-mate taunted him saying: "Well, did they draw the narwhal away from you?" To this *Natatek* replied: "I intend to fetch it this evening". When night approached, *Natatek* and his house-mate, the inland-dweller, went to the stream. As the current was very strong, a rawhide thong had been stretched taut across the stream, and they clambered over it to the opposite side. There they saw the narwhal lying, and *Natatek* took it and tied it to the line. Now he had to go to the house and fetch his harpoon-line.

When he came to the house of the *Timersek*, he looked in at the window and saw the *Timersek* standing in front of the lighted

¹⁾ An island in the Angmagsalik fjord.

lamp, which stood on the floor, and working at a large narwhal tusk. *Natatek*'s harpoon-line with a toggle-head of narwhal tusk was hanging on a hook (*initsat*). In the passage-way had been erected three stones, which had been set up one behind the other like so many doors (*matit*), in order that the *Timersek* might hear when anyone came. *Natatek* went into the house, while his companion stood on the watch at the window, to come to his rescue if it should be necessary. The man in the house kept an eye on the passage-way, while he worked. *Natatek* now lifted aside the last stone, sprang forward, and took his harpoon-line, then ran down to the stream, took the narwhal, and jumped over the line of rawhide thong with one hand, while he held the narwhal and the line in the other. Next day *Natatek* harpooned another narwhal, and in this one likewise a harpoon was stuck in from the opposite bank, but he managed to drag it over to his side.

People told *Natatek* that there lived not far from there an inland-dweller who had two daughters who, when men came to stay with them, caught hold of them between the legs, so that they died. *Natatek* had a pair of *natit* of bearded-seal skin sewn for him. He tried with all his might to pull them asunder, but could not manage to tear them. It was now the *Timersek*'s turn to try; he tore them asunder with the greatest ease and said that they were no use, but that he would give him some *natit* which no one could tear asunder. These were made of double bearded-seal skin. He tried to pull them asunder, but they held.

They then went on a visit to the man with the two daughters. On their way they lifted large stones out of the earth; these lay so firmly fixed in the ground that they gave forth a whistling (smacking) sound when they drew them up; then they played ball with them. The inland-dweller cast a large stone to *Natatek*; but it fell to the ground. The inland-dweller then said: "It's no use your going to that place, if you cannot even manage a stone like this". "Nay, but I shall go there all the same", said *Natatek*, and he took a large stone, played ball with it, and cast it to the inland-dweller, who had to let it fall to the ground.

They now came and stayed with the man with the two daughters. The father thought that evening was long in coming, and began therefore to tell tales; but after the father had told tales for some time, *Natatek* and the inland-dweller told him that they felt sleepy. When they had put out the lamps, the father fell asleep, and the others made as if they were sleeping, too. One of the daughters now went and took *Natatek* in her arms, carried him, and laid him by her side on the sleeping-platform. When she had

taken off her boots, she lay down herself on the sleeping-platform and grasped Natatek between the legs in order to pull out his guts; but he seized hold of her, threw his legs around hers, gagged her mouth with one hand, and with the other hand pressed her abdomen, so that her guts were crushed together. When the father heard her death-rattle, he thought it was her daughter that had killed Natatek, and so he whispered: "*Ilaglugo, ilaglugo!*" ("Go on, go on!"). When *Natatek* had despatched her, he went and lay down by his companion's side and told him that he had killed her.

The other daughter now came and took *Natatek*, who made as if he slept, in her arms, and carried him off to her place. She wanted to pull out his guts; but he stopped her mouth with his hand, and squeezed her so that her guts burst. When the father heard the rattling sound, he stretched himself and whispered again: "Go on, go on!" When the other daughter likewise was dead, *Natatek* and his companion went off while it was still night.

Natatek and the inland-dweller heard some time after that the father was wrath because *Natatek* had killed his daughters, and so they went back to him again. On their way they came to a stream where many people were standing catching narwhals in blow-holes in the ice, and among them was the father whose daughters he had killed. When he caught sight of them, he hurled a black narwhal at *Natatek*; but *Natatek* sprang aside, so that the narwhal missed him. The same action was repeated again, and *Natatek* picked up the narwhal and hurled it back each time at the inland-dweller. The latter shrieked out that he was afraid he would be hit. *Natatek* now leapt forward, and they seized hold of one another. *Natatek* pressed the inland-dweller to the earth, and began to twist his neck; but the inland-dweller called out that he would pay him with his *angmaletarsiutek*¹⁾, if he would but let him escape with his life, and so *Natatek* let him go. The man, however, failed to keep his promise, and *Natatek* never heard of him any more.

Both *Natatek*'s wife and his house-mate's wife were barren. They therefore agreed to exchange wives for some time, whereupon both wives became pregnant and both bore sons, first the inland-dweller's wife, and then *Natatek*'s. The children began to grow up, and kaiaks were made for them. When *Natatek*'s son²⁾ began to go about, and his father had left him, the birds perched upon him. His mother told him that next time the birds perched upon him, he should catch hold of them. This he did, and when he

¹⁾ *Angmaletarsiutek* is a hunting-implement for catching narwhals in blow-holes.

²⁾ i. e. the son of *Natatek*'s wife and the inland-dweller.

caught hold of one bird, he caught all the others that were round him, and afterwards the same thing happened every time.

The boys now began to go out in kaiaks. The inland-dweller's son often capsized, but *Natatek*'s son did not. When *Natatek* one day was out in the kaiak with his son and had gone away and left him for a while, a large shoal of seals came up, so that the boy had to lay the paddle across the kaiak to keep the balance. The seals did not go away till his father returned. When they came home, his father made a harpoon-head, a harpoon-line, and a float for him. Next time they were out kaiaking, and his father had left him, a shoal of seals came up again. The boy cast his harpoon at one of them; but he caught not only this one seal, but the whole shoal at once, so that the whole harpoon-line was full of seals.

When *Natatek* was out kaiaking together with his son, they would break the paddles in two and bind them together again with a rawhide cord for practice, in case the paddle should break in stormy weather.

The inland-dweller's son could not learn how to rise in the kaiak when he capsized. So they moved towards the inland and caught seals from the land, while *Natatek* went back again out here to the mouth of the fjord.

8. THE BLIND MAN WHO RECEIVED HIS SIGHT AGAIN

told by *Nakitilik*.

Once when *Inik* came home with a young bearded-seal, his grand-mother wanted the skin to use for her platform, whereas he himself wished to make rawhide cords out of it. He now proceeded to cut a harpoon-line out of the skin; but while he was preparing it, it burst to pieces and hit him at the eye, so that he became blind.

One day when he was sitting on the platform, he said: "There is a bear outside the window; bring me my bow". The grand-mother brought him the bow and aimed at the bear, while *Inik* bent it and shot it off, so that the bear fell down dead. "I think I hit it", said *Inik*. "No, you missed", answered the grand-mother. And now every time she cooked the flesh of the bear, she did not give him any of it.

One day *Inik* said to his little sister: "Will you guide me into the inland parts?" When they came to a great plain, he lay down

to rest, and she left him. Presently he heard a flock of wild geese flying over his head. They flew past him; but another flight came and one of them said: "There lies a poor fellow!" The wild goose struck *Inik* over the eyes with its wings, saying: "Thou mayst not open thine eyes, before thou comest home".

When he came home, he saw a number of narwhals and white whales going into the fjord. He stuck his harpoon into one of them, and tied his grandmother as a float to the end of the harpoon-line, so that the narwhal went away with her.

Inik and his sister now went inland and came to a plain where there were many houses. Further inland they came to some people who were only shadows and had no anus. They did not eat, but only sucked out the meat. When *Inik* and his sister entered their house, they offered them food to eat; but they could not eat of it, because the meat stank.

Both *Inik* and his sister got married here. When *Inik's* wife gave birth to a child that had an anus, the mother-in-law sang in glee: "It has a lovely hole in its backside! It has a lovely hole in its backside!". At last she herself got a hole in her backside and died.

These things came to pass up at *Kialinek*, where there are many great plains.

9. ARFERSIARTOK

told by *Utuak*.

The only child of a married couple died. The parents were so grieved thereat that the husband went away in the umiak leaving his wife behind. While they were rowing, one of the women in the boat said: "Why, you are going away and leaving her?" But the others made as if they did not hear it. The wife that had been left behind alone, and who was pregnant, now went inland through a large valley which led northwards. She continued in the same direction till she caught sight of the sea and a big headland, at the end of which there was an eminence which she took to be a 'gullery'. But when she drew nearer, she perceived that it was a stranded whale which had been left lying high and dry by the tide.

On top of the whale was perched a gull, which was busy pecking away at it. She went up to the whale, cut it in pieces, and went inland, carrying the flesh quite by herself. Here she built

a house for herself and used the whale-bones as rafters. She split the whale's guts and used them as windows. Only one gut was required for each window. The woman now gave birth to a daughter, and gave her many dolls to play with. These were made of seal's paws.

When winter set in, and the foxes came down to eat the whale, she caught them in snares, which she had made of the whale's sinews. Once when she awoke from sleep, she saw the foxes eating the whale's flesh. She then caught them with snares, used their skins for her platform, and soon had enough to cover the walls with. She caught still more foxes, so that she had enough skins to cover the roof with.

One day when she was sewing the window-skin, her daughter knocked down one of her dolls, and cried: "One of my dolls is beginning to run!" Her mother said to her "Play with your dolls!" The child repeated: "One of my dolls is running!"

Three days after the child made her dolls perform *tornak* incantations; her father was a great *angakok*. The child exclaimed: "Mother, the dolls can speak! The doll says that my father is coming to-morrow". Her mother answered: "Why, you have no father!" The child replied: "The doll has performed *tornak* incantations, and said: 'When it has got dark, and gets light again, thy father will come'!"

They lay down to sleep, and when it grew light they heard a rattling sound outside. The mother looked out of the window and saw her husband, who came driving up in a sledge. He entered the house, and she recognized her husband. "How did you manage to catch all the foxes whose skins cover the walls?", the husband asked. "I caught them with snares", she answered. She then told him how she had found a whale. That night they lay together, and next day the man wished to take his wife home with him on the sledge; but she would not go. The husband returned, and his wife and daughter lived on the whale the whole winter.

When spring came, they went out to the place where the husband lived, and when summer arrived the man took her again to wife and was separated from the new wife he had got. After her husband's death she remained there alone with her daughter, and was able to catch seals and other animals herself. She could do anything she set her mind on!

10. THE SUN AND THE MOON

told by *Sanimuinak*.

The Moon dwelt in a house in this country, where his sister, the Sun, also dwelt¹⁾.

When the lamps were put out in the evening, the Moon went and lay with his sister. As she wished to find out who it was lay with her night after night, she smeared her hands one evening with lamp-soot. When the lamps had been put out, and he lay with her as usual, she rubbed her hands over his shoulders. Next morning when the lamps were lit, his sister said that there was someone who had soot on him; but when she found out that it was her brother, she took her knife, sharpened it, cut off one of her breasts and tossed it to her brother, saying: "As you seem to be so fond of me, eat me then!" She now took a small stick, stuck some lamp-moss on one end of it, dipped it in train-oil, and set fire to it. Then she ran out, and as she ran, she rose up in the air. When the Moon came out and saw that she was up in the air, he ran in and stuck some lamp-moss on his *sermiaut*²⁾, set fire to it, and ran out with it in pursuit of his sister. But when he came up in the air, the lamp-moss went out, leaving only some glowing embers.

When the Moon's lighted stick is about to go out, he blows on it, so that sparks fly out in all directions, and it is these that turn into stars³⁾. The Moon does not shine so brightly, because he has only a glow, and sometimes he must go down to the earth to hunt seals; but the Sun shines brightly and gives forth warmth, for the lamp-moss was still burning, when she came up into the air.

11. THE TWO COUSINS

told by *Sanimuinak*.

There were once two cousins, one of whom went out alone kaiaking one spring and did not come home again. Winter came, and the missing one had not returned. Next spring when the other cousin was up the fjord, he caught sight of a kaiak, and as he rowed along the shore, he soon recognized his cousin who had disappeared the year before. His cousin told him that he had

¹⁾ The sun is called: *Sungula*, and the moon *Ijakak* (Hanserak's diary).

²⁾ An implement of bone or wood for scraping and knocking off the ice from the kaiak.

³⁾ Another version (Hanserak) says that the Moon burnt himself on the Sun, so that a number off small pieces flew off from him, and these became stars.

been carried off by a fjord-dweller, who dwelt up at the head of the fjord, and that he had married his daughter. He urged his cousin to go with him up the fjord, warning him, however, that the dwellers there were fond of killing people, but he promised to take care of him. They now rowed up the great fjord, where they caught sight of the house in which there were three hunters, namely the old fjord-dweller, his son, and the cousin that had been carried away and was now the son-in-law of the old fjord-dweller.

When darkness approached, the son came home with a big saddleback in tow. He was rowing hard; but when he saw that there lay two kaiaks by the house, he began to row slowly, as if he could not manage the seal. When he came ashore, he fetched a piece of dried meat, which he gave the stranger.

Night came on, and the father came home with a big saddleback. As they watched him coming up in the distance, they saw that he was rowing hard, just as if he had nothing at all in tow; but when he saw that there was one kaiak there more than usual, he rowed quite slowly, in order that they might think he was not strong. He landed, and dragged up the seal, whereupon he told the stranger that he would go with him into the house, and when he came in, he placed a side of dried meat before him.

When the lamps were put out, a little lamp down on the floor was lit, and the old man began to do wood-carving, in order that the others might be able to sleep, and he might have a chance of killing the strangers. The cousins were to sleep together; but they took turns to sleep, so that one might always be awake so as to be able to warn the other. The night thus passed without the stranger having been killed, and the lamps were lighted once more, when it began to grow light. The new-comer was now given his cousin's anorak to put on, and the cousin told him to keep it on when he departed. He went out, hastened down to his kaiak, and paddled off. His cousin was watching him through the window, and when he was far away he said: "Our visitor has already got a long way off from here". There was at once a great to-do to get off in pursuit. The umiak was launched, and away they rowed. The old man was steering, and the son and son-in-law rowing. They rowed so quickly that it was as if they were pulling the kaiak up towards them. When they drew near the kaiak, the son-in-law said: "Let me steer!" "No, I want to steer", answered the old man. But the son-in-law went and without more ado took the steering-oar from the old man, who had to leave his place.

When they drew near the kaiak the steering-oar broke, because the son-in-law put a heavy strain on it. The father-in-law handed him another; but before it was in order, the kaiak was far away. When they again approached it, the son-in-law again put a strain on the oar, which broke as before. The father-in-law once more handed him a new oar, saying it was the last one. The kaiak had again got a start; but they soon overtook it, and again the oar broke with a loud crash. "I believe you break the oars on purpose!" said the old man. "No, it is only my eagerness to get to him that I may kill him", returned the son-in-law. The latter and the son now tried to wrestle with each other, but the old fjord-dweller kept them apart, and in the meantime they lost sight of the cousin.

When the latter came home, he related how his cousin had been carried away by the fjord-dweller and was now married to his daughter. He also showed them his cousin's anorak.

The people determined to go and kill the fjord-dweller, and so they set to work to make bows. An orphan boy, who was a dwarf, made an arrow of his grandmother's 'meat-jack'¹⁾, which was made of seal-bone. "What are you going to do with that arrow? Why, it is quite crooked!" said the others mockingly. They now went up the fjord with two umiaks. When they had come up it, they killed the fjord-dwellers with their bows. The cousin's wife began to cry, when they were about to shoot the old man; but he flew up into the air in the form of a raven, so that the arrows could not reach him. They shot arrow after arrow; he flew with outstretched wings, but no one hit him.

When they found that no one could hit him, they told the orphan boy to shoot. He began to search for a hole to place himself in, and fell down into one the dogs had dug. When he came up again, he set his back and legs against the sides of the hole, aimed side-ways and shot the arrow which was made of the 'meat-jack'. It gave forth a cracking sound, and the arrow hit the old fjord-dweller in the belly. As he fell, all the others shot at him, so that he received so many arrows in his body that it never reached the ground, being propped up on the arrows. They now told the cousin's wife, who had run away into the interior, that she was to come down to them, and, when she came, she went along with them to their dwelling-place.

¹⁾ A bone stick or bone ladle for turning the meat in the pot when it is being boiled.

12. MATAKATAK

told by *Kutuluk*.

There lived once in olden times a man called *Matakatak*, who caught seals in a net (*nigak*). The net, which was made of whale-bone, he set across the sounds up the fjord, and when he had been some time at home, he went up the fjord in an umiak to look after the net, and as a rule he found all kinds of seals, such as bearded seals, harbour seals, and ringed seals, sticking to the net. When they went ashore up the fjord, the women picked berries and *tugdlerunat* (*Sedum Rhodiola*).

One day they had been up the fjord as usual to see to the net, and their neighbour's little son was with them. The umiak was full of all the many seals that had been caught in the net, but when they were to return home, their neighbour's son was found to be missing. They shouted for him and searched for him, but all in vain.

When they came home and were crying over the lost child, *Matakatak* said that it must have been the *Timerseks* who had taken him; for when he went up the mountain, he perceived smoke coming from a house up inland. *Matakatak* got his wife to sew an anorak of double bearded-seal skin, which, when it was finished, was so stiff that it could only be bent at the sleeves. *Matakatak* went with the boy's parents up the fjord, and when they had come up it, they went ashore. Every time *Matakatak* came to a stone that was hollow underneath, he struck it so that it resounded, in order to try his strength. He was so strong that he sometimes broke the stones to pieces. "If it only had been a *Timersek*!", he would then exclaim.

When they had climbed up the mountain, they perceived some smoke. *Matakatak* pointed at it, and they went up to the house whence the smoke was issuing.

The passage-way was blocked with a huge stone. They therefore climbed on top of the house, looked down¹⁾, and caught sight of the old *Timersek* rocking the child with his hands, as he held its head between his legs. The child was crying, and the old man was heard asking it: "Is there anything you want?" "No", answered the child. "Do you miss your family?" asked the *Timersek*. "Yes", answered the child. "You must not cry about it; we are going to take you to them to-morrow", said the *Timersek*. *Matakatak*, who

¹⁾ The house seems not to have been built on the Greenland model; for it must have had a hole in the roof through which the smoke passed out, just as is the case with the houses of the Western Eskimo.

had seen all this, made a sign to the others that they were to look, too. He then removed the stone from the passage and said: "Now, you must go behind me, but remain in the passage, and I will go in and take the boy and throw him out to you".

A little way up the passage, there was another huge stone, lying across and blocking the passage. *Matakatak* turned it over, but came upon a third stone. That, too, he managed to turn over, and beyond it there hung bear's teeth and other bones which rattled when they were touched. *Matakatak* drew them aside so that they rattled, sprang up to the platform, gave the man who was rocking the child a thrust in the belly, so that he fell on his back, seized the child and threw it out into the passage, where its parents caught it and ran away with it.

The *Timerseks* wanted to throttle *Matakatak* by twisting the hood of his anorak about his neck; but he escaped. When he came outside, three timerseks, who were just as big as umiaks, came and seized hold of him; but he killed them all three with his clenched fists.

The child's parents had already got some distance away. *Matakatek* ran down to the others, took the child from its parents, and ran on with it. He now caught sight of three big men; these were the souls of the *Timerseks* he had slain¹⁾, and as he approached them, they parted, so that he passed between them. They now came home with the child which had been stolen by the *Timerseks*.

13. POUIA

told by *Kutuluk*.

One day when *Pouia* was out kaiaking, he met a *Timersek*. He backed water as hard as he could, in order to get back, but the 'inland-dweller' drew him towards him, stuck him kaiak and all in his bag, and went up into the inland. When the *Timersek* had taken *Pouia* to his home, he gave him in marriage his two unmarried daughters, and his kaiak was put up on a ledge of the wall. The eldest daughter was not so beautiful as the youngest. When *Pouia* lay between them and turned his face towards the most beautiful of them, the other caught hold of him and turned him round towards her.

After a time he began to weary of lying still, and said: "It is a long time since I was out kaiaking; I wish I could go out once

¹⁾ Whereas the souls of men are as big as a finger or hand, the *Timerseks*' souls are as big as men.

more!" "Why not?" answered the inland-dweller. The kaiak was now fetched down, but it was so dry that it could not be used as it was; so it was placed on the side-platform by the window, to be repaired. His wives covered and sewed it; but they also sewed up the man-hole. "It must be open, so that I can creep down into it!" said *Pouia*. When the kaiak was ready, and he was going to set out, he said: "I wish I could go out and catch birds!". His father-in-law took him and put him in the middle of a lake, then went out into the water, and cried: "*Ke! Ke!*" When he had got to shore again, a great number of birds came out into the water. *Pouia* caught as many as he could take on the kaiak, then went ashore and flung them on a little island in order to catch more. While he was catching birds, he saw a tongue of fog coming down upon the island, and the inland-dweller's wife came walking on the fog to fetch the birds. When *Pouia* was tired of catching birds, he went home.

When he had been at home some time, *Pouia* said: "I wish I could go out and hunt narwhals!" "Why not?" answered his father-in-law, set him in his kaiak out in the fjord, and snorted like a narwhal, crying: "*Ho! Ho!*". Then he went ashore again. *Pouia* threw his harpoon at a narwhal and lanced it all by himself. When it had been killed, he took it home with him, and his wives cut it up.

Pouia soon got tired again of staying at home, and so he said to his wives: "Shall we go out to sea?" They now went all three down to the coast, up here at *Tasiusak*, and set down in a place where the coast-dwellers came to collect *tugdlerunat*. He told his wives to louse his head. One of his wives said: "I believe an umiak is coming". *Pouia* replied: "No, it is only a piece of ice with seaweed on it". The umiak, which now approached, went under lee of the shore. The sound of human voices came from the boat, and *Pouia* knew them well. One of his wives said: "It sounds just as if someone were speaking!" *Pouia* replied: "Let us listen! To those who have never been on the coast, the cry of mews sounds like human voices".

The umiak approached nearer and nearer. The people stepped out of the boat, and one of his wives said: "It sounds just as if someone were speaking behind us". The people now came forward quite close to them, but when they perceived the *Timerseks*, they ran down to the boat again. "I am not a *Timersek*! I am *Pouia*! I am *Pouia*! It is they that have taken me; now take *them*!" cried *Pouia*, and stuck his arms into both his wives' boots, in order to prevent them from running away. The boat of the most beautiful

wife burst; for she had not sewed it well, and she managed to run away from him. When she came to the edge of a great abyss, she stood still and called to her husband to bring her her boot, for she had hurt her foot. Pouia kept hold of the eldest wife till the others seized her and put her in the umiak. As they returned home, the umiak nearly capsized every time the Timersek wife moved. So they told her she must keep quiet so as not to make the boat capsize.

Some time after they had come home to *Pouia's* dwelling-place, his wife became pregnant. They lived on a little island; but his wife was often away. When they searched for her, they found her standing up to her face in water by the sea shore; for she wanted to sink down into the sea and go home there. She now gave birth to a child, and winter came, and then it was once more spring. The wife said to her husband: "Shall we not go up inland and visit the others?" "Yes", replied her husband, "but we will leave the child here, for then we will be sure to return; but if we take it with us, do you suppose we shall ever return?" "No", said the wife, "we will take the child with us, for otherwise it will cry".

They now went up inland, took the child with them, and never came to the coast again.

14. TWO SISTERS THAT MARRIED ANIMALS.

There were once upon a time two little sisters who were playing games in the house. The elder said to the younger: "You can take that whale-skull for your husband; I will have the eagle that flies up there for mine". The whale-skull took the younger sister to wife, and the eagle took the elder sister. She shrieked; but it flew up with her to its nest and took her to wife.

When the eagle went out to seek for prey, it usually came home with a narwhal in each of its talons and in its beak. As it passed the house of its wife's parents, it would drop one of the narwhals, so that his wife's parents might have it.

The younger sister who was married to the whale was never allowed to go out. When she wanted to go out and make water, the whale said she was to do it in his mouth. When she wanted to go out to ease herself, the whale told her she was to do so in his hand; for he would not have her come out.

When the eagle went to seek for prey, his wife twisted narwhal-sinews as thick as a sealskin line, that they might not break.

One day when the eagle was out, she tied the twisted cord fast to a stone and let herself down. The cord stretched while she was letting herself down, so that she got frightened; but she managed all the same to reach the ground after having torn the skin of her legs on the sharp stones. She now went home to her mother. When the son-in-law, the eagle, came home from the hunt, he dropped a narwhal as usual down to her parents and then flew up to his aerie; but not finding his wife there, he dropped the narwhal and flew back to the girl's home. His father-in-law said to him: "Stretch out thy wings, that we may see that thou art indeed our son-in-law!" It stretched out its wings, and the father-in-law shot at it. The arrow struck it in the breast, but rebounded again. The angry eagle flew down and broke the windows to pieces; but when it came up to the house, the man put an end to it, by shooting it with his grandmother's 'meat-jack'. When the eagle was dead, it was cut in pieces and eaten, and a seat for the dogs was made out of one of its hip-bones.

When they had thus got the elder sister home, the people said: "How are we to get hold of the younger one? Her husband will not let her go out". The father made an umiak, and when it was ready, they launched it to try whether it could be rowed so fast as an eider-duck can fly; but after some time the umiak was out-distanced. As they could not keep up with the eider-duck, they turned round, and when they came home, the man took off the covering of the umiak, disjointed it and made another umiak out of it. When it had been re-covered, they launched it to try whether it could now race a guillemot. They beat up a guillemot and rowed alongside of it. When they had kept up with it for some time, the umiak got the lead, whereat they rejoiced greatly and became eager to fetch the daughter.

The following day they resolved to go and fetch the daughter and then move to another place. When they came up to the place where the whale lived, the wife looked out of the window and caught sight of the umiak. She said to her husband: "I am going to go out and make water!" "That you can do in my mouth!", he answered. "I am going to go out and ease myself!", she then said. "That you can do in my hand!" answered the whale. "If I only might go out, you could tie a sealskin thong fast to me and pull me in again, when I remain away too long". She at last obtained leave to go out; but just as she had got out, the whale pulled at the sealskin thong from within. "I have just begun!", she said, and then she began to tie the thong fast to a stone. While she was doing so, he tugged at the thong again; but she cried:

"I have not finished yet!" As soon as she had fastened the thong to the stone, she ran down to the umiak, leapt into it, and they rowed as fast as they could out to sea.

The whale tugged at the thong; but his wife did not come. So he went out to look for her and saw her in the boat far away. He rolled down to the water, and as he bounded out, he lashed the water up into foam, and swam on the surface of the water after the boat. He swam so hard that it was just as if he were drawing the boat up towards him. He soon drew near the boat, and the people in it were afraid that he would crush the boat when he reached it. So they told the whale's wife that she was to cast her boot in the water. So she drew off one of her boots, and flung it into the water. The whale snuffed at it and examined it, and was thus retarded a little; but he was soon off once more in pursuit of the boat. When he approached the boat again, the same scene was repeated with the other boot. He came up with them once more, and the same thing happened with her stockings. When he grew tired of playing with the stockings, he started off again in pursuit. The others told the whale's wife to cast away her *anorak*. She took it off and flung it out. The whale disported himself with it, splashing the water about in all directions, but started off afresh in pursuit of the boat, which was now close to shore. He swam faster than ever, and was now just about to reach the boat; but then the people in the boat told his wife that she was to cast away her *natit*. She threw them out, and the whale snuffed at them, and got more excited than ever, because they smelt so nice. When he had finished, he again went in pursuit of the boat; but the boat ran ashore, and the whale likewise beside it. Here he died and became a skeleton again.

15. THE TWO BOYS WHO COULD KEEP UNDER WATER

told by *Utuak*.

There was once a widower who had two sons. When the father went out hunting, the boys went down to a pond where they practised swimming. One day the father said to the boys: "Let me see whether you can go down under water!". They went to a steep slope, from which the elder boy leapt first, followed by the other. They dived down into the water, and the father waited for them to come up again; but when he had waited in vain for them to come up again, the father went home, and here he found his sons sitting in front of the lamp, shivering with cold.

Every time the father went out kaiaking, he told his sons to go out into the water, and then when he came home, they were sitting before the lamp shivering all over. One day when the father was out hunting, he met a kaiaker, to whom he said: "I was watching my sons, who can keep under water". The other pretended not to understand and rowed on. The father again met a kaiaker. To him he said: "When my sons were swimming under water yesterday, I was watching them". He rowed on and told all the kaiakers out there that his sons could keep under water.

Next morning, when the sons awoke, there were so many kaiakers outside the widower's house that the water was quite crimson with them. They had come to kill the sons, and said to the father: "Is it your sons that can go down to the bottom of the sea?" The boys went off to the steep rock from which they could not see the bottom of the sea, and all the strangers stood round them. The boys sprang out into the water; but while they were under water, all the strangers picked up stones to kill them when they came up. They waited and waited, but the boys did not appear, and so the men went home to the house and there saw the boys standing shivering before the lamp.

While they were within the house, someone came in and said that there was a large walrus there. All leapt into their kaiaks; but the walrus went out to sea, dived down, and came up again. One of the strangers threw his harpoon at it, and when it now dived down again, the two boys, each with a knife in his hand, sprang out into the water. They held on to the float-line under the water, and killed the walrus with their knives, while the hunter waited for it on the surface of the water. They took out the harpoon-head and let it go on to the surface of the water together with the float-line and the float. Then they cut up the walrus down in the water, took a piece of it with them, and covered the rest with a stone. They put the piece down by the beach, and went out to fetch more.

In this way the boys captured the walrus and eat it. When those who had harpooned it heard that the boys had taken it, they went to kill them. The boys leapt out from their usual place and dived down into the water. The strangers, however, picked up stones; but the boys came up so far out that they could not reach them with the stones. The strangers stepped quickly into their kaiaks, went out after the boys, and prepared to kill them. They dived down and swam out to sea, but when they had got far out they began to shiver, and popped up their heads out of the water behind some of the kaiaks; but then there were other kaiakers ready

to harpoon them, so they had to duck down again. The boys now took hold of the paddles of some of the kaiakers from below the water, so that they capsized and drowned.

A *nerrajak* (north-easterly wind) began to get up, and so the other kaiakers paddled in towards land; but the boys followed them and pulled away their paddles from them, so that they drowned. Thus they made an end of the whole lot of them.

16. THE MOON'S CHILD

told by *Utuak*.

A woman whose children always died, saw, one day when she was out to fetch water, a big sledge. It was the Moon's sledge. He spread a hairless saddleback skin on the sledge, she lay down on it, and the Moon had his will with her. She lost consciousness, and knew nothing of it.

When she came to herself again, she lay bathed in blood, which was spreading all over the skin. The Moon's dog went up to her and lapped up all the blood. Before the Moon left her, he said: "You must not let your husband lie with you the first few nights. When you get a child, you should not make an anorak for it; for I shall be sure to give it one".

When the woman awoke the next morning, she perceived that she had a child in her womb, and the third day after her husband lay with her again. The woman had a dog which could not bear puppies; but now that the woman had a son, the dog also had a puppy. When the woman had given birth to the child, the Moon brought an anorak of bearded-seal guts for it; and when the woman went out, he gave her a walrus paw which the child was to eat. When that had been eaten up, she got a shoulder of bear.

She held the child with its face down in the water, just as long as a ringed seal remains under, and then, when it began to move, she lifted it up. When the child began to crawl about on the platform, the puppy began to crawl about on the floor, and when the boy began to go out, the puppy went with him. The Moon gave him a dog-whip, and put it on the roof of the passage-way for him to take, and with it he whipped the dog to death with his left hand. When the boy grew up, he whipped all the other children, and did not stop before he had been warned. Once he had whipped a child to death; but the child had many brothers and

sisters, who, when they heard of it, were sure to come and take vengeance on him.

The mother therefore built a house out in the water, so that it was steep on all sides. When winter set in, they moved into this house, and the people now came from other parts to kill the son of the Moon. The mother moistened the gut-skin coat which the Moon had given her son, and he put it on; but its sleeves only reached his elbows, and on his body it only reached to his belly.

One of the strangers came and stood outside the passage-way, and one of them planted himself by the window with a *pana* (long knife) in his hand. A number of kaiakers lay below the house ready to throw their harpoons at him; but the boy made himself light, sprang right through the midst of the kaiakers out into the water, dived down before anyone had time to throw his harpoon at him, and did not come up before he was far out at sea.

When the people caught sight of him from land, they cried: "There he is, out there!" The kaiakers paddled towards him, and seized their harpoons to throw at him; but he ducked down into the water. The kaiakers still followed in pursuit out to sea. Now and then he emerged behind a kaiak, now by the side of one; but as soon as they rowed towards him, he ducked under. They had gradually got so far from land, that it looked as if it were steep, and the headlands could not be distinguished from the rest of the country.

The boy began to shiver, and so he dived down and shouted in at the rootend of some *suvdluitek* (a kind of seaweed), whereupon the wind was heard sougning lightly over the surface of the water. Then he swam up to some *sarpiusak* (another kind of seaweed), shouted in at its rootend, whereupon it began to bluster loudly along the surface of the water. It was the *nerrajak* wind coming on. When the kaiakers looked round, they perceived that a gale was blowing at the top of *Kalerajuek* (on *Kulusuk*). The kaiakers paddled towards the shore and they bobbed up and down in the heavy sea, so that some of them upset; and from those that did not thus capsize the boy drew away their paddles, so as to make them upset. Thus all the kaiakers were drowned, and the boy came home alone.

17. HOW THE OLD FOLKS AVENGED THEIR SONS

told by *Kutuluk*.

There were once a married couple who had a son. Every time he went out kaiaking, his parents went with him in the umiak; but he always rowed far in front of them, and when they came up with him he had generally caught a walrus.

Thus one day when he had rowed on in front, and his parents approached a naze, they saw him standing on it; but he remained quite immovable. It was not before they came up to him that they saw that he had been stuck up on a harpoon-shaft which had been inserted through the fork up the body, and that his sexual organs were bound round his head with a strap and hung down his forehead. The parents wept over their son and then they journeyed further north, till they came to another old married couple who had lost their son in the same way. Winter now came on; they therefore built a house, and the two old married couples lived together.

The old man was an angakok. So in winter he performed tornak incantations in order to find out what way the people who had killed his son had taken, and at last he managed to find out. When summer came, the two men journeyed thither. They rowed out from land until they lost it from sight, and presently they caught sight of the country whither they were bound. When they approached it, they found they could hardly get to shore for the green leaves that had been blown away from the land here and stopped in their passage by the land on the other side; however they managed to get through the leaves, and they went on land after having covered the kaiaks with green leaves, so that they might not be seen.

When they had come up, they saw two tents with their openings facing each other, in which a drum-match was going on. While they were looking on, two boys came out from the tent and went down to the winter-house. Soon afterwards they came back to the tent again. When the boys came out from the tent again and entered the house, the two old men ran down there too and, seizing hold of the boys, kept them from going out. They enquired who it was that was having a drum-match inside the tent. "It is my father who is having a drum-match with that boy's father", said one of the boys. "What are they singing about?", enquired the old man. "They are singing about one who had his sexual organs hanging down his forehead", replied the boy. The old man said that he was very fond of seeing people try their strength with their

arms, and so the boys grasped hold of one another and tried the strength of their arms.

One of the old men then said that he would like to try the strength of his arms with one of the boys, and they grasped one another's arms; but the man dropped his arm, seized the boy between the legs and tore away his sexual organs; then he bound them tightly round his forehead, stuck a stake through his anus, and placed him against one of the walls. The other boy tried to run away, but the old man seized him, did the same with him as he had done to the first, and placed him against the opposite wall. The men now ran down to their kaiaks, lay down, and covered themselves over with green leaves. As they lay there, they heard someone sobbing. Those whom they had heard sobbing, came up towards them, searched for the boys and went away again. This they did four times; but as they did not come again any more, the men stepped into their kaiaks and rowed out through the green leaves.

When they had lost the land from sight, they sighted their own country, and now rowed home and related how they had avenged the murder of their sons.

18. INURUDSIK

told by *Kutuluk*.

Inurudsiak was the name of a boy who had three *Erkiliks* for foster-brothers. When the *Erkiliks* came down from the inland, they made a hole in the corner of the house and shot all the house-inmates with bows. When they had thus slain all except *Inurudsiak* and his sister, two *Erkiliks* remained behind, but the others went back into the interior. The two *Erkiliks* hung *Inurudsiak* and his sister up by the legs over a deep abyss and then went their way.

When the children were nearly dying with hunger and thirst, *Inurudsiak* made water and caught his urine in his mouth, thereby saving his life, but his sister could not catch her urine in her mouth and therefore died. *Inurudsiak* tried to seize hold of his legs and climb up them to get hold of the sealskin thong by which he hung; but he fell down again. At last, however, he managed to get hold of the thong and then of the ledge of the rock, and in this way he made his way up.

He saw an umiak rowing past, in which he heard the sound of singing. He called to the people; but he called in a whining

voice, and therefore not loud enough for them to hear it. When the boat had almost passed him, one of them said: "Hark! it sounds as if someone were crying there!" The kaiakers paddled in to shore. The strongest came in front of the others. He landed, climbed up, rescued *Inurudsiak*, took him down into the umiak, and adopted him as his foster-son.

As *Inurudsiak* grew up he practised feats of strength, and, when he got older, he became very strong and had five dogs who were very fond of catching bears. He often journeyed up the fjord, where he caught seals on the ice.

In spring, when the snow was melting but there was frost during the nights, *Inurudsiak* drove up the fjord. It was just at the time when the *Erkiliks* were wont to come down to the house. He now caught sight of two *Erkiliks* who were hunting with *itu-artit*. He that lay by the hole, cried: "*Kae! kae!*" "What is it like? is it black? watch it carefully!" said the other. They were so eager that they did not see the sledge, before it was right up to them. When they saw *Inurudsiak*, one of them said: "Since when is he grown-up?" They now spoke together and told *Inurudsiak* that he was to stay there while they went after their game.

As they remained away a long while, *Inurudsiak* harnessed his dogs to the sledge and drove in the track of the *Erkiliks*. The whole space between the uprights of the sledge was full of dog-whips.

He now came to the place where the *Erkiliks*' game lay. There were both black and light-coloured seals; but the *Erkiliks* were not there; he caught sight of them on the inland-ice. Presently they began to run; but when they were tired, they stood still; then they ran on again and sprang like dogs. *Inurudsiak* followed in their tracks, till they came to some perfectly smooth ice. Here he threw the dogs up on the ice; but they slipped down again. He then sprang up himself, and, looking through a hole, perceived that the *Erkiliks* dwelt down there. He jumped down through the hole and made as if he would louse one of the *Erkiliks*; but he bored a hole in his ear with a drill he had brought with him, so that he died. In this way he killed all those that were down there. But as the two whom he had followed were not there, he went up to search for them, and caught sight of a large stone with a crack in the middle, from which the sound of voices issued.

He sang magic charms over the crack, in order to make it widen, and, as he sang, the crack widened, and it could be seen that the stone was hollowed out, and that there were several *Erkiliks* inside, amongst them the two whom he had pursued and who

were the same that hung up him and his sister. He killed all these *Erkiliks* with the exception of the two just mentioned, in the same way as he had killed the others.

When *Inurudsiak* was ready to return homewards, he harnessed the dogs to the sledge, with the two *Erkiliks* behind them. They tried to resist, but he said to them: "Do you remember, how, when I was but a small boy, you hung me up like a dog?" He had stripped them of their clothes, before using them as dogs.

He now drove on, whipping the *Erkiliks* so, that he ripped up their skin and the whip was covered with blood. The *Erkiliks* turned about every time they received a lash, and then ran on. *Inurudsiak* threw away the dog-whip when it got too heavy with blood at the end, and took a fresh whip. Now and then he also whipped the dogs. When he came down from the ice, he lost one of the *Erkiliks*, who had been whipped to death. The other *Erkilik's* trace had stretched, so that he came out among the dogs. When *Inurudsiak* whipped him he turned aside and then ran on, and when he whipped the dogs, they fought a little and then ran on; and when he could not carry the whip any longer because there was too much blood at the end of it, he threw it away and took a fresh one. The other *Erkilik* died when they had come out of the fjord.

He then drove home and related what a good revenge he had taken by killing his foster-brothers.

19. THE FOSTER-CHILDREN

told by *Ukutiaik*.

She now became pregnant. They lived in a house which was larger than this and had two foster-children, a boy and a girl, who were brother and sister; and with them in the same house there lived an old woman. When she bore a child, she said: "The others eat so much, so I shall accustom this child to eat very little". When the child cried, she handed it to her foster-daughter, who gave it water to drink. The mother did not give it the breast and, had no *amaut*; but before they were aware of it, the child was growing apace. The old woman heard in the night a smacking sound, and looking up, she saw that the child had eaten his mother up, and the child said: "Now I have eaten my mother: I wish I could eat my foster-brother and sister, too!". The foster-sister went out of the passage-way backwards; but when she found that the child was pursuing her, she said: "Can you remember how, when

you could get nothing to eat or drink, I gave you water and food?" The old woman thought to herself: "Now that the child has eaten its parents, it will also want to eat the others", and so she crept in under a wooden scoop, which was her amulet, and which therefore grew so big that it completely covered her. When the foster-sister came out, she crept under the umiak, which lay on the props. She had brought with her a bag, in which there was a little stone knife. The big child now came up to his foster-sister and said: "Now I have eaten up my parents; I wish I could eat my brother and sister too!". The sister said: "Can you remember the time when I gave you water and food?", whereupon the child went away, and the sister came out again from under the boat. She was pursued by the child, and when it came up to her, she said: "Can you remember when the others gave you nothing, I gave you water and food?" The child answered: "Yes, but now that I have eaten my parents, I want to eat my brother and sister too". The foster-sister now took the knife out of the bag and said that it was to grow big and cleave the child from the chin to the fork. She cast it from her and heard the child exclaim: "Now I will eat you", and then give forth a shriek. She turned about and saw that the child had been split in two; so she took the knife and returned it to the bag. "That is the reason why stone knives are so dear¹⁾, because one can do anything with them".

She now went with her brother up inland and caught sight of a house. Her brother said that he was thirsty; so they went into the passage-way. Here they found a rattle²⁾ hanging. The sister took the knife out from the bag, cut down the rattle, and flung it out. When her brother had drunk some water, she asked: "Whose rattle was it I cut down?" No answer came; she repeated her question: "Whose rattle was it I cut down?" "*Eh! eh!* it was perhaps mine!" something shrieked, and a figure appeared that was quite blue in the face. As it came towards them, the sister took off her bearskin boot and hurled it at it. It shrieked, fell over, and died. The sister and brother now went up inland again, and caught sight of another house. Being thirsty, they went into the passage-way, where there was something rattling; she took out her knife, cut down the rattle, and flung it out. They went in and drank some water, and she asked: "Whose rattle was it I cut down?" No answer; she repeated the question and heard something shriek from a dark corner: "*Eh! eh!* it must have been mine!". A figure came

¹⁾ The narrator had sold me a stone knife that very day.

²⁾ Bones that rattled when they were touched.

forward, and they saw that it was blue not only in the face, but over its whole body. As it came towards them, she took off her bear-skin boot and hurled it at the creature, and it died. They again went up inland, and when they had gone a long way, they again caught sight of a house. They went in; there was a louder rattling than the previous times. She took up her knife, cut down the rattle, flung it outside and hid her knife again. They went in and drank some water, and then the brother went out. She asked: "Whose rattle was it I cut down?" "*Eh! eh!*", she heard something shriek louder than the times before and heard something running quickly towards her. It was a man that was much bluer than the others. As he approached she drew off her bear-skin boot and hurled it at him, so that he fell down and died. — "That must be why bear-skin boots are so dear"¹⁾. When she came out of the house, they went further up inland, and they went and went, and at last they sat down.

Now this story is finished, and the winter has got shorter.

20. THE ORIGIN OF KAVDLUNAKS, TIMERSEKS, AND ERKILIKS

told by *Kutuluk*.

In olden days there lived up here a married couple who had a daughter. She had had many husbands; but as she could never keep any husband long, her father said to her: "As you cannot keep any husband, you had better take a dog as your husband".

When they woke one day, they saw that the dog had got loose and lay by the passage-way. They tied it fast again; but the next morning the dog was again loose and had got inside the passage. They made it fast, evening came, and then the dawn again, and they saw the dog sitting inside the house by the passage-way. They fastened it up again in the evening; and when they awoke next morning, they saw the dog sitting by the platform. It was again tied up, and when they awoke next morning, the dog was lying with the girl who could not keep any husband. The dog was tied up again; but when evening came on, and the lamps had been put out, they heard something rattling, and someone shrieking, and they lit the lamps. They saw then that the dog was dragging the shrieking girl out of the house.

The daughter became pregnant and bore a great number of children at once. As the parents thought that the children eat too

¹⁾ The narrator had also sold me a pair of bear-skin boots that very day.

much, the father put the girl with all her children on an island, where he brought them food. When he did so, he had the whole kaiak full both in front and at the back, and all the children came down to shore and took up everything out of the kaiak. When their grandfather did not come out to them, the dog came swimming with a pair of breeches full of blubber, meat, and other kinds of food.

One day when the dog had thus come over to them, stones had been laid in the breeches amongst the food.

It was therefore all it could do to swim over; but it managed to do so with the aid of a charm. It said to the children: "When your grandfather comes here next time, you must eat him up, because he has mixed stones in the food".

When the grandfather next time came over to them with food, the children came down to the kaiak to receive the food, and he said to them: "I suppose you poor things are hungry?" Their mother had told them that they were to eat their grandfather. When the children had eaten up the food, they licked the kaiak and ate it. Then they seized their grandfather and ate him, and then their mother wanted to send them out into the world to support themselves. She took the sole of a boot, put some of the children in it, pushed it out to sea, and said: "Your father cannot make anything for you, and so you must learn yourselves to make things".

These children became *Kavdlunaks*. The other children she placed on willow-leaves which were floating on the surface of the water; these she shoved towards land. These children came to the interior of the country where there is no water, and became *Timerseks* and *Erkiliks*.

The *Kavdlunaks* came to a land where they taught themselves to make iron, ships, and houses. They could do everything! The *Timerseks* come in the autumn down to the sea to catch seals, and people can then hear them whistle and thunder, and then they say to them: "You must not do your cousins any harm!" When the *Kavdlunaks* wanted to come to these parts, they could not enter for the ice; and that is why iron comes up here from the South. They make iron in large pots which are full of train-oil, into which they shove people. First they become white, then red, then black, and then they become iron and make a singing sound when they are hooked up. Iron did not come up here until the land had broken to pieces and thus came to be like it is now.

21. THE DOG THAT CARRIED OFF GIRLS

told by *Kutuluk*.

A girl disappeared. When another girl went out to make water, she perceived a huge dog with a top-knot on its head, who chased her inland and into a house. When she entered the house, she caught sight of the girl who had disappeared some days before; she was sitting on the platform and was looking very thin. "What are you doing here?", asked the thin girl? "The dog chased me in here", answered the other. "Well, that is also how I came to be here, and I have become so thin, because the dog had lain with me so much".

The dog came in and laid himself across the entrance to prevent the girls going out. It was waiting for night to come, that it might lie with the other girl. When the dog had entered the house, the first girl said: "Have you any charm to send the dog to sleep?" "Yes, I have", answered the other, and so she recited a charm over the dog, so that it fell asleep.

When the dog began to snore, the first girl told the other to strike it with the whip. She struck it over its muzzle; the dog said: '*He, he, he!*', and then slept on. The first girl told her to strike it harder, and when she did so, the dog said again: '*He, he, he!*' and slept on. The first girl now made her way out by straddling across the dog; but when the other girl straddled across it, she chanced to tread on its ear, but it merely said: '*He, he, he!*' and slept on.

When they had got outside, they ran hand in hand; for the thin girl was so weak that she could scarcely stand. When they had run some distance, they turned round and caught sight of the dog, which had got out. So they ran on. When they came within sight of their house, they shouted that there was a dog with a top-knot after them, so that they must go away as fast as they could. As soon as they had come down to the shore, they leapt into an umiak, which pushed out from land. The dog came after them down to the shore, put on women's breeches and a ribbon on its top-knot; then it took it off again, and went back again inland.

22. NAVAGIJAK

told by *Kutuluk*.

One day, when *Navagijak* was out hunting, he hurled his harpoon at a *tupilek*, although he was well aware that it was one; for it had a hood on its head, and its hinder parts were like those of

a dog. When he had put his harpoon in it, he set about to cast the float, but it stuck fast to his kaiak. In order that the *tupilek* might not upset him, he stuck his oar in under the cross-lashings. The *tupilek* tugged away and clambered over the kaiak; it was not until it began to bite him in the shoulder that he capsized and lost consciousness. It was not an *angakok* that had made the *tupilek*, but an *ilisitsok*. When *Navagijak* came to himself again, he was away out by the horizon. He paddled along the horizon, round the land, and came back to these parts; but now he was no longer a man, but a spirit.

He crept into a female saddleback and went along with the shoal. When the seals came up and the kaiaks came to catch them, the others dived down, and he was always left behind alone, and did not dive down until the kaiaker was just about to throw his harpoon. Once he said to the other saddlebacks: "How can it be that I always get behind?" The others answered: "You have only to kick in the direction of the heavenly *Tukuija* (the milky way?)". Next time a kaiak came after him, he kicked in the direction of the *Tukuija*, and got down before all the others. When he grew tired of being in the saddleback, he crept into a 'she-grass'¹⁾; but here he was scorched, and so he soon got tired of it and crept into a dog. The dog was tied up and could say nothing but: "Wow-wow!", and when the people came out they beat it. As he got nothing but stripes, he, of course, soon got tired of it and crept into a walrus. It was now his lot to starve, as he could not get a bite of anything by reason of his long teeth. So he said to another walrus: "I cannot get anything to eat on account of my long teeth", to which the other answered: "Have you never been on the other side of the terrace?" No, he had never been there, and so he went to the other side, and saw a number of *takanat* (sand-gapers) growing out of the sand. He eat of them until he was filled.

He got tired of being a walrus, and so he crept into a ringed seal. In the autumn a saddleback said to him: "We are going to move out to sea, as we cannot scrape holes in the ice". In winter when the sea was frozen over, he came up to the blow-holes in the ice in order to breathe. When people came who wanted to spear him, he went down. One day when he was breathing at a blow-hole, he saw a man with bear-skin boots on stealing up to him: It was his former wife's husband. When he came up to the blow-hole, *Navagijak* could not see him any longer, because he had on bearskin boots and an amulet. The man stuck the ringed seal in

¹⁾ Name of a kind of grass (Lange: "Flora Groenlandicae", p. 164).

which *Navagijak* was, drew it up, and dragged it home; but *Navagijak* did not lose consciousness.

When the man came home, he dragged the ringed seal into the house, and carried it up to his wife, who was to cut it in pieces. *Navagijak* at once recognized his wife and thought to himself: "I wish she would straddle over me when she is about to cut the neck". This she did, and in the same instant he jumped into her. He saw that there was a great deal of ice inside which needed cleaning out properly, and this he did, so that the blood flowed out. She, who had never had a child before, now became pregnant. When it got light in the morning, *Navagijak* had a desire to come out, but he could never manage to get out.

The wife had birth-throes, but she could not bring forth the child, and so her husband took a bee, which was his amulet, blew on it so that it became alive, and flew into his wife's mouth. He then told her that she was not to swallow her spittle. The husband saw a face with the border of a hood around it by the back wall of the platform. He was frightened and ran out, and when he came in again, his wife had brought forth a child.

When they were to give the child a name, it thought to itself: "I wish they would call me *Navagijak*". They gave the child water in a water-scoop with a white border around it — that is to say with the finger — but did not name it *Navagijak*. The child kept on crying and once, while it was crying, it said: "I am *Navagijak*!" "What does the child say?" asked the wife. The husband answered: "It says that its name is *Navagijak*". They now gave the child the name '*Navagijak*', and whereas before it had always been crying and was very thin, after this it thrived excellently and cried no more.

23. THE GIRL WHO WENT ACROSS THE INLAND ICE TO THE WEST COAST

told by *Kutuluk*.

At *Pikiutdlek* there lived a man who was married to the elder of two sisters. As he wanted to have also the other one to wife, but she would not, she took her knife, a needle, and a pair of soles, and went crying over the inland ice.

It was lovely weather, and soon she even lost *Nunatak* from sight. She now caught sight of another *nunatak*; but when she drew nearer, she saw two *Timerseks*, and so she crept into a crack in the inland ice. When she came out again, the *Timerseks* had

gone, and so she went up to the *nunatak* and lay down to sleep. When she awoke, she set to work to sew new soles in her boots, for she had quite worn out her soles during the long journey. She then went on again, sobbing all the while so violently that she rubbed all the skin off her cheeks by wiping away her tears.

At length she caught sight of land and water, and on the land she saw at a long distance below her a stone wall (fence for hunters to conceal themselves behind when they stalk reindeer). She did not think that there might be people behind it; presently, however, a man came out from behind the wall — it was a man who was out stalking reindeer — and she went down towards him. On her way she saw a reindeer, and the man shot it with his bow. The reindeer did not fall down, but stood stiffly upright, although it had been shot through the head. When the man perceived the girl, he called out: “You shall come down! You shall come down!” and then asked: “Where do you come from? What do you want here?” “I came from away yonder! I am coming to stay here”. The man had no wife; so he took her to wife. She helped him to skin the reindeer, and she broke the head up and eat the brains while they were still warm. When she was married to him, she received an iron pot and everything needful; whereas up here she had nothing.

Once when some people here came from the south over to the West coast, she said: “Over there I had copper needles, but here I have an iron pot”.

24. THE WIFE WHO LOST CONSCIOUSNESS

told by *Kutuluk*.

A woman lay asleep on the platform; but when she had slept a day and a night, her husband took her and laid her away on the window-sill. They tried to wake her; but she could not wake, and yet she was still breathing.

While she lay as if she were dreaming, her consciousness left her. It went under the umiak where her clothes hung, through her clothes, and out to sea. When it had got so far out that the coast looked as if it were quite steep, she came to a large cleft, which was quite black to look down in. She thought to herself: “What can it be?”, and presently she heard a voice from the air: “It is the *Sigdlia* (border?) of heaven!”. She now leapt over it, and was near falling on her back; however, she fell forwards. She ran further out to sea until at last she lost the land from sight. She

was still voyaging through the air, and when she had got far out, she saw two houses next to one another, in which there lived a bear and a walrus. She entered one of the houses and saw that it was the bear's house. While she was in the house, the neighbour — that is, the walrus — came in; he had come to bargain and buy a seal-skin thong; but, as the bear would not sell the thong, the walrus took it and tore it to pieces. Now the wife entered the walrus' house, and the bear and the walrus came after her and tried to seize hold of her; but she flew around inside the house and shrieked. At last a hole opened for her in the corner of the house, and she flew out through it.

When she had got outside the house, she saw and heard magic charms in the air; but every time they approached, they vanished again. It was her family over yonder who were making the charms to fetch her back. The charms were not far off; but when she approached them, they receded. She followed after them and they brought her homewards. Her husband was just about to drag her out of the house, because he believed that she was dead; but just at that instant she came home, and then she awoke.

It was the magic charms that had fetched her home again.

25. THE TWO KAIAKERS WHO WERE HELPED BY CHARMS

told by *Kutuluk*.

When they had been out to hunt *angmagsat*, they moved their tents and went to live at *Sigsuarak* near *Norsit*. One day they went out in their kaiaks to hunt on the ice. After some of them had already caught half a score of crested seals, a fog came on and they all rowed home except two, who wanted to wait till the weather was fine again.

When they had slept a little, the fog cleared off; but they could no longer see the land. They now tried to find their way home. One of them cut the paw of a crested seal, and the other a thigh; these pieces they took with them, but they cast all the seals they had caught out into the water. They could not see any land, but only the place where the sun rose and went down again. They rowed in this direction, and one of them used the charm which is used when one is out kaiaking and wants to find the way home again.

They came to a big iceberg, from which water streamed northwards, and which had existed since the creation of the world. They could not get past it, and they could not get round it, for

then they were bound to die, but, when one of the kaiakers recited a magic charm, they got past. On their way they came to some ringed seals and harbour seals which could not dive down. They perceived something in the water, and thought it was ice; but when they drew nearer, it turned out to be seals who were black in the face from crying so much. When one of them could not paddle any more, the other recited a charm and paddled round him, and then he was able to paddle hard again. Once, when a bright mirage came on, they caught sight of the land, and saw that it was *Kalerajuek*, which was the place where the mother of one of them had died; but, as soon as the mirage vanished, they lost the land from sight.

At length then they came to *Kardlit* near *Pikiutdlek*, and thence they journeyed to *Sermilik*. Here they saw a number of tents; but people could not see them, for they looked almost like dead men, having been so long away. When they came home hither, their wives had taken other husbands; for they had left here in spring, and did not return home till the autumn, when people were about to move into houses. — However, they got back their wives again.

26. A TALE ABOUT A BIG WORM

told by *Kutuluk*.

A married couple lived alone together in a house. When their dog had puppies, some of them always disappeared. One day after one of the dogs had disappeared as usual, and the husband was out in his kaiak, the wife thought she would sweep the house. As she removed one of the flat stones from under the window platform where the dogs had their place, she saw a huge worm, whose head looked like the moon. It was lying in the earth, and it was it that eat the dogs.

She went out to wait for her husband, for she was very frightened, and she had to walk about outside the whole day, for her husband did not return home before dusk. When he stepped ashore she went down to him and said: "It is not so strange that the puppies disappear; for there is a huge worm that eats them!"

When the man had come up into the house, he removed the stone, saw the big worm, and immediately put the stone back in its place. He then set to work to make a stake with which he could kill the worm, and when the stake was ready, he took his wife and set her up on the ledge of a rock. He himself could run quickly. He now stuck the stake into the worm, and the earth

rumbled, for the worm wriggled so. He stuck the stake deeper into it, and by-and-by the rumbling noise died away; for the worm had now been killed.

The man was dripping with sweat, and he therefore went outside to cool himself, and lifted his wife down again from the ledge. There was so much flesh on the worm that they lived on it for a whole year.

27. THE PURSUED ANGAKOK

told by *Sanimuinak*.

“*Ubeginerase!*” — In olden days a big angakok rowed up the fjord, and landed at a naze, from which he looked round about him. He then perceived two kaiaks coming down the fjord, and before them an eider-duck which they were chasing. When the eider-duck dived down, the kaiakers rowed on down the fjord. The angakok went and hid himself. When the others perceived his kaiak, they said: “There lies a kaiak!” and they rowed up to it and pushed it out from land. As the angakok was crying over the loss of his kaiak, he caught sight of his *tartok*, who came up in a kaiak and shoved his kaiak back to the place where it had lain before.

The two kaiakers said: “We had better leave him alone, for in any case we can’t kill him”, and then they asked him whether he would travel home with them. The angakok stepped into his kaiak and joined them. “Where do you live?” enquired the angakok. “Over there on the other side of that naze”. When they had doubled the naze, the angakok said: “Why, there is no house there!” “Yes, there is, away back over there!” they answered. They now perceived a large number of tents, and, in answer to the shouts of the two kaiakers, a number of kaiakers came out from land. Some of them had not waited to put on their clothes, but came out stark naked. They wanted to kill the angakok; but the two with whom he had come, cried: “He is coming to stay with us”. The angakok rowed quickly down the fjord, pursued by the others.

When he came behind a hummock of ice, he went under the ice and cried: “Rain, rain!” The others came up and said: “Why, he was going about here just now!” One of them rowed back to fetch an axe. It now began to rain heavily, although it was fair weather, and all the kaiakers therefore rowed up the fjord. When the angakok saw this, he rowed down the fjord; but, as soon as the other kaiakers detected him, they went in pursuit of him again.

The angakok had an owl as his *tartok*, and it flew in front of the kaiakers, when they approached him. When they struck at it with the paddle, they capsized and drowned. Thus it fared with them all except two small kaiakers, to whom the angakok said that they had better row in towards land, which they did, sobbing.

The angakok now journeyed home and told them how nearly he had escaped being killed. — “*Nagiok!*”

28. KARRAK

told by *Pitiga*.

A *tartok* had once stabbed his angakok, and so he went in up country to revenge himself on his *tartok*.

The angakok *Karrak* had once being working at an iron dart-point, and his *tartok*, who was a *Timersek* and was called *Ibak*, had got a headache from it, and thought he would revenge himself on his master by stabbing him.

When *Karrak* now prepared to perform angakok incantations, the lamps were extinguished, but the *tartok* did not come, and this happened time after time. *Ibak* never came any more when *Karrak* performed angakok arts.

One evening when *Karrak* had thus tried his arts without being able to make *Ibak* appear, *Karrak* sat down on the platform, after the lamps had been lit, and leaned up against a pillar, saying: “There is certainly something the matter with *Ibak*, as he will not come”. As he sat there chatting with a man who sat just facing him, he heard something move under the platform. He looked to see what it was, but could not see anything.

Ibak, however, was sitting under the platform and was getting his long knife (*dorkotap*) in order, that is by sticking a piece of human flesh on it. He now stabbed his angakok with the knife so that the point stuck out through his belly. The angakok leapt up and thereby chanced to stab the man who was sitting facing him, in the knee with the knife which stuck out through his belly.

He drew out the knife and passed his hand over the hole in his belly; whereupon it healed; he did likewise with the hole at the back; but it would not heal, because human flesh had touched it. However, the wound was afterwards healed by dint of angakok arts.

In spring *Karrak* said: “I am going inland to take vengeance on *Ibakasik*”. He took a little, but very sharp, knife with him, and journeyed, accompanied by two *Inersuaks*, who were his *tartoks*, to *Ibak*’s dwelling-place.

When they arrived there, they looked in at the window and saw that Ibak's lamp was extinguished — *Ibak* and his family lived on the right side — and that Ibak was sitting with his head bent forward, as if he were sleeping. On the left side the lamp was burning, and drumming and dancing were going on. *Karrak* sank down into the earth and came up inside the house; he seized Ibak by the hair, which he twisted around his wrist, and stabbed him in the throat with the knife, on which he had stuck a piece of human flesh, with such force that a loud explosive sound was heard. When Ibak was nearly dying, and his housemates began to weep, *Karrak* sank down again into the earth and journeyed home.

Karrak now performed *angakok* arts ten times over; but his *tartok* (*Ibak*) did not come. So he journeyed again to the place where Ibak lived, and when he entered the house, he found Ibak's family weeping, because he had become so thin and was nearly dying. Ibak's wife said to *Karrak*: "Now your *tartok* is about to die". "Are you about to die?" asked *Karrak*. "Yes! I have been stabbed in the throat!" answered Ibak. *Karrak* said: "*Ke! ke! ke!* Who has stabbed you?", though it was he himself who had done it.

Karrak now set himself to perform *angakok* arts, while he was there on a visit, and when the lamps had been extinguished and he saw visions under the influence of the arts, he breathed on *Ibak*, who then came to life again. *Karrak* travelled home, when Ibak had recovered, and did not stab him any more.

29. A TUPILEK STORY

told by *Kutuluk*

In olden days an old childless married couple came here from the south and wintered up here. When spring came, a bear was caught by the people who lived in the nearest dwelling-place up the fjord. The old folks now travelled up to them to get some of the bear to eat; but when they had entered the house, the man who had caught the bear said: "Who in the world wants to have these old folks as guests?" However, they gave them some bear's flesh and blubber; but the old people did not eat of it, but tied it up to make a *tupilek* of it. When the bear's paws were boiled, the old people said: "If they only would give us some of them!", and when the food was divided amongst the guests, they did receive a couple of toes. But they did not eat these either, but took them home with them.

When they got home they began to long for the spring, so that they could travel south again. In the meantime the wife of the man who had caught the bear brought forth a child, which died, and the old married couple took it to make a *tupilek* of. They now travelled south, and the wife wrapped up the child well and put it in front of them on the horns of the umiak. When they touched land, the wife stepped out of the boat, and then the husband handed the child to her. This they did the whole way while they were journeying south.

It was not till they came to their own country again that they made from the corpse a *tupilek* which could kill all the children the bear-catcher's wife bore. The *tupilek* was given a fox's jaw and a grouse's jaw, and its head was covered with dog-skin. It was then made alive. When there came times of scarcity, the bear-catcher killed his dog and sang magic charms over it, because he wanted his children to live.

Once when the bear-catcher's wife had brought forth a child which died just like the others, she journeyed up to *Kernertuarsuk*. She heard someone singing from up the fjord, and as she walked, she saw an umiak coming down the fjord. The people in the boat were going out to have a drum-match, and they took her with them. As she was sorrowful, they did not have a drum-match, but *angakok* arts were to be performed by six *angakut* to cheer her up. She went and sat down near the place where the *angakut* were to perform their arts, and the lamps were extinguished.

The five *angakut* performed their arts, and she expected that they should say something to her; but they said nothing. It was now the turn of the sixth *angakok*, who was called *Akerdlegsanalik*, to begin. The lamps were lit, he was given a new skin to sit on, and a smaller lamp was placed by his side. He began to beat the drum and the dried skin before the passage, and the skin on which he sat began to move.

As he was drumming, his *natit* slipped down and at last fell off altogether. As he drummed, he sometimes made the back of his head almost touch the ground, and he threw the drum aside and it began to move of its own accord. All this the *angakok* did to gladden the heart of the sorrowful one. Then the lamps were extinguished. While *Akerdlegsanalik* was performing *angakok* arts, and the drum was moving by itself, he said to the grieving woman: "It is as if you had a child in your bosom". They stayed up the whole night and performed *angakok* arts.

When they were about to depart, the grieving woman said to the *angakut*: "It would be well if ye would come over to *Umivik*

to kill the *tupilek*. They now all went over to Umivik, and when they came there, they cut a seal in pieces and ate it. When they had finished eating, they began to perform angakok arts in order to catch the *tupilek*. First the five performed angakok arts, but did not say anything to the grieving woman. It was now *Akerdlegsanalik*'s turn to begin. The smaller lamp was lit, and *Akerdlegsanalik* drummed and sang. He cast the drum aside, and it went on moving by itself, until at last it stood quite still. The angakok sometimes nearly touched the ground with the back of his neck and his feet were firmly planted on the ground. At the time when *Akerdlegsanalik* was learning to perform angakok arts and stood in front of the house, he saw some *asagisat*¹⁾ behind the house, and it was them he used as his *tartoks*. — When the drum rose in the air, the lamp was put out, and the arts were continued. "There is the *tupilek*!", said *Akerdlegsanalik*. It was sitting at the bottom of the platform. He lifted up the skin of the platform to stab it; but as he stabbed, he chanced to pull the line, so that the harpoon head felt off, and the *tupilek* slipped away. "It is as if the *tupilek* had not gone far away," said the angakok. The *tornak* arts now ceased for this evening.

The following evening they took seven pieces of the grieving woman's garments, tied them up in a bundle, and hung them up under the roof. The *tupilek* was to creep into the garments, and then when he was well inside, they were to pull the string. The angakok arts commenced, and presently the *tupilek* came into the passage-way. It gave forth all manner of sounds; now it shrieked: *unga*!, now *erko*!, now it cried like a fox, now like a grouse. It kept in the passage-way all the while. The sounds changed; it sounded now like umiaks, now like kaiaks, now like the rustling of bushes, and now like seals. It uttered all these sounds because it was made of all these things. It now entered the house and crept into the garments. The angakok said: "*Dava*!" and the others pulled the string. Then they struck it with their clenched fists; but while they were striking it, it slipped away through a little hole in the outermost garment, a gut-skin coat, although there was no hole in the other garments; but now a hole burst in the others, and it slipped out.

The lamps were lit, the garment was examined, and the hole was sewn up; then the lamps were again extinguished, so that they might catch the *tupilek*. It came now into the passage-way uttering similar sounds as before, and came up to the place where it was to

¹⁾ Sea animal with claws.

creep into the garments. Then it made its way into the garments, shrieking: "*Erko! erko!*" As soon as it was well inside, they pulled the string and began to beat it. Those that beat it cried: "*Ala, ala!*", because the tupilek bit them. When at last it was quiet, the lamps were lit, and the angakok had the tupilek in his bosom; and she who had made the tupilek ran round about, in and out, putting out the lamps, while the others were trying to light a fire. The angakok said that those who were not quite well were to turn their faces inwards, and fire was drilled down in an urine-tub, in order that the tupilek's mother might not put it out.

When the lamps had now been properly lit, they saw a nice little child with grouse's feet in its breast; but when the angakok had breathed on it, all the grouse feathers fell off. It was red as if with dried blood in the corners of the mouth, from all the dead children's souls it had eaten. It had still a dog-skin on its head, but this they ripped up. Gradually a whole pile of grouse feathers and all the things the tupilek had been made of were heaped up about it.

When they had finished with it, they went up to the mountain above *Umivik* and boiled it. The bear-catchers wife brought forth a child for the last time, and it lived, as well as the child she had born before the tupilek had been made.

The *tupilek* was now caught, and so this is the end of our tale.

30. A TRUE STORY FROM ANGMAGSALIK ABOUT THE MOON told by *Angitinguak*.

Pulokojo lived at *Puilortolok* together with two old women to one of whom he was married. These two old women would sit lousing one another, and when the kaiakers went out to sea, they would go out into the passage-way, point at them, and gossip about them.

At *Tasiusak* there lived an old angakok, who had only one eye and whose name was *Karrak*¹⁾. He made a journey to the Moon, and when he came home he related that when those who were in mourning for the dead went about and worked, the Moon would come and frighten them. When the two old women heard this, they said: "Why should the Moon come down and frighten us?"; for they did not believe in it.

¹⁾ *Karrak* was the narrator's (*Angitinguak*'s) grand-uncle. He had lost one eye, when the angakok bear had eaten him.

Karrak once went on a visit out to *Puilortolok* together with the angakok from *Puisak* at *Sermiligak*¹⁾. When they came out there, only the women were at home; all the men were away. They asked whether they were to perform tornak arts, and, if so, they said the one-eyed man was to begin. When the lamps had been put out, the dried skins before the passage-way began to rattle, and there was a whistling in the angakok's hair. The drum went beating away as fast as it could. "It is neither I nor my *tartok* that is performing *tornak* arts", the angakok cried. "There comes one in bear-skin clothing²⁾ out in the passage! He has shoved me over!" All the people ran up and shoved out the bear-skin man.

He filled the whole passage, he was so wide. Some of them struck him with clenched fists, others with the soles of boots. When the Moon went out they heard a terrible roar, although it was quite calm outside. The Moon now flew up above the outlook mountain at *Puilortolok*, while *Nelarsik*³⁾, who was clad in water-tight skin, sat on an island. When the Moon had gone, *Angisak*⁴⁾ came in. The lamps were lit, and he told his wife to get the children ready for setting off.

The day after the Moon's visit, the 'eldest' in the house⁵⁾ put on his new garments. He was wont to put on new garments every time a seal was brought into the house to be cut up. Towards evening a hammer and a lamp stool were hung up over the door as amulets, and the old man said: "When anyone comes from up there, the hammer will begin to move". When evening came, the hammer began to move, and the lamp-stool fell down on the floor and span round down there. There arose great confusion and embarrassment, for all the people hastened to put on their things and escape. They travelled further up the fjord to the people at *Narsarmiut*. In the evening they heard the sound of barking in the air; it was the Moon's dog; and they likewise heard a bear growl under the ice in the sea; it was the sea-bear⁶⁾.

1) These two angakut were able to fly and go down below the earth. When one put one's hand on them, one could feel how they sank down into the floor.

2) This was the moon.

3) *Nelarsik* i. e. Vega, which indicates the time for the Angmagsalingmiut, when it is dark, just as the sun does, when it is light.

4) He was the father of *Kunitit*, the now living angakok at *Norajik*.

5) He was *Tigajat's* great-great-grandfather.

6) A monster in shape of a bear, so huge that when it has its fore-paws resting on the top of a high mountain, it remains with its hinder parts in the sea. When it comes up the fjord, the water only comes up to its hams; and when it breathes, it swallows a quantity of ice together with the umiaks that try to escape from it.

When they came out to the house on the following day, the passage-way had fallen in, and roof and platforms had collapsed and were strewn all over the floor. It was the man in the water-tight skin clothes (*Nelarsik*) who had been in the house. When they were sitting inside the house in the evening, they asked *Karrak* whether he would perform angakok arts; but he answered that he was afraid to do so for the Moon. The angakok was sitting leaning up against the wall, when suddenly he had a vision, and saw the Moon standing above *Puilortolok*, about to knock over the whole house with a *kapotak* (a kind of spear); but each time the Moon was about to upset the house, *Ibak*¹⁾, who was one of *Karrak*'s tartoks, called out forbidding it, and so it drew back the spear again. The dried skin (which is hung before the entrance during the performance of *tornak* arts) was rolled up.

The angakok still remained sitting by the wall, and summoned his other *tartok*, *Ikilerfik*²⁾. The dried skin before the passage-way began to move, although the lamps were lit, and his *tartok* was shrieking outside. The dried skin which had been rolled up, unrolled itself, the angakok shifted his seat (the skin) down onto the floor, sat down on it, and began to strike the piece of skin he held in his hand³⁾. The house rumbled, and the seat on which the angakok was sitting shook. "I have something to do with a great man!", shouted the angakok. "I am sure I can do nothing to him", answered *Ikilerfik*. "Now I have another vision" said the angakok, "Ibak and the Moon are fighting! Now *Ikilerfik*, too, will soon be out there. *Ikilerfik* is taking the spear from the Moon. *Ikilerfik* is going to twist it up! The Moon shouts: Shall water fall no more? Shall seals bear young no more, since thou wilt break my spear?" The *tartok* let go the spear and the Moon flew up into the air.

31. A MOON STORY

told by *Pitiga*.

There were once two men at *Sarsik*, who always exchanged wives, and this the Moon did not approve of. One of the men one

¹⁾ *Ibak* was a *Timersek* and as big as an *umiak*.

²⁾ *Ikilerfik* lived on a little island outside *Kulusuk* together with his grandson *Kiterak*. He was so big that he could not get into the house. When *Karrak* was to go out to *Ikilerfik*, his hands were tied behind his back, his legs were tied together, and his head was bent over and bound to his legs. He could then fly about the house and pass out through the window to *Kulusuk*.

³⁾ A common angakok trick by which the spirits are summoned.

day went to the other man's house, and the other took his bird-dart and went across the ice to the first man's house to sleep with his wife. When he came out on the ice, he heard a sea-bear growling under the ice. He entered the other man's house; but they did not put out the lamps because they were afraid, and he soon went home again. When he had got midway between *Puilortolok* and *Ingmikertok*, he saw two men standing on a mountain. One of them wore a bear-skin garb, the other a water-tight skin garb with white embroidery. The first of these was the Moon, the other *Nelarsik*. He now went into the house at *Puilortolok*, where there lived two old women, whom the Moon and *Nelarsik* could not suffer, because, although they were in mourning, they would look out through the passage-way when the kaiaks went out. The man, who was an *angakok* and only had one eye, set about to perform *tornak* arts. He began to strike the piece of skin he had in his hand; the dried skin and the drum began to move, and there was a whistling in his hair.

He told them to light the lamps, for it was not he that was doing the *tornak* arts. They heard someone coming along the passage-way, and so he bade him that came to go to that side of him where there was no drum. It was the Moon that came, and the *angakok* told the others to beat it. They beat it with their boots, and it flew up above *Puilortolok*.

When the people fled out of the house because they were afraid, the Moon wanted to take the house with his *kapotak*; but now all the *tartoks* came up and bade him desist. The one-eyed *angakok* summoned a big *tartok* who was called *Ikilerfik*, and who was living on an island outside *Kulusuk*. When *Ikilerfik* wanted to take away the *kapotak* from the Moon, and twisted it so that it well-nigh broke, the Moon said in a whining voice: "Shall water fall no more, and shall seals bear young no more?" The *tartok* now let go the *kapotak*, and the Moon flew up in the air again.

32. THE VISIT OF THE TWO ANGAKUT TO THE MURDERERS

told by *Adlagdlak*.

There were once two brothers who were *angakut*. When their neighbours went out in kaiaks, they never came home again. Once when the two brothers went up the fjord, they heard someone calling: "*mata! mata!*" and then they caught sight of a big high house. When they drew near the house, they saw that there were a number of kaiakers at home. Five men came down to receive them, and urged them to step ashore and go up to the house. On their way

up to the house they saw a large cleft in the rock which was full of kaiaks and kaiak implements, such as floats, harpoons, paddles etc. These were the kaiaks and implements of their murdered neighbours. They now entered the house and saw that nearly all the walls were covered with the skins of human faces, some with a full beard, others with only a small beard on their chin. The two angakut recognized in these faces their neighbours and also their father, who had disappeared in kaiaking.

The eldest hunter in the house had his place furthest to the left on the platform, then came the eldest but one and so on, so that the youngest had his place furthest to the right. Between the youngest and the youngest but one, was the place of the grandmother, who sat twisting sinew-thread. The eldest called out at dusk: "Our grandmother must have a drum-match with the strangers!" The youngest said: "Yes, she must have a drum-match with them!" and all the others joined in. The grandmother did her hair, and tied it up in a top-knot. She laid a saddleback skin on the floor, and took a white drum from under the platform. This drum she put back again and took another — this time a black one — and also a *pana* (large knife), which was to be used as a drum-stick. The old woman now came forward and began to sing. When she had finished, one of the men said that one of the strangers must come forward and have a drum-match with her. One of the angakut now went to one end of the house, while the grandmother went to the other end and began to sing. When she had ended her song, she aimed at the angakok with the *pana*; the angakok crouched down, she took a lower aim and made the cast; at the same instant he leapt up, so that the knife passed between his legs and buried itself in the wall. He stooped down to take it; but she ran up and seized it. After she had sung again, she took aim again; he drew himself up to his full height; she cast the knife again, but he ducked down, so that the knife went into the wall above his head. He seized it, and although he had never handled a drum and had never sung in his life, he now began to sing. When he had ended the first song he began another, which he had learnt from his mother when he was quite small; and when he had ended it he aimed at the old woman, who puffed up her neck so that one could not see her. He cast the knife, which pierced her neck with a crash and pinned her to the wall. All her grandchildren ran up and flayed her, thinking it was the stranger. When they detected their error, they said: "We have made a mistake. Why, it is our grandmother we have cut to pieces!"

The inmates now went out to fetch their weapons; some of them fastened the toggle-heads into their harpoons outside the passage-way.

The two angakut were left alone in the house. They took a saddleback skin and spread it on the angakok seat. The eldest brother tied the anus and legs of the younger, and then the younger tied the elder's. The elder one tried to leap across the passage on to the saddleback skin, and did it so lightly that not a hair of it was ruffled. The younger one did likewise. The others stood outside and lay in wait for them to kill them when they went out. The angakut went out quite slowly, the elder one first, crouched down, and lept out without being seen. Then they flew down to their kaiaks, untied their hands and feet, and stepped into their kaiaks. The people up at the house did not detect them till now, and they shouted: "Why, they are down there!". The angakut now came home, and related that all those who had disappeared were out there.

33. A VISIT TO THE DWELLERS IN AKILINEK

told by *Angitinguak*.

There once lived five brothers in this district. When they went out kaiaking, it happened from time to time that one of the brothers did not come home. When one of the brothers had thus disappeared and another went out to search for him, the other disappeared also. At last there were only two left, and after that these two would not go out in a kaiak any more. The elder brother one day went to a place about here, where there were no people, and lay down to sleep on a naze. When he was fallen asleep, he noticed that someone was pricking him in the back. — He could not move one of his fingers, because a sinew had been cut. — He then turned round, and saw one of his dead brothers standing behind him. He went with him out to sea, and at last he could no longer see the land here.

When they had lost the land from sight, they saw a land far out to sea. They rowed on and on, and came in the evening to a naze where they lay down to sleep. Here there was a sledge drawn by dogs. It was his brother's sledge. When the dogs were thrown up into the air, they did not come down again. They threw three of the dogs up in the air in this way. They then took their seats on a sledge which stood on a steep rock by the sea and drove away. They drove on and on, until they could no longer see the land from which they had started. When they went past ice-bergs, they heard inside them a kind of rattling sound, which ceased when they had passed them. He caught sight of a large cloud; but when he came

up to it he saw that it was a house floating in the air with props underneath. It was his brothers' house. Here they dwelt together with the dwellers in *Akilinek*. When they had entered the house, a whalebone whale (*Balæna mysticetus*) was brought in to be eaten. They ate on and on, but were never filled. The brother who had driven him thither went out to fetch a ringed seal which they had caught, and which they were now going to eat. The *Akilinek* man exclaimed: "What a little bit we will get!" When they had eaten, they all vomited. Then he journeyed home, and related that his brothers were away among the dwellers in *Akilinek*.

34. THE MAN IN THE MOON AND ERKINGASEK

told by *Narsingertek* and *Adlagdlak*.

In the moon there lives a man in a house. In the passage-way there is a hole through which one can peep down on the earth. The earth is so small that all the winter-places look as if they lay quite close to one another. Outside the house there are umiak props; he has no umiak, though. When the Moon goes out hunting, he draws a dried skin before the passage, and, when he comes home again, he removes the skin and hangs the sledge on the wall. The Moon has a narwhal to draw the sledge, and he has a dog which is so old that it has no skin on its skull. As everyone knows, the *angakut* now and then make journeys to the moon to fetch down children. The dog barks when the *angakut* draw near the moon, even if they come from behind. This barking can be distinctly heard in the houses from which the *angakut* have set out. When anyone makes a noise on top of the Moon's house, he waxes wrath, and goes out to peep down through the hole in the passage. If the Moon sees a woman who has born a child that has died — and thus is in mourning — going out into the open air to fetch water or anything else, the Moon drives her in again by making it snow or else by robbing her of her soul. The *angakok* must then make the journey to the Moon to fetch the woman back her soul. When the Moon shines on a sleeping woman, it causes her to menstruate.

An *angakok* who set out on a journey to the Moon came by mistake to the mother of the Sun (Jupiter). The mother of the Sun cut him in pieces, took out his liver, and ate it raw. The *angakok* was on the point of death, but he tore his soul out of the mouth of the Sun's mother as she was just going to eat it, and recovered again.

On a large island far out to sea there lives a solitary man, called *Erkingasek*. He throws his harpoon with the left hand, and he catches people at very long distances with his bladder-dart. He crushes them up so that they die. He is at war with the man of the moon, named *Jajak*. When the man in the moon descends to earth to destroy people's houses, *Erkingasek* drives him back to the moon with his seal-dart.

When the angakut are catching *tupileks*, they call *Erkingasek*, who then catches them with his bird-dart. The angakut have him now and then for their tartok, and even sometimes visit him.

35. ARIAGSUAK

told by *Kutuluk*.

Ariagsuak was having a drum-match with a dear friend of his. While his friend was having some new clothes sewn for him, because he wanted to travel to Ariagsuak, the latter died. The other went on a journey with four umiaks, one of which had an *alugsugak* (a foster) as an amulet. As they approached Ariagsuak's house, they sang in the umiak, and he that was to have the drum-match, cried: "*Ariagsuak!* When one of us dies, shall we still have our drum-match?" It was quite still up in the house, but the stone on the top of the grave began to turn round. The people in the umiak shouted: "*A—h*", and saw Ariagsuak come fluttering down from the sky to the stone, which raised itself off the grave; and out of the grave he took the shoulder-blade for a drum and the thigh-bone for a drum-stick. The eyes hung out of the head on their fibres. As he went up into the air, he went round the same way as the sky. The umiaks rolled in his direction and capsized; only the one which had an *alugsugak* as an amulet righted itself again, turned her stern-post towards him, and got home. '*Kutuluk* has seen with his own eyes the grave which lies between *Igdلولuarsuk* and *Akorninarmiut*.'

36. MUSATAK

told by *Adlagdlak*.

There was once a woman who had neither husband nor children, and who was called *Musatak*. One day when she had gone out to pick berries, she saw a tiny new-born bear, which she took home with her and nursed. It would not eat seal flesh, but it was very

fond of blubber. When a seal was cut up, and even when the neighbours made a catch, the bear cub received its portion of blubber from it. It grew up, and went in and out of the house, and Musatak was very fond of it. When it got big, it went out hunting on the ice, and then it would usually come home with a seal which Musatak flensed, and from which the neighbours got meat. When winter came on and the people could not go hunting on account of the snow and ice, the bear would go out, and as a rule came home with game, thereby saving the neighbours from famine.

The bear was married to a human wife, and she became pregnant and brought forth a lovely bear cub. The mother sat with it in her bosom and fed it with blubber; but soon after it began to go out hunting together with its father. One day when the bear was out with its son, they came to some people who were hunting with *ituartit* (long ice-harpoons). These people caught the bear cub, and, when they came home, they flensed it and boiled it. The bear placed itself on top of the passage-way, and next morning when the men came out, it struck them dead, one by one, with its paw, and flung them aside. It was a large house, but the bear had soon killed all the men except 'the eldest'. The latter tied a long knife on the end of a stake and peeped out of the window at the bear. When no more people came out of the house, the bear went growling into the passage-way; but just as it was about to lift its leg to put down its paw in the house, the man stabbed it with his knife under the fore-leg. As the bear withdrew backwards along the passage, the man stabbed it three times more under the leg, and then it fell over and was unable to move any more. The man cut the bear to pieces; yet it did not die, but seemed to be still alive. When its spine was cut, it lost consciousness, but soon came to itself again. It was not until its throat was cut that it quite lost consciousness. While the bear was being boiled, its soul kept under the floor to cool itself; but when the first man took a bite out of its flesh, it hurt terribly. The bear's soul stayed here for three days, until its head had been eaten. Then it went home, and saw there that its foster-mother had cried so much that her rheum hung down right to the floor.

37. THE LONG-TAILED DUCK AND THE WHITE GROUSE

told by *Pitiga*.

There was once a long-tailed duck¹⁾ and a white grouse that had human form. When the long-tailed duck came down to the

¹⁾ *Anas hiemalis (glacialis)*.

sea-shore, it said to the grouse: "Why do you wear thick stockings in the middle of summer?" The grouse answered: "Why do you carry an *ituartit* in the middle of summer?" The long-tailed duck got angry at this, and proposed that they should wrestle. They now seized hold of one another and began to wrestle. The duck dragged the grouse down to the shore, and cast it out into the water. They went on wrestling in the water, until they came below the surface; here the grouse tore open the duck's breast, so that it died. The grouse flew to land and cried in glee: "*kakerkaka!*"

38. THE REINDEER AND PARPALIGAMIK UNIAKAGTALIK (THE ANIMAL WITH THE IRON TAIL)

told by *Kutuluk*.

A man and an 'animal with iron tail' (*parpaligamik uniakagtalik*) were pursuing a young reindeer. The reindeer slipped into a cave, and the man who got there first planted himself in front of the opening, to prevent the animal with the iron tail going in after it. When it came up, it asked the man to put his legs apart so that it might get past; but the reindeer from within the cave said to the man: "If you remain standing before the opening, I promise to do you a service". The animal with the iron tail once more asked the man to move; but the man would not. As the animal with the iron tail went off, it said: "I wish you may never catch anything any more". The reindeer now came out of the cave and said to the man: "When it is winter, you must climb the mountain and take a pair of breeches with you. When you have got under shelter of a large stone behind which the snow has collected, you must scrape away the snow".

The man was a good hunter, but after the animal with the iron tail had told him that he should not catch anything any more, he never brought home any game. In winter the man went up the mountain, and, when he had got under shelter of a large stone behind which the snow had collected, he did as the reindeer had told him. As he scraped, a quantity of crow-berries came to light, and he and his family lived on them the whole year through.

39. REINDEER, MUSK-OXEN, HARES, AND THE 'ANIMALS WITH IRON TAILS'

told by *Angilinguak*.

In olden days there were found in these parts reindeer, musk-oxen, hares and some large 'animals with iron tails' (*parpaligamik uniakagtalik*). About these animals the following tale is told. —

At *Kangerdluarsugsuak* near *Norsit* people went hunting on land, when the sun began to climb the sky.

There was once a clever hunter, who, one day when he was out stalking reindeer, shot a buck. Soon after he saw another, which he also shot, and at last a third. So the man caught three animals in one day. The next day he saw one large and two small animals. He shot first the old one, and then the young ones. On his way home he again shot a large animal, so that on that day he caught altogether four reindeer. The next day he went out hunting again. He then saw a large black animal, which was larger than a bear, and had long hair on its neck, and large backward curving horns. This animal is called *pangnek* (musk-ox). The next day he saw a big 'animal with iron tail'; he killed it with his lance. This animal walked backwards to cut with its tail. He put its head inside the house; but he could not sleep at all that night, as he heard a perpetual growling. The following nights he had a knife between his eyes, so that he might not fall asleep; for he was afraid that if he did so, the animal would eat him. The next day he saw an animal which was a little larger than a fox, but it had no tail whatever and was quite white. Its feet were like bear's feet. He went up to it from behind, and stuck his knife into it. He could overtake an animal of this kind (hare) by running.

Reindeer and musk-oxen eat moss and grass, and hares eat grass. These animals were shot with bows made of wood, with strings of sealskin-thong. The arrows are made of wood and have a bone point. In stalking reindeer the hunters shoot from under cover of stone walls. A wall of this kind is still to be seen near *Norsit*. The following drum-song treats of reindeer and hares:

"At *Kangerdluarsugsuak* there were hares and reindeer, *ah ja, ja* —; when my younger brother could not catch them and was afraid of them, I ran after them and caught them, *ah, ja, ja, ah* — —".

40. NUKARPIARTEKAK

told by *Sanimuinak*.

An old bachelor never went out in his kaiak, and so his kaiak became mantled over with green. Farther up the fjord there lived a man who had a very beautiful daughter.

One morning the bachelor got up while the other people in the house were sleeping. He washed his head and his whole body, and picked the green plants off the kaiak, and then he travelled to the man with the beautiful daughter. When he came up there, the inhabitants said: "Step ashore!", and, when he had landed, they said "Come inside!" The daughter was sitting at one end of the house. He looked askance at her, saw she was very beautiful, got very hot, and nearly died with love. When *Nukarpiartekak* had taken off his anorak and hung it up, he saw that the beautiful girl was smiling at him, and this made him lose consciousness. When he came to himself again, he looked askance at her again, and saw that she was still smiling at him. He loved her very much, and collapsed again. Every time he lost consciousness and rose up again, he moved his seat a little nearer towards the beautiful girl. When the others lay down to sleep, *Nukarpiartekak* saw that she was preparing a couch for him as well as for herself, and when he saw this he fainted, and his head fell to the platform with a crash. When he came to himself again, he found he loved her very much; he now moved onto the sleeping-platform, but as he rested his hand on it, he fell with his face down on it. They lay down by the side of each other, and he almost died, so beautiful was she. *Nukarpiartekak* embraced her and fainted.

At first it was as if he sank in up to his knees, then up to his arms, then up to his arm-pits, the right arm sank down, and then he sank in right up to his chin. At last he gave a shriek and vanished into her entirely. "What was that shriek?" said the others, who awoke at the cry; but none answered. When the lamps were lit next morning *Nukarpiartekak* had vanished, while his kaiak still lay by the shore.

The beautiful one went out to make water, and, as she did so, *Nukarpiartekak*'s bones (skeleton) came out.

41. THE OLD BACHELOR AND THE KOBABAK CHILD

told by *Sanimuinak*.

There was once an old bachelor who never went out in a kaiak, so that it became overgrown with green. One day his step-

father said to him: "What do you mean by never going out in your kaiak?" The next morning he rowed up the fjord. He saw an eider-duck, which he caught, went up to a naze, scraped the blubber off its skin, and ate it. When he had doubled the naze, he saw a pregnant *Kobajak*¹⁾, who was digging in reddish sand. She had nails of iron. As she dug, clouds of dust flew up, and, when she had dug in the sand for some time, she looked out to sea. As he approached, he took out his knife, went up to her, and asked: "What are you about"? "It is something to get children on", she replied. "What are you watching for?" "I am watching for my husband who went out in a kaiak two days ago and has not come home yet". He now told her to go on with her digging, and when she set to work again, he stabbed her in the belly with the knife, so that she toppled down.

Before she died, he cut the child out of her womb. It was a little *Kobajak*, that had nails of iron, and which he said he would use as his assistant. He carried it down to the shore, and stuck it in the kaiak. When he set off, a thick fog came on, and after some time he found himself back at the place from which he had started. He rowed out again; but again he came back to the same spot. He rowed out three times, but each time he found himself back in the same place, and, when he tried to step on shore, he found he could not get out of the kaiak, and perceived there was something moving at the back of it. It was the little *Kobajak* which was holding him and scratching his back, so that he died, and it gobbled him up.

42. SIETEREVARSUSUAK AND KOBALUARSUSUAK

told by *Angitinguak*.

These were two cousins who lived on a large island. *Kobaluarsusuak* lived further in than *Sieterevarsusuak*. They were both unmarried, and the latter, who had no kaiak, wanted to marry his first cousin. When *Kobaluarsusuak* returned home from hunting, he generally came towing two walruses. He used to row past his cousin's house and call to him to come over to him.

Sieterevarsusuak then went over land to his cousin, and, when the walruses were divided, he would get one side of them as his share.

¹⁾ *Kobajak* — 'pot-bellied woman'. They are said to live many together. The West Greenlanders' name for these creatures is: *Narrajok*.

Things went on in this way for a time. Kobaluarsusuak now went and visited Sieterevarsusuak's first cousin, and saw that she was beautiful beyond all others. He then told her he would take her as his wife. She did not want to marry; but Kobaluarsusuak went on trying to persuade her, and told her that, if she would not have him, no doubt an old one would come and fetch her. He took her home with him, and made her his wife. When Kobaluarsusuak went out hunting and came home with two walruses, he rowed up to his cousin, called him, and he came down to him and received half a walrus.

When *Kobaluarsusuak* was out hunting one day, and his wife had gone out to make water, *Sieterevarsusuak* sprang forward, took her by the arm, and carried her home with him. When Kobaluarsusuak came home and missed his wife, he knew that his cousin must have taken her. He now went over to Sieterevarsusuak and told him that his wife must come forward.

And indeed she stretched forth her hand to take hold of his; but Sieterevarsusuak shoved her back. Kobaluarsusuak now seized hold of Sieterevarsusuak, and they began to wrestle. Kobaluarsusuak fell, but he raised himself up again at once. He was again pressed down, but got up again, and again took hold of Sieterevarsusuak. While they were wrestling, the latter took his cousin, and struck him against the passage-way, so that he died. He then carried him out and turned his face towards all the corners of the world; whereupon Kobaluarsusuak came to life again; and went home without getting his wife. When Kobaluarsusuak went out hunting, Sieterevarsusuak received his share as usual, and they remained good friends ever afterwards.

43. THE MAN WHO ATE HIS OWN CHILD

told by *Kutuluk*.

Many years ago there lived a man at *Igdlitalik* in *Kulusuk*. When spring came after a bad winter, during which all the neighbours had been starved to death and eaten, the man began to catch seals again, and came home one day with a young bearded seal. While his wife was cutting it up, the man went into the house, and saw that the water was boiling. He had a great longing to eat human flesh again, and when their little child cried, he took it and put it down into the pot of boiling water. The wife now came in and saw that the child was gone; then the man took the child out of the pot,

put it on one side, and put seal's flesh in it. When the meat was boiled, the man laid the child and the seal's flesh by the side of one another, and, when the housemates came to eat, he said: "I wonder now which tastes best?", and then he took the child himself and ate it instead of the fine seal's flesh.

When the man went out hunting again, there came an old man, the sole survivor of those that lived next door, for all the others had starved to death. He came up to the house, and saw that they had thrown the thick seal soup outside. He fell to, and did not enter the house until he had eaten it all up. When he came in, they gave him a piece of meat, and the man who had eaten the child said: "I wonder if you won't be eaten, too?" When he had eaten, he lay down to sleep.

Next day the old man wanted to stay; but the man who had eaten the child told him he must go. When the old man had stepped into his kaiak, he could not row, because he had eaten too much. So the master of the house tied his kaiak to his, and helped him to get over to his dwelling-place; then the master of the house rowed back again. Later on they heard that the old man was dead, for he had eaten too much after having starved so long.

44. THE FOLKS WHO BY MISTAKE ATE THEIR OWN BROTHER

told by *Kutuluk*.

A man who was a good hunter lived alone in a house together with his wife. When he had been out hunting, he generally came home with several seals, out of which he was wont to take one up with him to lay it under the window platform to putrefy. Here there lay both saddlebacks and ringed seals.

One day he caught three bears. When he had caught them, he went out in his kaiak, and met one of the brothers who lived further out at the mouth of the fjord. When he had harpooned him he dragged him home with him, took the dead man up to the house, and laid him among the seals which lay there to putrefy.

When the man who had been harpooned did not come home and the brothers missed him, they went out to search for him. When they came to the house, they found his wife cooking bear's flesh. The husband said: "I wonder what my game tastes like?" He stooped down, cut the man in pieces, stuck his fingers into the blood and tasted it. He now handed the brothers the liver, and laid ringed seal blubber on top of it, while his wife was cooking the

flesh of the dead man. When the brothers had eaten the liver, the human flesh was placed before them, and bear's blubber was laid on top of it. This too they partook of. When the brothers travelled back home, the husband took the bones of the dead man, stuck them in his kaiak, and said, as he shoved it out to sea: "Thy brothers have eaten thee; now thou must revenge thyself on them and kill them all!" Some time after it was noised abroad that all the brothers had perished. The skeleton had eaten them.

45. A TALE ABOUT A FAMINE

told by *Pitiga*.

Once in olden days when there was a severe winter, there dwelt some people on an island off *Umivik*.

In winter their house was snowed up, so that they could not go out hunting, and, as they had nothing more to eat, they had to kill and eat the women. When they had eaten them up, too, they made a hole in the roof, and the biggest of the men crept up through it; but the others could not get up, because they were too weak. The big man went over to *Umivik*, where he went into the house and up to his sister's cooking-pot, from which he took a bit of blubber and put it in his mouth. Thus he did the whole winter through. When he went out, he gathered some sea-weed, which he threw down to the others in the house.

One day when the big man's brother-in-law had been out hunting, the big man went into his house and said: "I think it smells as if you had caught something?" But as they did not wish to give him any of the game, they answered: "How do you suppose we could have caught anything? Do you think this is the right weather for hunting?"

One day when the big man came home to the house, he heard someone down inside the house saying: „How lovely that I have got something to eat!" "What is that you have found?" asked the big man. „It is a lovely human ear!" was the answer.

In spring they all starved to death, except the big man.

46. SANIMUINAK'S ACCOUNT OF HOW HE BECAME AN ANGAKOK¹⁾.

When I was quite a small boy, I once made a sledge, for which I was beaten by my mother with the upright of the sledge. I then made up my mind to become an angakok.

¹⁾ The version is considerably abbreviated.

We were living in those days at *Umivik*, having previously had our home at *Norsit*. I then went out to *Norsit* to a certain cleft in the mountain which faces the sun-rise, laid a large stone over the cleft, and another on top of it. I now began to rub the upper stone round against the lower 'the way of the sun', and continued till I was almost lame in the arms. I now heard a voice from the depths of the cleft calling to me; but I understood not the words, grew numb with fear, and the bowels jumped up into my throat. When the voice died away, my bowels dropped down again from my throat, but I had no strength left to bear me up on my way home. Henceforth I ate no more entails, hearts, nor livers of seals, nor did I work in iron.

The next day I went out again to the cleft, and ground the stones against each other, as on the previous day. Once more I heard the voice from the depths of the cleft; my bowels and heart flew up to my throat, and I was seized with the most horrible pains. The following day all went in the same manner as before, but that I now heard the voice say: "Shall I come up?" I was numb with terror, but said: „Yea, come up!" The stones lifted and a 'sea-monster armed with claws like shears', came up and looked towards the sun-rise. It was much larger than those which are to be found in the sea¹). Presently the monster vanished, and I travelled back home. This was my first spirit (*tartok*). The winter waned to its close, and when it was spring again, I went back to the same spot and rubbed the stones; and when I grew tired and had no strength in me to rub them any longer, the stones went on of themselves moving round 'the way of the sun'. There came a little man up from the ground; he looked towards the sun-rise. He was half as long as a man, was clad in a white frock, and had black arms. His hair was curly, and in his hand he carried a wooden implement, with which he caught salmon. I lost consciousness, and when I came to myself again, the man had gone. He was my second spirit.

The following year I repaired to a place where a brook was flowing from a little lake. A little man with a pointed head, which was quite bald, came up from the stream. He cried like a little child: "*Unga! unga!*" He was my third spirit.

Next year I went inland to *Tasiusak*. Here I cast a stone out into the water, which was thereby thrown into great commotion, like a storm at sea. As the billows dashed together, their crests flattened out on top, and as they opened, a huge bear was disclosed.

¹) *Sanimuinak* showed that those which are in the sea are of the size of a large hand (a crab?).

He had a very great, black snout, and, swimming ashore, he rested his chin upon the land; and, when he then laid one of his paws upon the beach, the land gave way under his weight. He went up in land and circled round me, bit me in the loins, and then ate me. At first it hurt, but afterwards feeling passed from me; but as long as my heart had not been eaten, I retained consciousness. But, when it bit me in the heart, I lost consciousness, and was dead.

When I came to myself again, the bear was away, and I lay wearied out and stark naked at the same place by the lake. I went down to the sea, and, having walked a little, I heard someone coming running after me. It was my breeches and boots that came running, and, when they had got past me, they fell down on the ground, and I drew them on. Again I heard something running. It was my frock, and when it had got past me, it fell down, and that too I put on. Peering down the river, I saw two little folks, as big as a hand. One of them had an *amaut* on in which there was a little child. Both the bear and the three little folks became my spirits.

Once when I was standing by the shore at *Umivik*, I saw three kaiakers coming in, dragging a narwhal. When they came in to shore, the kaiaks flew up in the air like three black guillemots, and the narwhal sank like an *ovak* (cod).

At *Pikiutdlek* I got me two spirits, one of which was called *Kuitek* and shrieked: "*Unga! Unga*", like a new-born babe. The other was called *Amortortok* and shrieked: "*Amo! Amo!*". They were both *Tarajuatiaks* (*tarajuadat* = shades). *Amortortok* is from the south, and speaks the same tongue as the *Kavdlunaks*. At *Tasiusak* too I met a spirit with a pointed head and without hair¹).

Once I have seen *Tornarsuk*. He was sitting bent over with his back towards me, holding his privy parts with both hands. I leapt up on his back, and then lost consciousness. When I came to myself again, I was lying on a large stone.

47. ASIAK.

Asiak lives in the sky. When there was a drought, the Angmag-saliks in former days used to journey to the place where he dwelt,

¹) In Hanserak's journal it is mentioned that *Sanimuinak*'s chief spirit is *Arrussak*, an *ataussak*(?) living in the sea, which is as big as a man. His second spirit is *Amok*, who dwells in a crumbling stone, and his third spirit *Ungortortok*, who barks like a fox, dwells in a dried-out lake, and is as big as a hand (a frog?).

in order to pray him for rain¹). When the angakok came to him and peeped into his house, his wife would be sitting on the platform, and to her the angakok would say: "As it is too long since it has rained, I am now coming to Asiak, to pray him to make water". These words were repeated by his wife to Asiak, who sat covered up at the foot end of the platform. Even if he did not feel inclined, and the angakok nevertheless insisted, his wife would at length say: "He made water a little last night as usual". When she shakes the piece of bear skin on which he has sat and made water, so that drops of water come sprinkling down, then it rains²).

Asiak and his wife lower down from up there a kaiak half-jacket, in which they place a mitten which is expected to fill the jacket from the blubber bags of the men. Then they hoist it up again, filled with blubber and other provisions, and on these things they live.

48. DRUM SONG BY PITIGA.

Pitiga, who is 28 years old, has been married three times before, but each time only for a short time, namely a couple of months. The two first wives he divorced because they did not keep his boots in order. The third wanted to journey northwards with her family, and *Pitiga* would not consent to it. One day he saw the wife of *Maratuk* (the notorious murderer) outside the house. Urged by her brother-in-law, *Pitiga* took her by force and made her his wife, whereupon *Maratuk* challenged him to a drum dance. According to *Pitiga*, *Maratuk* had stolen a seal from him. *Pitiga* sang as follows: —

"I was afeard when I heard that thou wouldst challenge me to a drum dance! *ah! ja! ja! ja!* etc.

"Thou jeerest at me because thou deemest I am too unskilful! *sa! na! ja! ja! ja!* etc.

"Thou wouldst challenge me to a drum-dance, because I am alone, and thou deemest I am unskilful! *ka! na! ja! ja!* etc.

"Oh! how forgetful thou art, though! It is very bad to be so forgetful! *ha! va! ja! ja!* etc.

¹) The Angmagsaliks have not the slightest motive for desiring rain, as their only means of subsistence is hunting. They know no other country but their own, where the natural conditions differ widely from those of countries whose inhabitants live on the products of the land. They would therefore not be able to understand why other peoples should wish for rain. This legend must therefore have arisen in a district with quite other natural conditions, and where the mode of subsistence of the people must have been quite different from that in Arctic countries.

²) The Central Eskimo say that lightning, thunder, and rain are performed by three sisters: "the third sister makes the rain by urinating". (Boas: The Central Eskimo p. 600).

“Doest thou remember the time when thou couldst not live with others and we received thee into our house? and now thou will challenge me to a drum dance! *pu! ja! ja! ja!* etc.

“Why were we so foolish to take thee in and give thee a place in our house, *sa! va! ja! ja!* etc.

“Thou didst bring us no good, thou didst take up room, eat from us, and steal from us.”

49. IGSIÁVIK'S DRUM SONG.

Isigsiavik we put at 22 years of age. His first wife was a woman from *Norajik*, who was a few years older than he, a sister of *Ikasakitek* of *Umivik*. She died after he had been divorced from her. Then he married an elderly woman from *Sermilik*. He was divorced from her too, because *Ingmalukutuk* would not part with her. *Igsiavik* cried over the divorce. She was afterwards married to *Pekelak* at *Sermilik*. Last winter *Igsiavik* married *Avgo's* daughter; but after a marriage of not more than half a year, she ran away from him, as they were out hunting *angmagsat*. She then married *Ipatikajik* from *Ingmikertok*. When they were out hunting *angmagsat*, *Igsiavik* robbed *Misuarnianga* of his wife *Jatuak*, who thus was his fourth wife. She is not more than eighteen years old and is a daughter of our neighbour *Kutuluk*. *Misuarnianga* from *Ingmikertok*, about twenty years of age, married the above mentioned *Jatuak* as his wife no. 2. She got tired of him and would not allow him to touch her; but all the same he would have liked to have kept her, when *Igsiavik* took her. He therefore challenged *Igsiavik* to a drum dance. They have now already sung at each other many times. *Misuarnianga* then married *Aguluk* (about seventeen), whom he stabbed with a knife in the thigh, upon which she was carried away from him by *Igsiavik's* brother. She too shrunk from *Misuarnianga*, when he tried to touch her. When his 'house father' *Perkitigsak*, who was his uncle, had rebuked him, he went and stayed with his uncle *Kianak* at *Norsit*. After having remained single for half a year, he married *Utukulok* (age twenty-two); for she was now without a husband after seven former marriages. This last marriage, however, was of but short duration; for her husband no. 6, *Nakordok* from *Kangarsik*, whom she preferred above all the others, took her back again.

After having been married four times, *Misuarnianga* could no longer get any wife, for lack of women in the district¹).

Ipatikajik (age twenty-five) from *Ingmikertok* had been married to *Misuarnianga's* mother; but when she died, he espoused, as we have mentioned, *Avgo's* daughter, *Igsiavik's* third wife. We have related how *Igsiavik* challenged *Ipatikajik* to a drum match; on that account *Misuarnianga* came here as a substitute for his step-father, who, so he says, cannot sing; but the real reason for his not appearing seems to have been that he had no material left for new drum songs against *Igsiavik*, having used up all his store. In the song he accused *Igsiavik* of having tried to kill *Akenatsiak* from *Sermilik*. *Igsiavik* replied to the charge in the following song, which indeed lasted an hour, as it was, but has been shortened here by the omission of all the “*ah — ia — ia*”: —

¹) *Misuarnianga* afterwards married again his wife no. 3, whom *Isangalik* (*Igsiavik's* brother) had gone away from, because she ate up too much of his provisions.

"Thou are very fond of him, and thou consortest much with him. When thou singest, thou must take him round the neck, look on him, and be good to him".

Igsiavik put a stick edgewise in his opponent's mouth.

"I cannot help my opponent not being able to sing or bring forth his voice".

He put a block of wood in his opponent's mouth, and made as if he were sewing up his mouth.

"What shall we do with my opponent? He can neither sing anything, nor bring forth his voice. Since one cannot hear him, I had perhaps better stretch out his mouth and try to make it larger".

He stretched out his opponent's mouth to the sides with his fingers and crammed blubber right down his throat, whereupon his mouth was gagged with a stick.

"My opponent has much to say against me. He says I wanted to do *Akenatsiak* a hurt, and would have slain him. When we came from *Siurarmiut* to *Amitsuarsik* from the south, it was thou who didst first challenge *Akenatsiak* to a drum match".

Igsiavik laid a thong in his opponent's mouth and tied it up under the rafters.

"I wot not that I would have done a hurt to *Akenatsiak*, and would have slain him, and I wot not why I should have done it".

"It must no doubt be because we are both after his¹⁾ wife that he accuses me of it".

"When he sings at me again, I shall also sing at him again".

Every time *Igsiavik* mocked *Misuarianga* between the verses by playing all sorts of tricks on him, the latter displayed his indifference to the mockery by telling the lookers-on to shout and laugh at him.

Igsiavik now wants to make a new song 'which will be very amusing, and in which I shall bind my opponent to the post'.

50. DRUM-SONG OF TIGAJAK ON THE MAN WHO DESIRED TO HAVE A SON.

A man who was unable to get his wife of child, urged her to have intercourse with other men in order that she might have a son. When she did so, her husband became jealous and began to beat her. The man she had intercourse with challenged the husband to a drum-match, and sang as follows:

¹⁾ *Ipatikajik's*

"In warm weather, when I am among women, I must go with my drawers down! *ah! ja!* etc.

"People who can't get sons, should not think of lying with women! *ah! ja!* etc.

"Thou saidst to her she should seek intercourse with other men that she might have children! *ah! ja!* etc.

"But when she lay with other men, thou nevertheless didst become jealous and beat her! *ah! ja!* etc.

"Thou art not the only one that owns her, so thou shouldst not beat her! *ah! ja!*" etc.

TWO OLD DRUM SONGS

given by *Nakitilik*.

51. Drum song on *Kunuk* (cf. p. 239).

"*Ja — ia — a — a — aliagelerpik imarsivarnek aja — ia — a alianarsila kunugdlîkangna sardlilagingnartek agidlâtigsanik ipigdlâtigsanek nerielerugta sardliligingnaripik tatakakinga uejarevakinga*".

"When we cannot sing, we weary us *aja — ia — a Kunuk*, who always sings, I think is coming to have a drum match. I wonder if he has got round the naze, he who is always singing".

52. *Uiartek*'s drum song (cf. pag. 244).

"*Uâ — ja — ja — aa — a — a — a — — sevekî ineseramanga sevekî isimalierama sevekî uâ — ja — ja*

"*sevesikingmat pisarnuk sevekigekigako ingirijunga uâ — ja — ja*

"*usornak anerselerejata inevet takisamingnik makke nunaning uâ — ja — ja*"

"*anersardlaka kigdligivigivit kavane takisaka nigevesakangitit nalinginak kângulegsevertut ingmata anersatariaka uâ — ja — ja uâ — ja — ja*"

"*Uâ — ja — ja —* My time of life is not long. When I thought on it, it was not long. I sing because my term of hunting will not last long. I admire the men who tell of the land they have seen. I tell of *Kigdligivigivit*, which I have seen to the north, where one could not step ashore where one wanted, because the rocks were so steep as an icefoot *uâ — ja — ja —*"

53. TWO MAGIC CHARMS

given by *Nakitilik*.1) "*Kajak agerpok agdlaligsevak anagorgona anatigtisisok*".

This charm is chanted the first time a boy gets a kaiak. The meaning of the words is: "There comes a kaiak which has something with it; it must be one who is coming to rescue".

2) "*Ja — ia -- a — a — apangivara narnetigivara,*
"ia — ia — a -- a — ajorunardlugo makisatelerdlogo".

This charm is chanted over sick persons, and contains the wish that "the great kaiak may come and cure the sick woman".

54. A MAGIC CHARM.

"*I — a, i — a, kuta, kuta, sernekuta, sernekuta;*

"*i — a i — a, kuta, kuta, ertepikakuta;*

"*i — a, i — a, kuta, kuta, ertepikakuta, i — a, i — a.*"

This charm *Uitinak* learnt from a man who is now dead. He recites it in a subdued mystic tone. He has used it once when he was ill, and had been ill for ten days, and was near dying. Four days after he recovered. The meaning of the words is unknown. That the charm may not lose its power, it must only be used in times of peril. I paid for hearing it, otherwise it would have lost its power.

VI.

NOTES TO G. HOLM'S COLLECTION OF
LEGENDS AND TALES FROM ANGMAGSALIK

BY

H. RINK

[1887] 1912

THE collection before us has the merit not merely of being rich in itself, but of being absolutely original and representing the legendary world of the extreme East Eskimo.

When one day, as we trust will be the case,, collections of legends from other Eskimo lands have been brought together, the collection before us will win increased value, and then it may well be that what now seems insignificant and meaningless may prove to be of interest for the conclusions which may be gathered from it as to the mutual relationship of the tribes. The collection will thus form a source to which we may refer for information as to the culture of the Eskimo in the past.

Greenland tales and legends presuppose an oral recitation and an audience which feels quite at home in the conditions and the life depicted in them. In other words, if they are to be properly appreciated, they should be heard in the Greenlandic tongue and in Greenland itself, and the hearer ought to be able to enter into the Greenland mode of thought.

When these emanations from the spiritual life of the people are committed to writing, and still more when they are translated, the poetic spirit with which they are imbued more or less evaporates. The feelings of sublimity which the voice of the narrator can arouse when he tells of man's struggle with the elements, is partially lost, and the *reader* feels little or none of the awe which steals upon the *listener* as he hears of the perils with which man is everywhere encompassed in these desolate regions; finally, lack of thorough understanding may also contribute to exaggerate the ghastliness and repulsiveness of some of these narratives.

Points which go to render the West Greenland tales and legends — many of them at least — more palatable for non-Greenlanders have met with a less generous, not to say scanty, treatment in these Eastern narratives. The sickly and despised child growing up to be a strong and mighty man, the protection of the outcast and the weak by higher powers, the courage and great exploits of the kaiakers, woman's domestic virtues and prudent thrift, — to put

it briefly, the same traits of human nature, the same passions, the same circumstances of life which we find elsewhere appear also in these tales and legends in another form, a form so strange and so foreign that the true meaning is frequently obscured.

To be sure these redeeming features are not altogether lacking in the Eastern tales; it is obvious, however, that the narratives show a tendency to dwell on matters calculated to arouse terror or disgust. They thus acquire for many of us a predominating tinge of ghastliness and gloom, which is but too likely to encourage people in their unfavourable notions of what they call the 'savage' Eskimo. But the true explanation of the difference seems to be in the fact that the West Greenland Eskimo had access to a greater number of gifted narrators, who were to give the tales an artistic form. As far as the genuineness of the traditions and their presumptive historical value is concerned, it seems that the East Greenland legends deserve to have the preference.

With regard to the matter of which the Eskimo legends are composed, it should be pointed out that, besides being steeped in the native conceptions of the supernatural, they consist of certain stereotyped legendary materials, viz. fixed conceptions, names, scenes, customs, characters etc., which are found recurring, variously disposed, in different legends. Sometimes even a series of events or legendary elements have been transferred bodily from one legend to another.

How this applies in individual cases will be seen from the comments on the several tales in the following list. It will be seen that out of the 54 numbers, 12 or 14 may be regarded as identical with tales from other Eskimo lands, namely the West coast of Greenland, another 12 or 14 merely have elements in common with the latter, and, finally, 16 may be regarded as more or less peculiar to Angmagsalik, though keeping within the same original sphere of conception as the Eskimo legends in general. Finally 4 numbers give in a more descriptive form a presentation of certain important notions, such as the celestial bodies, namely the moon, certain animals either fabulous, or extinct in Angmagsalik, and, lastly, the angakok's apprenticeship. The remainder consists of 3 satirical songs, two ordinary songs, two magic chants, and 1 magic charm. The last four songs are given in the Greenlandic tongue; the magic charm in words the significance of which is no longer known.

Several of the West Greenland tales have assumed a new value for me when I found that they recurred on the East coast; it having previously been uncertain whether they were common to Greenland as a whole or of a merely local character.

In a few of the Eastern tales I believe I have noticed elements which I fail to find in the collection from the West coast, but traces of which occur in what little we as yet have from Labrador and Baffin's Land.

It will be interesting to see whether the 16 tales, which so far appear to be peculiar to East Greenland, subsequently turn up in some form or other in quite other and far remote regions.

That the last numbers, which are to be regarded as rarities, possess a great value for Eskimo folklore, can scarcely be called in question.

Contributions from the extreme Eskimo East which might serve as a base for comparison are almost entirely lacking, but there is every prospect that they will soon be forthcoming. Just at this juncture it is a matter of great importance to be equipped with corresponding information from the extreme East of Eskimo lands; and thus the collection may be said to have come just at the right moment, as far as Denmark is concerned.

T. T. means my *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* etc. (Edinburgh and London 1875.)

E. S. means *Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn*. (Kjøbenhavn 1866.)

E. S. Spl. means *Supplement til Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn*. (Kjøbenhavn 1871.)

1. *Kamikinak*.

This tale substantially agrees with "A Visit to the Giants", or *Inoosarsuk*, T. T. no. 84 (E. S. Spl. no. 37) in its main theme, namely that a boy crosses in a kaiak over the sea to the land of the giants in *Akilinek*, and there grows into a giant himself. With regard to *Inoosarsuk*, it is told how he was driven to it by the mistreatment of his foster-father; in *Kamikinak*'s case a disparaging remark of his mother is the sole motive given.

2. *Imerasugsuk*.

This tale agrees substantially with *Igimarasugsuk*, T. T. 3 (E. S. 3), which is based on four versions, one of which comes from Labrador. The Labrador version, however, differs in many essential particulars from the others, and bears no close resemblance to the East Greenland version. The tale is also known from Baffin's Land.

3. *Kaluluk*.

As far as I am aware, there exists no tale corresponding to this one. As to the elements of which it is composed, the charm over the bucket of drinking water recurs in *Malaise* T. T. 17 (E. S. 23),

but also in a version from the East coast, communicated to me by ROSING under the title *Maledok*; besides this the tale has only a few minor points in common with others.

4. *Kunuk*.

This tale is practically merely another version of "Kunuk the Orphan Boy" T. T. 10 (E. S. 14), considerably abbreviated and to some extent modified, but with striking agreement in certain details, such as the very names *Ungilagtaki* and *Kunuk*. It is indeed quite conceivable that the West Greenland tale has been lengthened by addition of elements from other tales.

5. *Uiartek*.

Uiartek means "he, that goes round (a naze)". It is conceivable that the tale is related to that of *Iviangersouk*, T. T. 120 (E. S. Spl. 33), who travelled round the south point of the land along the East coast and back to the West coast through a sound which traversed the land at Jakobshavn, and from whom an island at Godthaab is said to have been named *Uiarniak*. But this tale no doubt owes its origin to more recent influences. "*Uiartek*" seems to be peculiar to the East coast.

6. *Uiartek and Kasagsik*.

The name *Kasagsik* certainly corresponds to *Kagsagsuk*, T. T. 1 (E. S. 1), and what is told of him here reminds one of the tale of *Kagsuk*, T. T. 85 (E. S. 88).

It is curious that the tale of *Kagsagsuk* proper, which is the most common in the previous collections, is entirely missing in the present collection from East Greenland.

7. *Natatek*.

We have nothing corresponding to this tale among the tales from other parts. However, it is composed of elements which to a great extent occur quite scattered in various other tales, particularly the old man's revenge for neglect, the conjunction with the inland-dwellers, fighting with a whale by pulling from both sides (*Akigsiak*, T. T. 5; E. S. 5)., boys who have an innate power over the sea animals ("The Barren Wife" T. T. 13; E. S. 19), and especially a power of taking several in one cast (*Sangiak*, or *Nerngajorak*, T. T. 87; E. S. 6). Something about the women who are dangerous to men occurs there, too.

8. *The Blind Man who recovered his sight.*

This tale corresponds to T. T. 2 (E. S. 2) with some additions. The printed version is taken from 8 records, two of which come from Labrador. This East Greenland version has no particular resemblance to those from Labrador. Dr. Boas has informed me that it is also known in Baffin's Land. The addition contains a peculiar element, which is also known from other parts, namely that of the fabulous creatures in whom the anus-opening was wanting.

9. *Arfersiartok.*

This tale has some resemblance to "The Mother and Son as *Kivigtut*" T. T. 129 (E. S. Spl. 60), though much abbreviated and with many modifications in details. Among the corresponding elements, that of the dolls that became alive is especially characteristic.

10. *The Sun and the Moon.*

This tale corresponds entirely with the version generally current, which goes right away to the Bering Strait.

11. *The two Cousins.*

This tale is in substance a reproduction of T. T. 48 (E. S. 59) and E. S. Spl. 42, a very widely distributed tale with the following main elements: — Several men disappear in a fjord, the one left behind goes out to search for them — the house of the murderers — the pursued escape by breaking their pursuers' paddle — the murderer who could turn into a bird — the bird shot by a boy trained to shoot with charmed arrows. In the present tale only one disappears instead of several. On the East coast the grandmother's meat-spit seems to be the recognised source for charmed arrows, while on the West coast a barren wife's drying-hatch is spoken of as the most serviceable material.

12. *Matakatak.*

A child stolen by inland-dwellers is a subject which recurs in other tales (T. T. 44 = E. S. 47, cf. E. S. Spl. 61), but the version here seems to me to be peculiar to the East coast. A particularly interesting point to my mind is the mention of sealing nets of whalebone.

13. *Pouia.*

Has, as far as I know, nothing corresponding.

14. *Two Sisters who married animals.*

Agrees well both with the West Greenland and the Labrador version, equally well with both.

15. *The two Boys who could keep under water.*

This tale bears most resemblance to *Katerparsuk* T. T. 7 (E. S. 10), from the West coast and to a tale from Labrador, T. T. 143 (E. S. 120). In the former the art of swimming under water was due to magic, the boys assuming the form of certain sea animals, in this case of a walrus. This art is called *pûlik*, 'owner of a bag, slough, or disguise'. The Labrador version on the other hand deals with a boy who was trained by his mother to keep under water, and the latter seems to be closer to the East Greenland version.

16. *The Moon's child.*

Only the elements of which this tale is composed are known; as a whole it must be regarded as new.

17. *How the old folks avenged their sons.*

Corresponds exactly to *Uvikiak*, T. T. 34 (E. S. 53). Of the elements, that of the covering of the kaiaks with leaves or grass (West Greenlandic) is noticeable.

18. *Inurudsiak.*

The beginning is like T. T. 31 (E. S. 48), "The Dog", but the rest of the tale is quite different.

19. *The foster-children.*

Corresponds to T. T. 39 (E. S. 30) and E. S. Spl. 109, tales of the child monster that ate its housemates.

20. *The origin of Kavdlunaks, Timerseks and Erkiliks.*

Corresponds exactly to T. T. 148 (E. S. 17 cf. E. S. Spl. pag. 150), which treat of the descendants of a woman and a dog. The legend is also known in Baffin's Land, and must thus have come from there or from a still more remote region to West and East Greenland. It is told everywhere in the same way, with remarkable details. Here the question crops up, as to what Europeans it can have been on which the legend is based? It will be interesting to see how far it can be traced in a westerly direction.

21. *The dog that carried off girls.*

This tale of the dog that robbed girls, is, as far as I am aware, not known from other places.

22. *Navagijak.*

This story of a man who, in the form of a seal, migrated through various sea animals and ended by being caught and born anew as a man, is well-known on the West coast T. T. 197 (E. S. 145. *Avigiatsiak*) and also in Baffin's Land.

23. *The girl who went across the inland ice to the West coast.*

There exists a story of a girl who came from the East coast to the West coast, but it has certainly no connection with the present tale.

24. *The wife who lost consciousness.*

The state described stands mid-way between the spiritual flight of the *angekok*, and the migration of souls of men in general from the body. A somewhat similar, but not identical, tale, is found in T. T. 124 (E. S. Spl. 45).

25. *The two kaiakers who were helped by magic charms.*

Several of its elements are known.

26. *A tale about a big worm.*

27. *The pursued angakok.*

28. *Karrak.*

29. *A Tupilek story.*

Like no. 25, these tales contains well-known elements, but are otherwise new.

30. *A true story from Angmagsalik about the Moon, and*

31. *A Moon story.*

These tales, no doubt, present certain resemblances with the well-known legends of the intercourse between human beings and the moon, but they differ widely from them in substance. As far as I am aware, the western legends contain nothing as to the exchange of wives.

32. *The visit of the two angakut to the murderers.*

With regard to the disappearance of the men, see above, no. 11; with regard to the point as to the murderers flaying their own relative by mistake, see T. T. 16, pag. 166 (E. S. 22, pag. 103).

33. *A visit to the dwellers in Akilinek.*

Must be considered as hitherto unknown.

34. *The Man-in-the-Moon and Erkingasek.*

What is told here about the Man-in-the-Moon and his house agrees well with the Western ideas on the subject. This is also the case with the angakok's journey to the moon. The Western angakut have also their *Erkungasok*, the ideas about him differ on the East and West coast, but also vary on the West coast itself. The tale as a whole seems to correspond to the Western tales.

35. *Ariagsuak.*

Agrees entirely with *Ariagsuak*, E. S. Spl. 51.

36. *Musatak.*

Unknown.

37. *The long-tailed duck and the white grouse.*

This tale reminds one of the fables or animal conversations which are told, or rather, sung in Baffin's Land, but as to which but little has been heard from West Greenland.

38. *The Reindeer and 'Parpaligamik Uniakagtalik'.*

'The animal with the iron tail'.

39. *Reindeer, musk-oxen, hares, and 'the animals with iron tails'.*

Unknown.

40. *Nukarpiartekak.*

Several similar stories exist.

41. *The old bachelor and the Kobajak child.*42. *Sieterevarsusuak and Kobaluarsusuak.*43. *The man who ate his own child.*44. *The folks who by mistake ate their own brother.*45. *A tale about a famine.*

For the moment, I cannot remember having come across anything corresponding to these tales. It is possible, however, that something of the kind may yet be found among the fairly numerous records I received; these, however, were so fragmentary and unintelligible that I could not use them in the printed collection.

46. *Sanimuinak's account of how he became an angakok.*

There are several variations in the printed collection of the theme treated here. The version given here, which is in substance quite similar to the records from West Greenland, must be regarded as a most valuable contribution.

48—54. *Drum Songs and Magic Charms.*

If the tales lose a great part of their effect when committed to writing, and still more after having undergone the process of translation, this is, of course, still more true of the songs. The latter are chanted in detached sentences and detached words. They are intended for an audience who merely require a hint to understand the meaning. This is the case both with the satirical songs and the ordinary songs. When we take this into consideration, it will be found that among the ordinary songs in the printed collection (E. S. pp. 348—50 and E. S. Spl. 138—149) there are some in which the brief outbursts of rapture over nature, the chase, the exploits of the kaiaker etc., distinctly reveal poetic feeling. The satirical songs extol the old customs, and castigate worthlessness, indolence, and immoral life. The specimens which have been presented here are too few to allow of our determining whether the songs from Angmagsalik have any characteristic features to mark them off from those in the formerly printed collection¹). (Some of the songs in the latter have, to be sure, been obtained from Easterners; but then these Easterners were from the southern part of the East coast and had visited the West coast). In any case, these drum-songs from Angmagsalik, together with the magic charms, form in virtue of their genuineness and the rarity of the latter, a most valuable contribution to Eskimo folklore.

¹) Cf. pag. 311.

VII.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS FROM
EAST GREENLAND
(ANGMAGSALIK AND NUALIK)

MADE BY

G. HOLM, G. AMDRUP AND J. PETERSEN

AND DESCRIBED BY

W. THALBITZER

1912

INTRODUCTION.

THE COLLECTIONS. — G. HOLM's collection was made during the winter he passed at Ammassalik (*Angmagsalik*)¹⁾ in 1884—1885 and consisted of 715 objects. Almost all kinds of East Greenland implements and clothes are represented and the collector obtained precise information regarding their use. The collection was described and illustrated by Holm himself in 1888²⁾ and since then has often attracted the attention of ethnologists. It was the first collection, which systematically represented the culture of a certain Eskimo tribe in Greenland and it was at once evident from Holm's description, that *the culture of the Ammassalik natives* possessed a special character, due essentially to the isolated situation of the locality on the east coast (at 65° 30' N. lat.). Holm called attention to the principal peculiarities, for example, in their houses, their sledges, weapons, house utensils, clothes, ornaments; he gave the first description of the Eskimo's seal hunting on the ice at Ammassalik, their sealing weapons, and their salmon spears with toggle headed forks along with others with barbed forks, their use of the double hunting bladder along with the single, their method of joining the wooden parts of their boats, the kaiak dress of the hunters and the peculiar harpoons and knives, the working tools of the men and women, drums of the angakut, playthings of the children etc. At the same time Rink made a comparative study of this collection³⁾. I fully agree with Schultz-Lorentzen's remarks on Holm's East Greenland expedition, that "in the ethnographic field at any rate this one winter with its detailed investigation has yielded more information, than the more

¹⁾ The East Greenland form of this name is *Ammattalik* or *Ammattaling*, but in the dialect of central West Greenland it is pronounced *Ammassalik*, in both dialects with a more intense nasalization of the *m* sound than is usual in our pronouncing of the *m*. In Kleinschmidt's orthography the word is given as *Angmagsalik*.

²⁾ G. Holm in "Meddelelser om Grønland" X (1888), English translation in this volume (XXXIX) especially pp. 28—57 and 115—124.

³⁾ Rink in "Geografisk Tidsskrift" pp. 139—145 (1886).

than 150 years of colonisation and scientific investigation of the west coast”¹⁾. — The main part of this collection is now preserved in the National Museum of Copenhagen; duplicates were presented to the Christiania Museum.

G. AMDRUP’s collection owes its origin to the Carlsberg Fund Expedition to East Greenland in the years 1898–1900²⁾. It forms a valuable supplement to Holm’s collection. For the places where the objects were found and their history, I may refer to Amdrup’s own description in “Meddelelser om Grønland” XXVIII (1909). From its contents the collection falls into two main parts, one from the regions north of the Ammassalik district, the other from various localities within this district and belonging to the same culture. Of the first part I have already given a detailed description in the volume mentioned (1909). The second part will be discussed here along with Holm’s collection and will thereafter, as has already been done with the objects of the first part, be handed over to the National Museum of Copenhagen to be placed among its Greenland collections.

In my description I have not followed Amdrup’s arrangement of the objects, but have thought it better to rearrange the numbers, so that the part described first, the northern discoveries, obtained the first numbers³⁾. My arrangement of the first part of the Amdrup collection was as follows⁴⁾:

Nos. 1–10 Harpoon heads (Cape Tobin and Skærgaards Peninsula).

— 11–20 Other weapon heads made of bone (Cape Tobin, Skærgaards Peninsula and Dunholm).

¹⁾ Schultz-Lorentzen in “Meddelelser om Grønland” XXVI (1904) p. 315.

²⁾ Amdrup who led this expedition has described it in “Meddelelser om Grønland” XXVII (with French summary).

³⁾ In Amdrup’s own inventory there are altogether 455 items from East Greenland, but of these not a few items contain several objects (partly different in type though belonging together according to use; for example, one item is a group of small bone objects used on the kaiak, another objects which belong to the sledge and harness of the dogs), whilst on the other hand the list at various places contains blind numbers, representing intentional gaps in the series. Amdrup had so arranged his inventory, that possible discoveries later, if the places were revisited, could be entered between the first items. Each new place thus begins with an intentionally higher number than necessary. After the objects from Nualik (Nos. 1–158) come those from Skærgaards Peninsula with Nos. 201–227, Dunholm 250–268 and so on.

In contrast to this numbering of the Amdrup collection, I shall refer to the objects of J. Petersen’s etc. collections with the numbers which the collectors themselves have given the various items without any rearranging. These collections have not been at my disposal to the same extent as the Amdrup collection, during the time I have been working at the description. As for the Holm collection, I have not even had the opportunity of seeing the inventories of the museum.

⁴⁾ Thalbitzer (1909) p. 330, cf. pp. 540–542.

- Nos. 21— 26 Stone objects (Skærgaards Peninsula, Dunholm, Sabine Island).
 — 27— 64 Finds from Skærgaards Peninsula ($68^{\circ} 07' \text{ N. lat.}$).
 — 65— 98 Finds from Dunholm ($69^{\circ} 54' \text{ N. lat.}$) and Cape Tobin ($70^{\circ} 24' \text{ N. lat.}$).
 — 99—119 Finds from Cape Borlase Warren ($74^{\circ} 18' \text{ N. lat.}$) and Sabine Island ($74^{\circ} 45' \text{ N. lat.}$).
 — 120—194 Finds from uncertain place north of Ammassalik.

These objects showed, according to my description of them, so many points of resemblance with the special types of the Ammasalik culture that I could bring forward evidence of a partial continuity between the northern and southern culture of the east coast of Greenland. Most of them belonged to such forms of implements as are known both from the west coast and east coast of Greenland. Only very few objects in these northern finds belonged to types hitherto unknown from Greenland (nos. 55—56, 72, 73—75, 99, 106) or to types of a peculiar form (nos. 1—10, 65—66, 85, 86).

The second part of the Amdrup collection obtains the numbers 195—717 in my description. Most of these objects are from the "dead house" at *Nualik*, the remainder from various localities (house ruins) nearer the centre of the southern district, namely:

- Nos. 195—661 Finds from Nualik ($67^{\circ} 15' \text{ N. lat.}$, $33^{\circ} 13' \text{ W. long.}$).
 — 662 — — Nordfjord ($66^{\circ} 19' \text{ N. lat.}$, $35^{\circ} 23' \text{ W. long.}$).
 — 663—693 — — Sarkarmiut ($66^{\circ} 18' \text{ N. lat.}$, $35^{\circ} 17' \text{ W. long.}$).
 — 694—701 — — Depot Isl. ($66^{\circ} 07' \text{ N. lat.}$, $35^{\circ} 32' \text{ W. long.}$).
 — 702—717 — — Tasiusak ($65^{\circ} 37' \text{ N. lat.}$, $37^{\circ} 33' \text{ W. long.}$).

Amdrup's collection from the "dead house" (Nualik)¹⁾ was brought home to Copenhagen 20 years later than Holm's collection, but the objects are at least just as old, as they all belong to the time before the arrival of the Europeans. The objects found were first brought by boat down to Ammassalik, where several of them were recognised as belonging to a man, who with some other families had journeyed northwards two years previous to Holm's arrival, without anything being heard of the whole party later. The circumstances attending the discovery indicated, that the natives (over 30) had been overcome by a catastrophe, hunger or more probably poisoning from rotten meat. They had not gone much more than 80 miles from their tribal relatives, which agrees with the fact, that the ruin found was of recent date in its appearance. Although the collection found in the ruin originated from the time before the arrival of Europeans, the contents showed distinct signs of an indirect connection with European culture, e. g. in two saws, wrenches and other iron objects, some fragments of pottery and

¹⁾ Amdrup (1902) pp. 93—94, 105 and 252—253. (1909) pp. 303—311.

some "Dutch" beads. In other respects, it confirms in every way the typological characteristics of the Ammassalik culture, which we knew from the Holm collection. For example, there is a precise agreement between the forms of the harpoon heads in the two collections, so that we become convinced, that the types of harpoons, contained in the Holm collection, had been fixed and predominant in this region probably for many generations. In addition, we find here a few implements, which by chance are wanting in the earlier collection, for example, bone pegs for the dogs harness and swivels for their tethering lines, meat forks, parts of the bladder arrow, instruments for working iron, a drying frame for the harpoon line.

As most of the objects of the Amdrup collection are well-preserved, there is no reason to regret, that several of them from the "dead house" and from other ruins of northern settlements were found in a broken or loose condition. On the contrary, the decayed state has in some cases been an advantage, as it was thus possible to observe, how the parts were originally shaped on the inner side and how they have been united and the nails fixed (e. g. bone feathers of the harpoon shafts; various bone attachments).

Lastly, the value of the collection is greatly increased by Amdrup's careful inquiries at Ammassalik at the end of his stay there. Through Johan Petersen he obtained information from the natives regarding the meaning and significance of the weapons and fragments found, and he entered this information opposite the corresponding item in his inventory book. For the definition of many of the small objects of bone especially these remarks have been helpful to me. It was specially fortunate, in addition, that Johan Petersen was on furlough and lived in Copenhagen during the two years I devoted to the study of Amdrup's collection, so that I was able at any time to supplement Amdrup's information by personal communication with this first-hand authority of the Ammassalikers, thanks to his never-failing kindness.

The third collection has been made by JOHAN PETERSEN. In his capacity of first manager of the colony of Ammassalik¹⁾, he has lived there since 1894 and by constant small additions from time to time has accumulated this collection, in the beginning probably to assist the natives through the small recompense, later from a real interest in bringing together a true representation of their

¹⁾ As interpreter with Holm's expedition, JOHAN PETERSEN when a young man stayed the winter of 1884—85 at Ammassalik. Later, he visited the place again as one of Ryder's expedition to East Greenland, when the expedition landed at Tasiusak on the return journey in September 1892. See Ryder (1895) pp. 124—147.

primitive culture. The collection thus became of interest, just because it had not to be brought together in haste during the stay of an expedition, but could grow slowly on the basis of the sympathetic relations which developed between the population and its first European civiliser. Johan Petersen, who speaks both Danish and Greenlandic as his mother-tongue, has had personal experience from childhood of the use of the Eskimo weapons. In him are united so far the qualifications, which many a museum's man would like himself to have, but which, unfortunately, cannot be transferred to the museum along with the collection. I am grateful to Johan Petersen for the permission he gave me to study his collection and take photographs before he sold it. At the end of 1910 it came into the possession of our National Museum and since then I have not had the opportunity of seeing it.

Among the interesting objects of this collection there is quite a number of stone implements, further, weapon heads and working tools, soapstone pots and lamps; all the known types of harpoons, bladder harpoons, bird darts and lances; fishing harpoons; sealing stools; swivels and towing lines (for the captured seals); old-fashioned knives and finger and knee protectors of wood; ulos and combs, bodkins and awls from earlier and more recent times; clothes and skin bags for all kinds of use in the house and tent, with or without embroidery; ornaments and amulets, masks and toys — in short, a complete picture of the culture of this people about the year 1900 and in earlier times (from things found in graves, refuse heaps or ruins), in part displaying varieties of known forms, often witnessing to the developmental history of the implements.

The collection of "Den Grønlandske Administration" from East Greenland may be mentioned in this connection, as it has been gathered in reality through Johan Petersen. It lies (or lay when I studied it) in a warehouse loft at the docks of the Administration in the harbour of Copenhagen. It contained valuable materials, but can scarcely be protected against the ravages of moths, rust and decay. I am much indebted to the administrative director of the Greenland colonies for permission to examine this collection and take photographs of it.

The National Museum of Copenhagen contains the principal collections for Greenland as a whole — for East Greenland especially the collections connected with the following names (most of them already mentioned): Graah, G. Holm, Ryder, G. Amdrup, Rüttel, J. Petersen and Thalbitzer. The Greenland objects are placed in unusually deep glass-cases, in which it is almost impossible for the

visitor to see what is placed at the back and in which most of the objects can only be got at with great difficulty.

My own collection is of smaller importance. My work in Greenland was not to undertake any ethnographic collecting, but mainly to study the language and folklore of the natives. Some few objects were obtained by myself or my wife occasionally, as gifts from the natives we lived with or who visited us. A few things, especially models of boats and weapons, I ordered, regarding them as of assistance in my linguistic investigations.

In museums of other countries I have seen several small collections from Ammassalik, in addition to the larger collection in Christiania already mentioned. — Stockholm Riksmuseum contains the earliest known objects from this latest discovered population of Greenland. These are some of the things obtained by A. E. NORDENSKIÖLD in southern West Greenland, which had obviously come over to the other coast through the trading connections of the East Greenlanders. The first are even dated 1873¹⁾; the later in his collections are from the years 1883 and 1896.

In Berlin (Museum für Völkerkunde) there is a small collection from Ammassalik, obtained from Chr. Kruuse, and some objects added later by C. Leden. — In Vienna (Hofmuseum) I have seen various objects from Ammassalik in the Greenland collection of R. Trebitsch, among these some masks and some stone objects found in graves.

PRELIMINARY STUDIES. Through my linguistic studies in Greenland in the years 1900—1901 and again 1905—1906 I was already well acquainted with the existing *Inuit* forms of culture in West Greenland between 66° and 72° N. lat. and in East Greenland at 65½° N. lat., when I took up ethnographic investigations. In the first-mentioned district the mind and body of the *Inuk* (Eskimo) are so strongly Europeanised, that a considerable power of criticism is required to distinguish the true remnants of the original culture in the modern implements and mental products. A valuable corrective to the results of my first journey was my stay in East Greenland, where the original culture was still easily detected in 1905—1906 alongside of the intruding modern culture. But another and necessary corrective to my impressions of the existing forms of culture I found in the literature on the Greenlanders of earlier times, in the

¹⁾ An eye-shade and a comb of walrus tooth bear old inventorial numbers after the letters R. M. They have probably belonged to one or other colonial governor's private collection and been bought by Nordenskiöld during his first visit to West Greenland.

works of John Davis, Egede father and son, Cranz, Glahn, Otto Fabricius and others; as also in the comparative study of the cultural forms among the North Canadian Eskimo, described by authors such as Kumlien, Boas, Turner, Nelson, Murdoch, Mason and various others. Under such conditions and prepared in such a manner, I began to take more pleasure in the collections of museums than before; the dead objects assumed life and personality. From the silent cases I began to hear the language and thoughts of the people; they talked about the small details in the daily life of the natives, about the struggle on the desolate coast to wring a bare living from the ice-filled sea, and about their labour to make existence as pleasant as possible in the house and tent, in the home and on the journeys; they spoke about the harmony and mutual help between the families in times of dearth and struggle, on the power of the traditions and on the artistic feeling in the human heart, constantly striving to break up some of the traditional forms and feel the pride and pleasure of new. Great and sudden changes do not occur, but in each generation one or two or perhaps three new forms win acceptance among a few individuals, whether of one kind of implement or of another, sometimes in their ornaments or in their playthings. And at last the beat of the waves from the history of the great world also reaches up to the forgotten coasts.

In the best museum collections there are specimens of the primitive people's ancient or obsolete implements. The antiquities of Greenland are to be found in various museums in Europe, but to any considerable extent probably only in the museums of Copenhagen and Stockholm.

It is a good thing to have a photograph of an ethnographic object, but still better to study it in the hand, view it from all sides and possibly make a sketch of it. On comparing related forms of culture — e. g. of East and West Greenland — it would be an advantage to have the objects compared in one's possession at the same time. As a rule museums are very willing to give students the facilities, which make such a comparison possible. But the Eskimo and Greenland collections are so widely scattered in the museums of Europe and America, that the desire to make a simultaneous comparison of the objects must in many cases be given up. Fortunately, more than one museum has sufficiently rich collections of Greenland (not to mention Eskimo) objects from different districts and ages, so that it is possible to make comparative studies in this field within its walls.

My thanks are due to all the museums I have visited for the facilities offered me. It is with pleasure that I remember my visits

to the ethnographical Museums in Berlin (1904, 1907 and 1912), Vienna (1908), Christiania (1908), Stockholm (1908 and 1910), London (1909) and Dublin (1909). Among these museums I was obliged naturally to pay special attention to Stockholm's Riksmuseum owing to its excellent collections from Greenland connected with the names of Pfaff (North-West Greenland, inventory completed 1878), N. O. Holst (South-West Greenland, 1880), G. v. Düben (West Greenland, 1881) and A. E. Nordenskiöld (East and West Greenland, 1873, 1883, 1885, 1896). I must express my heartiest thanks to the keeper of the museum, Professor C. V. HARTMAN, for the effective kindness with which, in true comprehension of the difficulty of my research, he facilitated the study of these collections during my repeated visits in Stockholm.

My thanks to the National Museum of Copenhagen cannot rise to the same level of heartiness. The materials contained in this museum are undoubtedly the most considerable existing, for a study of the ethnography of Greenland. Only a part of them are said to have been set up in cases. I was acquainted with the contents of these cases, but only as a general visitor, when "Commissionen for Grønlands geologiske og geografiske Undersøgelser" in 1907 authorised me to publish a description of the Amdrup collection from East Greenland¹⁾ in its "Meddelelser om Grønland". As a natural and necessary link in carrying out this purpose it seemed desirable to have a new illustration and edition of G. Holm's collection from Ammassalik, which has lain in our National Museum since 1888. I directed a request therefore in 1908 to the director of the ethnographic section, Dr. SOPHUS MÜLLER, that I might be permitted to study the collections from East Greenland, and first and foremost G. Holm's. In the following year I asked to be allowed to photograph Holm's collection²⁾. In the spring of 1910 I succeeded at length in beginning the work of photographing, which extended over 16 days. The work was carried out in front of the cases in the museum, where the light conditions were not exactly good, by a photographer recommended by the Director and somewhat hastily owing to the short working hours of the museum. I was present,

¹⁾ The Amdrup collection, which had been procured through the Carlsberg Fund Expedition to East Greenland, was at that time still in the possession of the Carlsberg Fund, though promised to the National Museum as soon as its description was ended.

²⁾ It may be mentioned in this connection, that in 1897 already there was some talk of getting G. Holm's collection photographed, arising out of a private request from the well-known ethnographer Otis Mason of the Washington National Museum, but the director of the Copenhagen Museum neglected to answer.

of course, when all the photographs were taken, but obtained very little time to study the objects taken from the cases, as they had to be brought out and put in again each day by one of the assistants. When the work was completed, I felt no inducement to continue my studies at this museum, having the distinct impression, that my visits were unwelcome. I regret, that such a short measure of interest and friendliness obliged me to renounce a fuller utilization of the rich collections and has thus without doubt reduced the strength of my work. On the other hand, I have had the good fortune of being able to fill up the gap to some extent by my journeys to foreign Museums, which the Carlsberg Fund with great liberality has supported.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF GREENLAND. — The ethnography of East Greenland was known earlier in the main only from G. HOLM's and C. RYDER's accounts of the material of their own expeditions. A new contribution appeared in 1909 in my description of the 121 objects of the Amdrup collection from the central and northern part of East Greenland. But in addition to these, there are also some smaller contributions to the ethnography of the same coast, partly already in Graah's (1828) and Koldewey's (1870) journals, in part in the works of Stolpe and Solberg, which refer to objects of the Nathorst collection and other discoveries from East Greenland and in C. Kruuse's recent botanical work on the Ammassalik district. Further, Murdoch, Mason and Swenander¹⁾ bring forward some comparative considerations in their works with respect to the East Greenland harpoon heads and other implements. With regard to the distribution of the inhabitants and the structure of the houses I may mention the reports of Amdrup and Thostrup. Lastly, in a short paper on the Eskimo of Greenland and Hudson Bay published in 1910²⁾ I have endeavoured to show, from comparison of ethnographic materials from both places, that the major portion of the material culture of the Greenlanders is homogenous and that, in its origin, it is most nearly related to that we know from the north-west corner of the Hudson Bay — a connection already indicated by Franz Boas with regard to the Smith Sound Eskimo and

¹⁾ Solberg's and Swenander's papers have been reviewed by me in "Geografisk Tidsskrift" Vol. XX (1909—1910) pp. 10—17, on a few points adversely, especially in regard to their theories of the newness of the East Greenland culture and its discontinuity with the oldest culture of Greenland.

²⁾ Thalbitzer in "Geografisk Tidsskrift" XX (1910) pp. 213—224; in German in "Baessler Archiv", II (1911) pp. 32—44.

the North-East Greenlanders¹). My conclusions are based, so far as Greenland is concerned, mainly on the old forms of implements, which I had come to know from Amdrup's discoveries in East Greenland and which were described in my first-mentioned report. I shall not enter here into a discussion of the contents of the collection, however, but may refer to the conclusion at the end of this work.

The ethnography of the West Greenlanders as a whole is not yet written. The most exact contributions I know are, of ancient date, OTTO (or OTHO) FABRICIUS' description of the hunting weapons of the southern and central West Greenlanders (1810 and 1818), and from recent years A. KROEBER's monograph on the northernmost West Greenlanders, the Smith Sound Eskimo (1899). In addition to these two very different, but excellent monographs we find valuable contributions, likewise grounded on personal observation of the West Greenland culture, in the works of John Davis, Egede, Cranz, Dalager, Glahn, Giesecke from earlier times, Rink, Nansen, Schultz-Lorentzen, Steensby of recent years. M. Porsild's contribution (1911) is also perhaps worth mentioning. — Among the American works on the Eskimo, who live along the coasts of Canada and Bering Strait, I have made special use of the following: Franz Boas' various works on the Central Eskimo on Baffins Land and in Hudson Bay; Kroeber's papers on the Smith Sound Eskimo; Turner's on the Eskimo on the east coast of Hudson Bay; Murdoch's and Nelson's works on the Alaskan Eskimo; O. Mason's comparative studies on the Eskimo; W. Bogoras' work on the Chukchee and the Asiatic Eskimo. Altogether, the works of these authors contain a fairly satisfactory series of data relative to the principal varieties of the Eskimo implements from district to district within the area of this widespread race.

In the following pages I give a description of the material culture of the Ammassalik tribe, as representing the culture of central and southern East Greenland. I hope that my description may contribute, in part at least, to elucidate the position of the Greenland types of implements in the Eskimo ethnology as a whole.

¹) Boas (1907) p. 568 and (1909) pp. 535—536.

HISTORY AND ANCESTORS OF THE AMMASSALIMMIUT.

THEIR OWN TRADITIONS. — The Ammassalikers believe, that the world was formed where they live and that all those events in their earlier history, to which several of their tales seem to refer, have taken place on the same coasts, which they themselves or their immediate ancestors have seen.

They have no inherited knowledge of their land's "geography", only a fable-like idea, that they live on a large island and that 'land's end' (*nuna isua*) lies far north on their coast, (see the *Uiarteq* tale¹). A second tale ("The Girl who went across the inland ice to the west coast"²), shows, that they have an approximately correct idea of the situation of the coasts relative to one another. On the other hand, they have no notion of the true directions of the compass; for the same words, which on the east coast mean north and south, east and west, signify to the West Greenlanders south and north, west and east (cf. p. 214). This means practically, that these words only indicate local directions ('up and down' or 'to the right and left'(?); 'in and out' on the coast where they live). — They have no distinct feeling, that they compose a tribe, a unit; thus we cannot expect any report among them about their first settlement or the history of their ancestors as a whole.

They call themselves *Eewin* (from *iniwin*, East Greenlandic for *inuit*, plural of *inuk* 'native, person') or *Taawin* (plural of *taaq* 'a shade'). Although they often move to new hunting places, they yet speak of certain families as 'people who belong to the Sermilik Fjord', others as 'natives of Ammassalik', just as they feel the 'Southerners' of the coast as foreigners. The latter have a different dialect and small peculiarities in their fashions and manners. This fact is displayed in one of the interesting drum-songs, which H. RINK obtained from the east coast already in the 18-sixties³). In an episode of a juridical song duel between the eastlanders *Savdlat* and *Pulangitsissoq*, the former who seems to have lived further north than his opponent, attacks the latter in the following manner:

"The south, the south, down there!
When I settled halfway there, I saw Pulangitsissoq,
Who had become fat from halibut.
The people halfway do not know how to speak,
They are ashamed of their own language —

¹) Holm in this volume pp. 108, 110—111, 242—243 and 312.

²) Id. *ibid.* pp. 274—275. Cf. Rink (1866), tale No. 44 about a journey from West Greenland right over to the east coast.

³) Rink (1871) No. 137 p. 143.

They are so stupid —
 Their speech is not alike,
 Some speak a northern tongue, others a southern —
 No wonder we cannot understand them!"

The tales of the East Greenlanders, like those of the West Greenlanders, contain many elements which may have come from the time when their forefathers lived along the northern coast of Canada, and had connections, mostly hostile, with the Indians inland. A distinct sign of this is, that they have preserved some of the same names for these, as the Eskimo far to the west, right over to Alaska, still use for their Indian neighbours: *Erqitlit*, *Tornit*, *Ingalitlit*; they regard all these strange people as living in on the inland ice of Greenland¹).

With regard to Europeans, these are identified by existing Greenlanders with the *Qatlunaait* (*Kavdlunat*) of the tales. Rink states, that this name is known by the Eskimo right over to Alaska but it is used along with *Tannin* and other names for the Europeans²); it is not quite certain, that it originally meant these. — Of meetings with the Europeans in olden times the Ammassalikers only have a dim recollection. From the south they have probably received the historic report about the fights between the ancestors of the South Greenlanders and the Icelandic colonists about the year 1400. The rumour, that the Eskimo burnt down the houses of the Europeans, the Ammassalikers have even localized in their own district³). But they do not know the curious name *Kalaatlit*, which the South Greenlanders of the west coast say they were called by the Icelanders⁴) in earlier times. Although they have been without any doubt in indirect, and in part direct, trading connection with the dwellers on the west coast for the last 200 years, they have no inherited reports of their forefathers' journeys round there, at least none of early date. Their historical recollections are of recent date. The question is: is this due to a short memory in these people? or has their memory been disinclined to incorporate circumstances of

¹) Holm in this volume pp. 83—84. In East Greenland *Tornit* is called *Tunirit*, see Rink (1866) p. 329, but is only used by the southern eastlanders, not at Ammassalik. Regarding *Ingalitlit* see Holm p. 230.

²) Rink (1891) p. 29, cf. pp. 64—65; (1887) p. 110. Cf. Murdoch (1892) p. 53.

³) Holm in this volume pp. 134—135. Cf. (1888) p. 166, (1889) pp. 85—86.

⁴) Paul Egede, *Dictionarium Grønlandico-Danico Latinum* (1750) under *Karalek*: Groenlandus indigena. Ita vocatos se dictitant a priscis Christianis, terrae hujus quondam incolis. — The letter *r* in Egede's *Karalek* is to be understood as an *r* sound made with the point of the tongue (Norwegian *r*), not very different from *l*. Kleinschmidt (1871) spells it thus: *Kalâlek*, plur. *Kalâtdlit*.

this kind in their large fund of traditions? or have these things perhaps never taken place? has the connection with the west coast only begun 200 years ago?

According to Holm, Graah's visit of 1830 to the districts just to the south of Sermilik Fjord was still remembered in 1885 by an old man there who said he had met him. They also described the appearance of Donati's comet in 1858¹). They remembered, that a damaged, three-masted vessel had drifted along the coast about a generation before (the period has been fixed at about 1845²). Further, it was remembered in 1885, that various foreign objects had drifted to land at Ammassalik in recent years, for example, a ship's boat, wooden wreckage, a cocoa-nut and a bamboo stick, a bottle for pickles or preserves, a musk-ox, a white reindeer³). What specially interested the natives of the place was the iron and brass, found in the vessel and boat, which they used for their own weapons. Graah had the same experience in 1829 further south on the coast⁴). This was also their main attraction in Fridtjof Nansen's landing at *Umeevik* in 1888 some miles south of Ammassalik, when he began his ski-journey over the inland ice⁵). I obtained information about this from a native of Sermilik baptised David, who with another had met Nansen in the south. His boat was found later by *Ilinguake's* son *Kalia* and his brother-in-law *Mammeqaait*, both belonging to *Iliaq*. In addition to a book and some jars they found a number of cartridges and a brass pipe. The last especially was made of use. One of the natives I saw regularly at Ammassalik still had a piece of it as a ferrule on his ice-pick (*tooq*) and looked upon it almost as an amulet.

Further south on the east coast there is no remembrance of any vessel observed off the coast. Holm learnt this in 1880 from the first Eastlander he met with in southern West Greenland⁶).

The trading routes along the coast southwards led to the famous market centre on the small island of *Aluk*, or to *Naneeseq* (Graah's *Nenneetsuk*), or round to *Pamiätluk* (*Pamiagdhluk*) or to *Nanortalik*, the southernmost Danish trading place on the west coast. What the Eastlanders desired to barter here, can be gathered from another of the East Greenland songs, which Rink obtained (ca. 1860) from a half-blood Greenlander at the southernmost trading place⁷):

¹) Holm in this volume p. 188. Cf. (1888) p. 184.

²) Holm (1889) pp. 90—91, cf. 78.

³) Holm (1889) pp. 133—134.

⁴) Graah (1832) p. 97.

⁵) Nansen, *Paa Ski over Grønland* (1890) p. 437.

⁶) Holm, *Meddelelser om Grønland* VI (1894) p. 68. Cf. Cranz (1770) p. 344.

⁷) Rink (1871) No. 132, p. 141 and (1866) p. 355.

*An Eastlander's song about those who journey to the
West coast to trade.*

When the travellers southward go,
 Their friends await them with longing.
 What a surprise to go, they say!
 To the big men they go,
 To them who never know want,
 And there they buy richly of iron —
 And we here nourish great longings
 For tobacco and iron,
 Sewing needles and beads.
 When they returned, we rejoiced greatly,
 And I grew very gay,
 And I rejoiced aloud and called loudly:
 The boat is coming, the boat is coming!

VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY BETWEEN AMMASSALIK AND WEST GREENLAND. — Of the journeys of the East Greenlanders round to the west coast in earlier times we know something, not from themselves but from European records. As the first reports of history regarding these isolated people may perhaps be of some interest, I shall here mention the principal records or refer to them as sources.

HANS EGEDE reports in his "Relation" under June 11th 1728¹⁾: — "A large number of Greenlanders arrived from farthest south from between 60 and 61 degrees, some of them intending to journey far north and remain there during the approaching winter. These stated, that two years previously natives had been among them from the east side, who had brought with them large pieces of whalebone, to exchange them for other things they desired. The western natives, according to what they said, were also accustomed sometimes to travel round to the east side. They knew nothing more to relate regarding the nature of the place or the inhabitants". The rest of what they had to say regarded the movements of the ice along the east coast.

On June 29th and again July 29th 1733 Egede again had visitors from the south point of the land. Under the date last-mentioned he writes²⁾: "Some strange Greenlanders arrived from the south and visited us, and when I asked various questions regarding the nature of the country there in the south and round about "Hukken" (Cape

¹⁾ Hans Egede (1738) p. 240; he was living at the time in Godthaabs Fjord 64° 10' N. lat. on the west coast.

²⁾ id. *ibid.* pp. 342—343.

Farvel), an old woman gave me a more detailed account of the nature of the eastern side than I previously had obtained. Some time before, with several others she had been as far round Hukken on the east side as the distance of the colony almost from Hukken on the west side¹⁾, and natives were to be found everywhere, she said. Those who lived on the west side of Hukken, she reported were often accustomed to visit the natives on the east side, and the latter those on the west side, to barter with one another; as no ship can approach the eastern side for the ice, which lies off the coast, the natives living there require various small articles of iron, such as sewing needles and knives, which they barter from the westerners in exchange for fox-skins and the like, which again are sold to the ships when they come to these parts of the land." The rest of her story referred to the ice, which drifts along the coast from the north²⁾.

The remark about the articles desired by the East Greenlanders in exchange is a characteristic reminder of the fact, that the first things which Egede presented to the Greenlanders on his arrival in 1721, were fish-hooks to the men, beads and sewing-needles to the women. In this most probably he followed the general practice begun by the Dutch traders with the natives.

P. O. WALLØE, the first to visit the east coast, passed the winter of 1751—52 furthest south on the west coast³⁾. He met there a group of East Greenlanders, who had come from the other side to winter on this coast. They belonged to *Ikkermiut* on the east coast (62° 15' N. lat.) and had been two summers and one winter on the way from there. "They assured Walløe, that the whole of the east coast was covered with ice with exception of some small promontories and islands, on which the sparse population lived. There were no other land animals than some few ptarmigan and bears; only at one place were caplins [ammassät] taken and these had to be dried on tent-skins spread out on the ice. According to their report, on the other hand, the crested seal and various other seals occurred and the natives lived chiefly on these."

¹⁾ i. e. about 4 degrees of latitude.

²⁾ Hans Egede has not only given us the first information regarding the East Greenlanders, but also the first regarding the most northern natives of the west coast, at Cape York or Smith Sound, about 100 years before they were discovered by Ross. In his "Perlustration" (1741) p. 2 he gives a report from Disko Bugt on the northernmost natives on the coast, who lived by a narrow sound, which separates Greenland from America. — Poul Egede in his Journal (1771) p. 239 also mentions these natives far north at 75°.

³⁾ See: Grønlands historiske Mindesmærker (1845) Vol. III, p. 744.

DAVID CRANZ obtained information regarding the East Greenlanders from the Moravian missionaries and from two Danish merchants in southern Greenland and this information we find in his *History of Greenland*¹⁾. In 1752 a man called Kojake [*Qojake?*] came to the west coast. His home lay about 120 English miles up on the east coast. He narrated that in the previous winter, he had been visited by three men and their relatives, who had arrived in 2 umiaks from the north after a three years journey (northwards and back to the south): — “They had been so far north, that the sun in summer did not go below the horizon, but lighted up the hills at midnight. On the way they had sometimes loaded the sledge with their tent and boat, and let the dogs pull them over the ice. The men on the east coast they described as taller than those on the west coast. They had black hair, large beards and brown faces. Their speech was almost like their own, but they had a singing accent. They had not seen anything of trees and grass, nor of reindeer and hares, for they had not landed on the mainland, but remained on the islands²⁾. Regarding the natives they said, that they were numerous and friendly to get on with. They believed they had seen a fine fjord, but had not entered it, being afraid of the men-eaters, who were said to live there — — —. Their houses they build, like our Greenlanders here, of stone and lay cross-beams over these. But wood is very scarce there. Their clothing is also said to be like that seen here but roughly put together, iron and especially sewing needles being very scarce. They are greatly delighted, therefore, if they find a nail in the wood which drifts into the coast. Ships they are said never to have seen, nor do they themselves have sailing-boats. Further, their umiaks, kaiaks and darts are said to be like those here. Regarding religion he had nothing to say, except that there were also angakut and sorcerers there.”

The idea that dwellers on the east coast were in part cannibals, appears early³⁾ and is repeated again and again. It is quite certain, that in bad years, when one or two places have been threatened with extinction from hunger, the inhabitants have turned to eating their dead, possibly even exceptionally to killing a deserted child or an old person⁴⁾. The East Greenlander met by Cranz explained the

¹⁾ Cranz (1770) pp. 342—349.

²⁾ This seems to presuppose that reindeer and hares which are not found at the present day either at Ammasalik or south of this, were at that time known to exist somewhere on the east coast mainland.

³⁾ Already in Hans Egede's *Relation* (1738) p. 110, under August 24th 1723.

⁴⁾ Graah (1832) pp. 34 and 118. Cranz (1770) pp. 343—344.



Fig. 29. Eskimo hut in a corner of Tasiusak fjord. Entrance passage and front wall.
(J. Petersen phot.)



Fig 30. Interior of a hut. Part of the platform between two props. (J. Petersen phot.)

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matter as follows: they would rather save their dogs owing to their greater usefulness than a useless person. I imagine, that these necessitous times have first come upon the east coast in the 18th century, after the hunting of the Europeans after whales and large species of seals in the waters of Spitzbergen had led to a great diminution of these marine animals in the sea along the east coast of Greenland. Extreme need has sometimes driven the natives to adopt a course similar to those dreadful instances, even known among civilized nations, of men devouring one another, when rendered desperate by the sufferings of starvation. Rumours of these tragic occurrences have among the West Greenlanders become mixed up with their tales of "the inland dwellers" (the American Indians), who were believed to live especially on the eastcoast and were said to make sudden attacks on the Eskimo and kill them in their houses¹).

From a merchant in South Greenland CRANZ learnt some further details regarding the East Greenlanders, which contained new and interesting information. After referring first of all to the "*Eis-Schlund*" (the ice barrier) which lies some way up the coast (about 200 miles northwards, probably the glacier known later as *Puisortoq*) — it is stated, that the natives, who live south of this spot, journey each year down to *Onartok* ("the warm source") on the west coast to fish for the caplins (*ammassät*) there. Many natives live both south and north of this spot. In the years 1751, 1756, 1758, 1760 and 1761 natives from the districts north of the "ice-barrier" came down to trade with the Greenlanders furthest south. The last-mentioned arrived at the end of July after a three months' journey with two umiaks and many kaiaks, and after making their purchases they went away again in a few days. They are called northlanders in contrast to those south of the "ice-barrier" who are southlanders. They are described as "a simple, timid people with but weak morals". They are big and strong of limb, have black hair and no beard(!), their manner of speaking the Greenland language "recalls the dialect of Disko Bugt". In their clothing they have different modes from the southlanders: "For example, I obtained from the Greenlander, who told me this, a gutskin cloth, which he had bought from them and which in front and behind was provided with a still longer flap than the women's clothes here have, and was covered with many ornaments, but roughly". "They dwell on the islands and

¹) I imagine that it is to these fabulous inland dwellers (*Erqitlit*), that a second report in Cranz (1770, pp. 344—345) refers. — The merchant from whom he obtained the next report mentioned, is identified by Schultz-Lorentzen (1904, p. 324) as Lars Dalager.

keep dogs. When there is too much ice on the sea to get seals, they resort to a kind of halibut (or shark?), the fat of which they burn in the lamps instead of seal blubber. What they specially lack, are iron and bone. To get these, they have begun, though only 10 years earlier, to make these dangerous journeys to the southernmost Greenlanders. They bring fox and seal skins, skin straps or thongs and soapstone utensils, lay down their wares and are satisfied, however bad the needles or blunt the knives they get in exchange. They are greatly astonished at linen and wollen garments, but show no anxiety to possess them." So far Cranz.

The next to visit the east coast after Walløe was W. A. GRAAH (1829—30)¹). Before he reached Cape Farvel he already met in with *Ernenek*, who lived on the east coast and accompanied him on his journey up along this in the umiak. Though Graah reached up to 65° N. lat., he learnt nothing, curiously enough, about the natives at Ammassalik. Nevertheless, his report on the journey furnishes us with the first distinct picture of the East Greenlanders of the south coast and contains a quantity of interesting details regarding them. I may just quote here two passages, referring on the one hand to the occurrence of European articles even at the northernmost places visited by Graah, and on the other giving the only information regarding some people still further north.

Graah's discoveries on Ole Rømers Island (64° 58' N. lat.) show the contemporaneous use of stone instruments and iron instruments displaying European influence. On August 7th 1829 he landed here: "We discovered three Greenland houses. This island had probably been inhabited in the previous year, as a quantity of blubber and various utensils, among them some lamps but not of the ordinary soapstone, had been hidden away. Some of the things found showed, that the natives had been provided with European articles, such as knives and saws, which they had probably bought in exchange from their landsmen living further to the south. A large piece of drift wood, which they had begun to split up by means of stone wedges, lay on the shore²).

In the summer of the following year GRAAH again made an attempt to penetrate further north, but was not successful. At the island *Taterat* (63° 50' N. lat.) he met with two Eskimo families,

¹) I cannot altogether omit a reference to K. L. GIESECKE's short visit to the southernmost point of the east coast on July 31st 1806 (Giesecke's *Mineralogiske Reise*, ed. Copenhagen 1878 and 1910). He also mentions a South Greenlander, who lived there and who traded with the most remote eastlanders.

²) Graah (1832) p. 104.

which in the previous autumn had journeyed southward from *Omevik* (Omeewik)¹⁾ to trade with the inhabitants of Kemisak and Kikkertarsoak, where they had passed the winter. "With the product of their trading, which amounted to a couple of broken iron darts, some old knives and a score of beads, they were now wending their way back to their homes. One of these natives, the oldest and probably the only aged eastlander I have seen (I took him to be between 50 and 60 years old) told me, that he had once been at a place called *Sermelik*, a large glacier, 6 to 8 days journey north of Omevik. Between Omevik and Sermilik there were now no inhabitants, but many years previously two families had lived at this last place. North of *Sermelik* neither he nor any of his landmen had ever been and it was believed, that no one lived there. He explained further, that he had heard, that many years before a ship had been seen near the coast north of Omevik (probably Egede and Rothe's first expedition, which on August 20th 1786 had approached the east coast at 65° to within 18 miles)"²⁾. In a footnote Graah adds: "The eastlanders know the district well where they live; but they do not make long journeys to other districts. Among all those I met with between Frederiksdal and Cape Moltke (i. e. between the south end of the west coast and 63° 30' N. lat. on the east coast), only a few had been at Omevik and but one or two somewhat further north."

There must be a misunderstanding or something wrong in Graah's information, that the region north of Sermilik was not inhabited at that time. Walløe's statement, cited above, regarding the place on the east coast where caplins were caught, can only refer to Ammassalik (the only place on this coast where caplins occur); Cranz' information regarding the regions in the same or an even more northerly latitude is also evidence, that the coast had long been inhabited there to the north. Even more certain evidence is presented by the archæological discoveries of our day both in Sermilik, Ammassalik and more northern fjords. The probability is, that the Eskimo visited by Graah and who were the neighbours to the south of the Sermilikers and Ammassalikers, were hostile towards these more northern eastlanders (just as at the time of G. Holm's expedition) and thus perhaps misled Graah with regard to their existence, so as to prevent him from journeying further north. The information contained in the footnote, that the eastlanders south of Cape Moltke almost never journeyed northwards, is very strong evidence, that such hostility existed; for the waters northwards at

¹⁾ Holm's *Umivik* at 64° 15' N. lat.

²⁾ Graah (1832) p. 140.

Ammassalik provide excellent seal and bear hunting and would have been an attraction for them had there been no special reason to keep them back. To the south they often made long journeys. Graah's information thus has some interest as evidence, that the hostility has led to the dissimulation of the Eskimo and their concealment of their neighbours' existence.

Although Walløe had heard about the ammassät locality on the east coast, the name *Ammassalik* itself had not yet reached the Europeans, or at any rate was not recorded in the literature. Graah was the first who gave a series of Eskimo place names from the east coast in his journal and on his chart, but no name north of Sermilik. Half a century had still to pass before the principal group of inhabitants of this coast were discovered. But previous to this event the name of the place and its population had been briefly mentioned in H. RINK's "Danish Greenland"¹). This was due to information received in 1861 by U. Rosing, assistant manager at the southernmost Danish station on the west coast. I may cite here Rink's brief abstract of Rosing's account about East Greenland:

"The island of Aluk is situated where the coast of the mainland turns to the northward: here natives from the west coast sometimes meet and barter with their heathen countrymen. From there it took seventeen days' journey by kayak to reach the northernmost inhabited place called Angmagsalik.

From this remote station only once, in 1860, an umiak arrived at Pam-iagdlok, but the stay of the travellers was so short that only scanty information could be acquired about it. The boat-owner, named Samik, seemed to be a smart, intelligent fellow. He had lost his toes and the tips of most of his fingers; from the appearance of the stumps the mutilation had been caused by some act of violence. He was an expert kayaker, nevertheless, threw his javelin with his left hand, and was just able to grasp the paddle with his stumpy fingers. Angmagsalik was said to be very populous; some years earlier, thirteen umiaks had gone from there to the north, but only three of them having returned, the others were supposed to have been wrecked, the coast further north being very steep and dangerous. The next hamlet was Umivik, four days' journey to the south, containing ten houses, and then Igdlutuarsuk, with thirteen houses. The latter was situated on a fjord, from the interior of which a great many icebergs issue. From there to Cape Farewell fifteen inhabited places were met with, most of them only containing one or two houses. The whole number of inhabited houses on the coast tract in question was 53, besides those of Angmagsalik. According to these statements, Rosing estimated the whole number of inhabitants, the latter place included, at between 800 and 1,000. They chase the bears by aid of their dogs, and sometimes stab them in their dens in the snow. Dog-sledging is practised everywhere almost exactly in the same way as in the northern part of the west coast. The ancient modes of catching seals which we have mentioned as almost entirely abandoned on the west coast are also still made use of there, and at Angmagsalik some harpoons were still made

¹) Rink, *Danish Greenland* (1877) pp. 321—324.

of bone for want of iron. The kayakers are not very experienced in the art of righting themselves, or rising to the surface with the help of their paddle on being capsized, but they frequently practise swimming as a means of rescue in that case. Nobody knew anything of ruins of buildings constructed by former inhabitants of the country of a race different from their own. The strong current which runs along the coast often carries the drift out of sight in a single day. Several tales are told of wrecked ships having been seen in the ice, and formerly dead whales not infrequently drifted ashore, offering an opportunity of getting fishing-lines from whale-bone. According to the statements here given we have reason to suppose that Angmagsalik is situated not far beyond the northernmost point reached by Graah on his exploring expedition."

In 1880 G. HOLM journeyed in the Julianehaab district in South Greenland to investigate the Icelandic ruins from the middle ages. At the same time he sought for information regarding the east coast from the visiting eastlanders¹). He learnt, among other things, that these came no longer as in earlier times to barter with the westlanders on the small island *Aluk* far south on the east coast, but now journeyed right round to *Ilua* (*Pamiagdhluk*) on the west coast to trade directly with the Europeans. In *Ilua* he himself met with an eastlander called *Inuk*, who belonged to *Tingmiarmiut* at 62° 45' N. lat., but who had passed two winters still further north, at *Umivik* 64° 30' N. lat. He gave the names of 10 inhabited places further north than his home, most of them unknown from Graah's expedition, among them *Angmagsalik* (first known from Rosing's account and spelt in accordance with Kleinschmidt's orthography). *Inuk* had not himself been at this place but had heard about it and reckoned it to be 4 days journey north of *Umivik*, having the midnight sun 5 times in the summer. He mentioned a still more northerly inhabited place, *Kelalualik*, but could say but little about it. He had heard it said, that there were possibly people living still further north; for on long sledge journeys from there northwards tracks of sledges had been seen. Sledging with dogs was more common to the north than the south of his settlement and almost all winter hunting was said to be carried on by means of the sledge at the northernmost places. On the more southerly part of the coast there was only a large fjord (*Kangerdlugsuatsiak*) at 60° 30', where the Greenlanders, who travelled south from *Ilua*, were accustomed to carry on the seal hunting with sledges on the ice.

In the following year Holm fell in with three umiaks with eastlanders from *Tingmiarmiut* and *Umanak* (62° 51' N. lat.) journeying southwards at *Nunatsuk* on the east coast (60° 4' N. lat.). He learnt,

¹) Holm in "Meddelelser om Grønland" VI (second edition 1894) pp. 65—69.

that the natives at *Ammassalik* obtain European wares by trading with the inhabitants of Umivik and Umanak, their neighbours to the south. He obtained already at this meeting a number of objects from East Greenland, which were handed over to the Ethnographic Museum in Copenhagen on his return home. "The heathens are very unwilling to part with their things, both clothes and weapons; they gave as a rule the reason, that the angakok had said, that they must not give up these things. This applied especially to the head-bands bedecked with beads, which the men use to keep their long, thick hair flat on the head; for the angakok had said, that the man who parts with such, would die" ¹⁾).

Holm gives from this journey, like Graah earlier²⁾, a sketch of the outer appearance of the southern East Greenlander, which would indicate, that features not Eskimoese were mixed with the latter³⁾. He sees in this a sign, that the southernmost Greenlanders of the west coast, to whom the same applies, might have descended from the eastlanders — a view which has again recently, though based on other grounds, been put forward by Schultz-Lorentzen⁴⁾. Holm also put forward a supposition, that "the Eastlanders are a mixed race of the old Icelanders and Eskimo". Even though this mixing has taken place in the *Østerbygd*, which lay on the west coast in the Julianehaab district, he was of the opinion that it was reasonable to assume, that the mixed remainder of the Icelanders have wandered over to the excellent hunting grounds on the east coast or have been driven over there, and gradually adopted the Eskimo mode of living.

In 1883 G. Holm again came to south-west Greenland, to begin his umiak expedition up along the east coast, and in the following year he reached Ammassalik and passed the winter there⁵⁾. On the way he twice met with eastlanders, who in their umiaks and kaiaks were on the voyage southwards to the west coast for trading purposes and to pass the winter there⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Holm l. c. pp. 156—157.

²⁾ Graah (1832) p. 119.

³⁾ Holm l. c. pp. 157—159. Cf. Meldorf (1902) p. 34.

⁴⁾ Schultz-Lorentzen (1904) p. 319.

⁵⁾ During a reconnoitring expedition along the coast of Greenland in 1883 A. E. NORDENSKIÖLD happened to get through the ice-current off Ammassalik and landed in the fjord Tasiusak, which he called "King Oscar's Harbour". But as he only stayed there some few hours and met no natives, this visit was quite without importance for the ethnology.

⁶⁾ Holm (1889) pp. 64 and 77.

From the beginning of the 18th century until recent years we thus have a series of reports, that the eastlanders right up to Ammassalik have felt the necessity of obtaining certain European manufactures, especially of iron, and for this reason have had trading connections with the west coast, indirectly or directly. The European articles have had a magic attraction for them in ever increasing degree. At the same time or even previously the conditions, at any rate on certain parts of the east coast, have probably become harder and more severe owing to the decrease in the numbers of the large seals and whales. Graah mentioned already, that "according to all reports the coast in earlier times has had a considerably larger population"¹⁾. These causes have led to an emigration to the southern part of the west coast, and the East Greenlanders' desire to emigrate was strengthened by the fact, that the immigrants were soon baptised by the European missionaries whom they looked upon as the angakut of the Christians. For the heathens regarded baptism as equivalent to incorporation in the European community. In the year Graah visited East Greenland he estimated, that 120 out of the population of 600 had left this coast and settled at Frederiksdal and Nanortalik to be baptised. (See p. 184).

Holm's expedition and discovery of Ammassalik led to the founding of a Danish trading and missionary station there in 1894. The founding of this colony at Ammassalik has probably concentrated the inhabitants in the districts north and south of this place and several times helped them over difficult periods of want and hunger without loss of human life. Nearly the whole population have now been baptised and have adapted themselves to the use of the European articles the store contains.

South of this district the whole of the east coast from 64° to 60° is now uninhabited, the last southerners migrating in the year 1900 over to the west coast²⁾.

TRADITIONS OF SETTLEMENTS FURTHER NORTH. — What do the existing Ammassalik Eskimo know of the journeys of their forefathers towards the north? Their memory of these things does not seem to extend further back than to the journeys of the last generation or two. The reports that go further back are lost in the haze of tale and history, but nevertheless point to far off regions and to meetings with other Eskimo, without doubt the last of those, whose house ruins we find further north on the same coast.

¹⁾ Graah (1832) p. 118.

²⁾ Meldorf (1902) p. 23.

In 1884—85 G. Holm endeavoured to obtain information regarding the coast to the north of Ammassalik (see pp. 109—112). On the basis of the carved wooden charts the natives brought him in this connection¹⁾ and some Eskimo sketches of the northern continuation of the coast²⁾, he drew a plan of the coast line northwards. When Amdrup undertook his boat journeys in 1899—1900 along this coast, this plan was useful to him and he was able to state later, that it agreed astonishingly well with the reality. The Eskimo place names noted on the first charts were identified³⁾. They reached up to a little beyond 68° N. lat.⁴⁾. The East Greenlander's knowledge of their country northwards thus extends so far and no further.

Along this stretch Amdrup found many evidences of the earlier occupation of the Eskimo. Close to the north of Ammassalik he investigated the fjord *Kangerdlugsuatsiaq* (at 66° 20' N. lat.), which to judge from the ruins seemed to have been just as densely populated as the Ammassalik Fjord⁵⁾. Journeying 90 miles northwards, we come to a second district, frequently visited from Ammassalik, *Kialineq*, likewise with deep fjords and islands lying off it⁶⁾. About 50 miles north-east lies *Nualik*, "the island with the naze" (at 67° 15' N. lat.)⁷⁾. On his boat expedition from the south in 1899 Amdrup landed here and found the "dead house"⁸⁾. At the sight of the many skeletons and many well-preserved utensils and weapons in and outside the house he was at once reminded of G. Holm's report, that in 1882 two umiaks had journeyed northwards from Ammassalik and nothing had been heard of them later (see p. 26)⁹⁾. On the expedition of the following year he again came to this spot, this time from the north, and again examined the house. At Ammassalik it was stated by old people, to whom he showed some of the weapons found, that the occupants of the "dead house" came from their district and were the same as had journeyed north in 1882¹⁰⁾. They have probably perished by poisoning from eating

¹⁾ Holm in this volume p. 107.

²⁾ Holm (1889) pp. 219—221 and Pl. XV.

³⁾ Amdrup (1902) p. 264. Holm in this volume pp. 111—112.

⁴⁾ See Amdrup's Chart in Meddel. om Grønland XXVII, Plates IV and VI.

⁵⁾ Amdrup (1902) pp. 77—78.

⁶⁾ Holm in this volume p. 109. Amdrup (1902) pp. 86—88.

⁷⁾ Amdrup (1902) pp. 91—96.

⁸⁾ Similar dead houses (but more ruinous and with no ethnographic objects found) are known from the Ammassalik Fjord at *Nunakitit* (Holm 1889, p. 97), at *Umeewik* (see Hanserak's Diary 1884, p. 49), in *Kingak* Fjord (Amdrup, 1902, p. 254) and at Cape Tobin (Amdrup, 1909, p. 320).

⁹⁾ Holm (1888) p. 56. Amdrup (1902) pp. 93—94.

¹⁰⁾ Amdrup (1902) p. 105 and (1909) p. 310. By a printer's error the same house has been noted as "very ancient" instead of "not very ancient" in my "Description of the Amdrup Collection" p. 342 (Meddelelser om Grønland XXVIII, 1909).

rotten meat. In addition to the large house of more recent date there were several old ruins of houses of smaller size on this island.

Nordre Aputiteq (at 67° 48' N. lat., 32° 06' W. long.) is the northernmost place which has been visited by any of the natives still living (in 1906) at Ammassalik, namely the old *Kunak* and his companions¹⁾. Amdrup found *Kunak's* house in at the south point of the island, built on a site where two other houses had stood previously. The island (like many other places) has thus been inhabited on several different occasions, through many generations. The many bones round about, of bear, seal and narwhal, showed, that the hunting here had been excellent.

The northernmost Eskimo place name the Ammassalikers were able to note on the chart is that named by Holm *Kernerarsuit* or *nuna isua* "land's end"²⁾ on the east side of the large fjord *Kangerdlugsuak* (68° 5' N. lat., 32° 40' W. long.), which was closely surveyed by Amdrup in 1900. Here Amdrup found the interesting ruins on Skærgaards Peninsula, a 400 feet high headland, under which lay 8 house ruins, 6 tent-rings, a bear trap, 11 fox traps and numerous graves³⁾. This headland and surrounding hills seem to answer best to Holm's *Kernerarsuit*. In agreement with the pronunciation of the Ammassalikers I would write this name *Qerneraartiwin*; it means "the large black ripples on the water, which are raised by strong gusts of wind". The name may include a reference to the steep mountains behind the headland which cause the whirlwinds. According to the tradition of the Ammassalikers, their forefathers did not stop their journeys at this point. Holm learned in 1885, that "the descendants of the people which had moved to Kialinek, had crossed over the mighty icefjord *Kangerdlugsuak* and had settled farther north where they possibly still live." On a short sledging visit to this fjord from *Nordre Aputitek*, *Kunak* had come across sledge tracks of unknown people apparently living farther to the north⁴⁾.

A second place mentioned in the *Uiarteq* story is said to lie even further to the north. This is *Kigdlivigsivit* (see p. 304) pronounced *Kittiwissiwini* or *Kittiwättiwini* at Ammassalik, "the large umiak "horns" or cleft stems of an umiak", probably referring to one or more hills with pointed, double summits, which have the shape of the forked stem of the umiak. Perhaps in reality it is a very

¹⁾ Holm (1889) pp. 222 and 225. Amdrup (1902) pp. 246—249 and (1909) p. 311.

²⁾ Holm in this volume p. 111 and (1889) Pl. XV.

³⁾ Amdrup (1902) pp. 237—243 and (1909) pp. 312—313. Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 386—388.

⁴⁾ Holm (1889) p. 222. In this volume p. 110.

old name for a locality further north on the east coast than the natives now known. —

I obtained information on the earlier journeys of the Ammassalikers towards the north from *Mitsuarnianga*, formerly an angakok, and from an old woman *Teemiartissaq*. The former had received his recollections from his uncle *Qartarpattailin*, who again his from his grandfather. According to this report people had come to Ammassalik in "olden times" partly from the north and partly from the south:

"New people came from the south. At Ammassalik they met others who called themselves *Taarajiwin*. The southerners (or a part of them) returned to the south and took with them some of the Ammassalikers, but again came back. Later, people journeyed from Ammassalik northwards and there met with others coming from the north, who called themselves *Taawin*¹⁾ and who were clothed in white anoraks, embroidered with black patterns in the form of an ε. From the north these came to Ammassalik and lived there one winter, then returning (or a part of them) to the north beyond Kialineq, right up to *Paatutwaaiwin*²⁾ and *Qerneraartiwin* and remained away five years. Thereafter 10 of them returned, with the small children who had been born in the interval. They were an old man and his wife, two sons with wives, each with a child, and with a woman servant. They left behind them in the north a man with two wives. They remained and increased the number of the inhabitants at Ammassalik."

According to *Teemiartissaq*, about 40 years ago (thus about 1865) and in the following years 5 umiaks or umiak parties had journeyed northwards without returning later. First went *Ipitj-simaler* with his wife *Qaaralytjsu*. Later *Keersagaq* with family and companions followed. After these (or at the same time?) also the old *Nusukkaliak* with his children *Nooaang* (woman) and *Piseerajik* (man), and in company with them the married couple *Sakkaq* and *Amaartuat* with their daughter *Pikkiwartertoq*, further the unmarried man *Tusarpoa* and a daughter of the old *Qilertaanalik*, whose son was the well-known angakok *Awgho* (*Avgo*).

Lastly (about 1882?) *Taajee* with family and companions went away to the north and never returned; I imagine that it was this party, that lived and perished in the "dead house". This party is said to have consisted of the following persons: the old *Taajee* with

¹⁾ This name is merely the shorter root of *Taarajiwin*, which is composed of *taa(q)* "shade" and the suffix *-raji(k)*, of uncertain meaning Cf. p. 331.

²⁾ This is Holm's *Patuterajuit*, a small island at 67° 35' N. lat. Holm (1889) p. 222, Amdrup (1902) Pl. VI.

his two wives *Nuliäkkang* and *Iersima*, the latter with her son *Aawngutaq* and his wife *Nooghar* and with an older adopted son *Atighilik*; further a second old man *Anginnoong* and his wife *Attaaje*, who had a son *Usorqalaq*, married to *Arqamme*, and their son *Assorutaaieqaa*; also *Anginnoong*'s cousin *Atingili* married to *Qimingerserng* and *Teemiartissaq*'s cousin *Perqwarnia*, married to *Pukutjsukujoor*; lastly, the brothers *Mittikujuk* and *Aalyättaaq* with their wives and children.

Since 1880—81, when *Maratti* with his family passed the winter at *Kialineq*, no one from *Ammassalik* has lived up there.

POPULATION AND SETTLEMENTS.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE INHABITANTS (cf. pp. 26—27). — The *Ammassalikers* live more scattered in winter than in summer. The winter-houses lie apart from one another; the summer hunting of the herds of large seals bring together the population in three groups, one at the mouth of *Sermilik*, where the tenting-ground is on the island *Ammaain*, another at Cape Dan on the island *Kulusuk* and a third at the ammassat station in the interior of *Ammassalik Fjord* (*Qingaaq*). When the last station is abandoned in the course of the summer, a northern group migrates over to the island *Kulusuk*, a southern to *Amitsuarsuk* near to *Taseesaq* (Holm's *Tasiusak*). There are banks of the crested seal at these places. But as there are banks of the crested seal at several other places, the reason for congregating together probably lies for a great part in the human desire for company.

When the summer hunting is over, the families return to the winter settlements, not at one time, but gradually. The same families do not live in the same house each winter and the composition of the settlement changes from year to year. Often new arrangements are made at the summer meetings on the common hunting grounds, without very much attention being paid to family relationships and constant exchanges may occur. But this possibly springs from newer tendencies in this tribe. The constant uncertainty of the hunting in recent years has often led, it may be, to an increasing disposition to try new hunting grounds. Originally the relationship was most probably the basal principle in deciding the winter groups.

Really new settlements are not formed or new houses built, however; if the members of one settlement — or the leading men — decide to dwell somewhere else during the next winter, they move

to a place occupied earlier, which may now be vacant, and rebuild a house dwelt in previously. The old walls are used; as furniture from the previous house they take with them the beams and boards of the roof and platform, as also the supports for the roof, the family inheritance. Thus, so far as the form and dimensions of the walls are concerned, most of the houses have remained unchanged from earlier, many perhaps from ancient times. Only the roof is renewed each year, if the house is to be occupied in the following winter; otherwise the roof is removed or falls down, when the house has not been occupied for some winters.

In the fjords round about we met with many old ruins without roofs, with only the walls standing and the passage in its place. In an old ruin I found at *Ikaaättiwaq*, it was evident, that the original plan of the house had been altered by a later extension, the front and passage being moved round to the side-wall of the original house and the area of the house thus doubled. Several of the ruins were greatly decayed and overgrown with vegetation and appeared to be very ancient.

With regard to the number and distribution of the population it may be recalled, that since the beginning of the 19th century and probably even earlier constant immigration has been going on round Cape Farvel to the southernmost part of West Greenland. From the summary given on p. 184 it will be seen, that during the period 1822 to 1884 609 East Greenlanders have been enrolled in the church books at *Frederiksdal*, the southernmost mission station on the west coast and the greater number of those baptised there, though born on the east coast, may be considered to have settled on the west coast. A contributory reason for leaving the east coast has probably been, the increasing difficulty of existence owing to the decrease in numbers of the large seals. These causes have led evidently to great fluctuations in the number of the population. In 1829 Graah gave the population on the southern part of East Greenland (south of Ammassalik) to be 600 persons, in 1832 he estimated, that there were only 480 (p. 183). According to Holm the whole population of East Greenland between Ammassalik and Cape Farvel amounted in 1884 to 548 and of these 413 lived at Ammassalik (193 men, 220 women); in 1892 there were only 293 persons at Ammassalik, in 1895 even 247 only, as 118 had migrated southwards from there in 1891. This was counterbalanced in 1896, when 118 came from the south and settled in Ammassalik, raising the population there to 372 (161 men and 211 women) distributed over 14 settlements with up to 45 persons at

one place¹⁾. Since that time the number of the population has been steadily increasing. I may give the following examples according to census²⁾ from recent years:

year	men	women	total
1905	233	268	501
1908	253	292	545
1909	252	302	554

Regarding the distribution in earlier times (about 1885), see G. Holm's summary pp. 26–27 and for the year 1892 C. Ryder's report in *Meddelelser om Grønland* XVII, pp. 142–145. With respect to the distribution, number of houses and size etc. in 1905–1906 reference may be made to the Table pp. 356–357.

One house at each place is the principle of distribution in these fjords and RINK, with right, regarded this principle as specially characteristic of the social conditions among the Ammassalikers³⁾. Several of the places, I visited, were however very close to one another (see Chart) e. g. between *Sawaranaartik* and *Ikkatter* in Sermilik Fjord there was only about ten minutes' walk along the coast. After the Danish station was founded, a small Eskimo village, consisting of four houses, was formed at *Taseesaq*, on a small bay close to the east of the station. Three of these were built on the ground of earlier Eskimo houses. In the year I passed the winter there, one-fifth of the whole population were living at this place, but this condition does not represent the original mode of distribution before the Europeans came. Nevertheless, at this time more places were occupied over the whole district than in 1884–85, when the Holm Expedition overwintered there (p. 26).

NAMES OF SETTLEMENTS. — The following 18 places were occupied in the winter of 1905–06:

in the fjord *Ammattalik* (= W. G. *Ammassalik*, *Angmagsalik*) 9 places: *Taseesaq* (Holm's *Tasiusak*) with 4 houses, *Ilerfrit*, *Eeoquasaait*, *Quarmeen* (Holm's *Kumarmiut*), *Keetwaain*, *Nunakitsin*, *Soonaain*, *Akin-naaitsaait*, *Poolurtuloq*, each with one house;

in *Sermilik* Fjord 6 places: *Sawaranaartik* (Holm's *Sivinganarsik*), *Ikkatter* (Holm's *Ikatek*), *Imikeertwaain*, *Sarpaq*, *Teeleqūtaaq* and *Iserpalukitseq*;

south of Sermilik 2 places: *Qeertaalaq* (W. G. *Qeqertaausaq*) and *Nookunia* or *Toqqutaq*, all with one house only.

¹⁾ Ryberg in *Geografisk Tidsskrift* XIV, p. 117.

²⁾ Meddel. fra Direktoratet for den kgl. Grønlandske Handel (1907) p. 15, (1910) p. 138, (1911) p. 238.

³⁾ Rink (1886) p. 142.

To the north in *Sermiligaq* Fjord there were no inhabitants that winter, but *Maratti* and his family lived in a smaller fjord *Kangertiwarsikajik* (Kangerdluarsikajik) close to the east of Sermiligaq.

I may append a list of some of the most common East Greenland place names, to show the corresponding forms used by Holm and by myself. The first, which owe their form mainly to Holm's West Greenland interpreter (Johan Petersen) and his accompanying missionary (Hanserak) on his "Konebaads-Expedition" along the east coast have been officially adopted on the charts and in the publications. They are in reality mixed East and West Greenlandic and the spelling is in accordance with Kleinschmidt's orthographic principles¹). Opposite these forms I give the same names in the form expressed by the Ammassalikers, written according to a simplified, phonetic principle²).

ESKIMO PLACE NAMES IN EAST GREENLAND.

Official forms (mixed West and East Greenlandic)	Phonetic forms (pure East Green- landic)	Official forms (mixed West and East Greenlandic)	Phonetic forms (pure East Green- landic)
Akerninak	Akernnak	Aputitek	Aputitéeq
Akorninarmiut	Akernernaarmeen	Auarket	Awarqan
Aluit	Aaluin	Erkiligartek	Erqilingaarteq
Aluk	Alik	Igdlerajik	I ^w tt ^w áaik
Amitsuarsik	Amitsuartik	Igdlitalik	Ittitalik
Angit	Angéen [Aneen]	Igdloluarsuk	Ittoluartiwin
Angmagsalik	Ammattalik (or -ling)	Ikatek	Ikkätternq
Aniserfik	Anisérpik	Ikerasak	Ikaasaq
Anoritok	Anoritéeq	Ikerasarsuak	Ikáaättiwaq
Apusinerajik	Apusiáain	Ikerasausak	Ikaasáasaq

¹) See Holm's remarks on his orthography p. 4.

²) The following rules may be noted: the double letters are spoken with at least double the duration of the single but without changing its quality (*ee* = *ē* in German *See*; *oo* = *o* in French *rose*, English *foe*); when *r* is followed by a consonant (e. g. *rm*), the latter is double (*r* with passive point of the tongue, raising the back of the tongue towards the uvula: *rmm*); *q* and *r* are uvular consonants, the first stopped, the latter open (fricative); *g* is an open consonant, usually sounded as a voiced fricative (as *g*, but replaced by some natives with the nasal *ŋ*); *c* is a loosely articulated *tj* or *ts* with the tongue blade against the gum (voiceless); *ng* is always a single sound (*ŋ*) and when this sound is double in some words, it should always be written with *ngng* (or *ŋŋ*). The combinations *ngm* and *ngn* of the West Greenland orthography are sounded as *mm* and *nn* (cf. p. 321). For further details regarding the relation between the spoken language and Kleinschmidt's orthography, see my papers in "Meddelelser om Grønland" XXXI (1904), especially p. 399, and XXXV (1910) pp. 527—529.

Official forms (mixed West and East Greenlandic)	Phonetic forms (pure East Green- landic)	Official forms (mixed West and East Greenlandic)	Phonetic forms (pure East Green- landic)
Ikermiut	Ikermeen	Norajik	Nooraing
Iluilek	Iliwileq	Norsit	Noorseet
Ingerkajarfik	Eerqiarpik	Nukasak	Nookasak
Ingmikertok	Immikeertoq	Nunakitit	Nunakitsin
Ingmikertorajik . . .	Immikéert ^w áain	Orsuluvial	Ortunuwiaq
Inigsalik	Eetsalik (Eecalik)	Pamiagdlik	Pamiättik
Isi	Ising	Patuterajuut	Paatutaaiwin
Kalerajuek	Qalé ^w rajiwiän	Pikiutdle	Pikeeteq
Kangarsik	Kangáarting (or -tik)	Puisak ³⁾	Puisáar or Pusisaar
Kangerdluarsikajik	Kangersuartikajik	Puisortok	Puijértoq
Kangerdlugsuak . . .	Kangersertuaq or Kangersuttuaq	Sagdliarusek	Sättiáaitseq
Kardlit	Qarteen	Sarfak	Sarpaq
Kasigiarmiut	Qasingiáaiwin	Sarfakajik	Sarpáain or Sarpáaie
Kekertarsuak	Qeertartiwaq	Sermiligak	Sermiligaq
Kekertarsuatsiak . .	Qeertartuättiaq	Sermilik	Sermilik
Kekertarsuit	Qeertáartiwin	Sivinganarsik	Sawaranaartik
Kekertausak	Qeertáalaq	Sivinganeq	Sawaraneq
Kernertuarsuit . . .	Qernertuartiwin	Tasiusak	Täseesar, Täseelar or Täseel ^w or
Kialinek	Kialeeq	Tasiusarsik	Täseeláartik
Kianartek	Qeeanarter	Tautsukajik	Taa ^w tcuk
Kingak	Qingáaq	Tingmiarmiut	Timmiarmeen
Kingorsuak	Qingngértuar	Tiningnekelak	Teeleqïtaaq
Kingua	Qingngua [Qinqua]	Torsukatak	Torsukatak
Kisuit ¹⁾	Qiliwin	Ukivirajik	Ukeewáain
Kugsuak	Kootiwaq	Umanak	Oommannaq
Kujanilik	Kujännilik	Umivik	Umeewing
Kumarmiut	Quármeen	Unartek	Oonarteq
Misutok	Misíttorng	Ungutok	Oonguttoq
Nanusek	Naneese(r)	Upernivik	Uperniwik
Naujanguit ²⁾	Naa ^w jänguit or Naa ^w jängiwin	Utorkarmiut	Utorqarmeen

¹⁾ Holm (1889) p. 347.²⁾ = Cape Dan.³⁾ Small island on 65° 48' N. lat.; 36° 20' W. long.

HOUSES AND TENTS.

HOUSES. — A plan of a house is shown in fig. 31, confer the description on pp. 35—38 (and p. 60). I measured the houses I visited and noted the building materials and number of windows, roof supports and beams, compartments on the platforms, lamps and boxes, as also the number of the occupants, their places and names. Most of these observations are noted in the Table on pp. 356—357 and the remainder chiefly in the following remarks. The personal names, however, will not be discussed, as I hope to deal with them in the 40th volume of the “Meddelelser om Grønland”, which will treat of the language and culture of the natives.

Technical names of various parts of the house: *itte* house; *ittiwa* his house (these are the regular East Greenland forms corresponding to the West Greenland *igdlo*, *iĽlo* and *igdlua*, *iĽlua*); *qaa^wŋ* roof; *toottaq* the longitudinal and highest beam of the roof; *paa^wkaait*, *paak^waatai* the cross beams of the roof (rarely, as in West Greenlandic, *aaweq*, plur. *aa^{hw}rit*); *qi^wkkän*, *qi^wkkälin* roof supports (also called *sukän*); *uän* (or *uuän*) the side walls of the house, of the room; *uätaa* his or its (the house's) side-wall; *iŋaamisaa* the sods covering the side walls; *paañutaai* pegs stuck into the sods of the walls; *aalisän* skins covering the walls, tapestry; *näleq* floor; *nätsiaat* the stones of the floor; *itter* the platform; *kile* the inner (back) end, or foot-end, of the platform; *talin* skins hanging between the places of the occupants on the platform; *qattät* skins covering the platform (as mats); *ittisaain* the beams of the platform; *aterŋ*, plur. *aterin* cross-beams supporting the *ittisaain*; *aterqerpiŋ* low prop supporting one end of *aterŋ* (such are placed along the foot end of each roof support); *qaanerŋ* the space between platform and floor; *ippät* the side platforms; *eepe* the window platform; *aké* the space between the *eepe* and floor; *katak* inner doorway, innermost end of the entrance passage; *eppertäk* the part of the front wall between the two windows; *pattisaain* two upright stones on either side of the inner entrance, door-posts; *qaawilisaa* the stone overlier resting on the door-posts; *iseeia* the entrance passage (rarely *tortcooa*); *qiŋaar* air-hole in the roof; *attät* dung hill before the entrance of the house.

Accurate measurements of the houses in East Greenland were first made by G. Holm in the Ammassalik district; later, measurements of house-ruins in districts occupied in ancient times were made by G. Amdrup between Ammassalik and the mouth of Scoresby

Sound¹⁾, by C. Ryder²⁾ in Scoresby Sound itself and by the Danmark Expedition in the northern regions³⁾.

Whilst Ryder only found houses of the small type — the largest he measured had an interior area of 3·8 by 2·7 m., the smallest of 2·5 by 1·6 m. — and as a rule grouped in small villages (altogether 50 houses divided over 7 settlements), Amdrup discovered both small and large houses (“long-houses”), sometimes single, sometimes in small groups. Two different principles of building seem thus to overlap in central East Greenland. It is characteristic of the present building method of the Ammassalikers, that they only build one house at each place and that it is occupied as a rule by several families, sometimes of 8 or 10. The northernmost house of undoubted Ammassalik origin, found as a ruin by Amdrup, is at *Nordre-Aputitek* (67° 48' N. lat.)⁴⁾. Amdrup ascertained, that it was not more than a generation old, having been built and occupied by one still living at Ammassalik (see p. 345). Only a few miles further south Amdrup found a second house of the Ammassalik “long-house” type, at *Nualik* (67° 15' N. lat.). This was the tragically famous “dead house”, in which all the inhabitants were found dead from famine or poisoning (see p. 344). Some of the implements found were recognized by the Ammassalikers as belonging to certain persons. This house had an area of 8·1 by 6·5 m.⁵⁾. The largest “long-house” was found a little more to the south, at Cape Warming (67° N. lat.); it was 11 by 10 m. The following are the smallest houses Amdrup measured in the Ammassalik district⁶⁾:

The House at Lilleø (66° 57' N. lat.): 1·9 by 2·2 m.

House no. 4 at Nordfjord (66° 18' N. lat.): 1·9 by 1·6 m.

House no. 6 at Storø (66° 15' N. lat.): 2·8 by 2·2 m.

These houses are inferior in size to the smallest house which I have measured, the house at *Iserpalukittoq* in Sermilik Fjord: 4·9 by 4·3 m., with three families, 4 family compartments, 15 people in all. In the smallest houses of the northern type there could only have lived one or at most two families in each and no doubt the same is true of the smallest houses measured by Amdrup in the

¹⁾ G. Amdrup, “Meddelelser om Grønland” XXVIII (1909) pp. 302—313, figs. 1—4.

²⁾ C. Ryder, “Medd. om Grønland” XVII (1895) p. 297, figs. 1—2.

³⁾ C. Bendix Thostrup, “Medd. om Grønland” XLIV (1911), passim.

⁴⁾ Amdrup: “The former Eskimo settlements on the East coast of Greenland” in “Medd. om Grønland” XXVIII p. 311. This settlement is mentioned by G. Holm in his “Beretning om Konebaads-Expeditionen”, “Medd. om Grønland” IX (1889) p. 222.

⁵⁾ Amdrup (1909) p. 304. Illustrations of the “dead house” at Nualik pp. 302—307.

⁶⁾ Id. *ibid.* pp. 299—301, cf. 319—320.

Ammassalik district. Within this, between *Nordre-Aputitek* and *Sermilik*, both small houses and long-houses have been found side by side. It seems as if a gradual transition has taken place from the smaller type to the larger, the latter being a specialized form which has developed in a part of Greenland where the social and economic conditions have assumed a peculiar character.

The ground-plan of the house is approximately rectangular, but the back wall is somewhat longer than the front wall; the difference is sometimes fairly considerable (see the Table, houses Nos. XII and XIII). The width (depth) of the house is sometimes larger than the length of the back wall and platform (just as in the houses in the northern regions of East Greenland¹).

The measurements of the height show, that the roof is by no means flat, but always slopes up from the sides, as a rule in two planes with a straight middle line, more seldom nearly arched. The highest beam lies parallel with the front wall, not through the middle line of the roof but nearer to the back than the front wall, namely, almost directly over the edge of the main platform, where the longest house props stand. The longest and heaviest beam of the roof lies in this line and supports the cross-beams, which rest with their one end on this and at their other on the upper edge of the wall. These cross-beams usually lie at a little distance from one another, but parallel. I have seen them placed like a fan in the one part of the house and parallel in the other. The number of cross-beams varied between 8 and 14.

All the beams in the roof, the platform and house props are made from drift-wood. In house No. II the main beam of the roof consisted of several pieces of drift-wood fixed together; in the smaller houses a single beam is sufficient.

The roof is covered in addition by two layers of large, connected grass-sods. The withered grass hangs down below the roof like fringes between the beams and must not be pulled out. It is soon turned black from the lamp soot. Above the roof are laid old, stiff cast-off boat-skins, which are fastened down by stones (fig. 64). As the house is often built on sloping ground, the back of the roof in some houses reaches down almost to the ground.

The windows look out towards the sea. The gut-skin panes, if they are clean, are so transparent, that the sun can shine through. On clear days there is so much light inside at the window ledges that it is quite possible to read and write there. — Nowadays window-glass is used in several of the houses.

¹) Ryder (1895) p. 297; Amdrup (1909) pp. 315—316; Thostrup (1911) Pl. II.

The walls are built of regularly formed stones, almost uniform in size, with grass-turf between. The inner side of the wall is often partially covered with grass-turf or heath, held together by small pegs inserted between the stones. Just as from the roof the blackened ends of the grass hang down along the walls. But the part of the wall which runs across the back and the ends of the main platform, the largest part of the enclosure, is hung as a rule with a tapestry of skins. In No. V I noticed, that the hairy side of the skins was turned towards the wall, but among the skins of the back wall there were a few, which had the hairy side out towards the platform. (A few of the houses at *Taseesaq* had a part of the walls and floor covered with planks bought from the Danish trading station). — The thickness of the wall in No. XII was 94 to 100 cm. at the level of the chest.

The floor is usually the ground simply, or flat stones laid down without any order, as I found, for example, in No. XI. In No. IX, where the floor consisted merely of rocky ground, it was wet everywhere and here and there small pools formed from the dripping water of the melting snow and ice. It can readily be understood, that it has become the custom among these people always to draw off their boots before they take their places on the platform.

The platform is the true home of the family, where the sense of cleanliness of the people comes to light. They have some notion of dirt and seek to avoid soiling the places, where the work of the household is done. Boots and coats are taken off before they get up on the platform and laid on the drying-frame over the lamp. — On the other hand, the stone-floor is only regarded as a part of the ground, common to all, even to the dogs (that is, the females and their puppies, which they whelp on the floor under one of the window-platforms). It is only cleaned, when the roof is removed in the summer, so that the elements have freedom to carry out their own ways of cleaning before the next winter.

The house props which support the roof, are usually heavy, finely rounded posts (tree-stems with the bark removed, naturally drift-wood from the Siberian rivers), especially in the principal row along the edge of the platform, which marks off the different places on this. There was an exception in house No. VII, where the prominent hunter Qilertaanalik had two props in front of his place on the platform, which was specially broad. The second row stands over on the other side, before the end of the side platform or at the window platforms, more rarely free out on the floor. In a few houses there are three rows of supports, the lowest being quite near to the windows or at the inner entrance.

Measurements of the interior of 11 inhabited

No. of house	Name of the place	Interior of the house						Number of windows	Windows ⁴⁾ Width and height			
		Length ¹⁾	Breadth ²⁾		Height ³⁾							
		m.	m.	m.	m.	m.	m.		m.	m.	m.	m.
I	Taseesaq	4·65	6·20		<i>a</i> 2·27	<i>b</i> 2·02	<i>c</i> 1·00	2	¹⁾ 0·55 × 0·47	²⁾ 0·76 × 0·42		
II	—	6·38	5·14		<i>a</i> 2·25	<i>b</i> 2·13	<i>c</i> 1·00	3	¹⁾ 1·02 × 0·54	²⁾ 0·52 × 0·86		
III	—	7·72	5·00		<i>a</i> 2·00		<i>c</i> 0·94	2	¹⁾ 1·20 × 0·54	²⁾ 1·12 × 0·54		
IV	—	4·85	5·68		<i>a</i> 2·01	<i>b</i> 1·77	<i>c</i> 0·92	2	¹⁾ 0·73 × 0·55	²⁾ 0·73 × 0·52		
V	Ikkatter	6·13	<i>a</i> 5·97	<i>b</i> 5·00	<i>a</i> 2·15		<i>c</i> 1·90	2	0·99 × 0·55			
VI	Sawaranaartik .	7·80	6·06		<i>a</i> 2·22		<i>c</i> 1·53	3	0·99 × 0·65			
VII	Immikeertaain .	6·42	5·29		<i>a</i> 1·92		<i>c</i> 1·67	2	0·84 × 0·44			
VIII	Sarpaq	9·88	5·65		<i>a</i> 2·13		<i>c</i> 1·80	3	1·30 × 0·60			
IX	Teeleqūtaaq . . .	9·26	5·94		<i>a</i> 2·00		<i>c</i> 1·55	3(?)	¹⁾ 1·48 × 0·76	²⁾ 1·45 × 0·47		
X	Iserpalukittoq . .	4·90	4·30		<i>a</i> 1·84		<i>c</i> 1·44	2	0·78 × 0·65			
XI	Qeqertaalaq . . .	4·50	<i>a</i> 6·00	<i>b</i> 4·30	<i>a</i> 1·98		<i>c</i> 1·79	2	0·70 × 0·42			

- 1) The length of the middle line through the house along the edge of the main platform.
2) The breadth has only been measured along the one side-wall, when the house was considered
3) The height was measured from floor to roof, first (*a*) under the main beam, where it is between the platform and the front wall and lastly (*c*) right out at the front wall near to
4) Where 3 windows are noted, the middle one was over the entrance and was smaller than the
5) The measurements of height and breadth (interior) were made as a rule at the outer opening of
6) The distinction between children and adults is based on an estimate, as very few know their nearly correct.
7) The family stalls, only on the main platform, are separated by hanging skins (¹/₂ or ³/₄ m.
8) Row *a* stands under the main beam, along the edge of the main platform; *b* nearer the front between the window platform and the roof.
9) Work-boxes of the men, also used as footstools when sitting on the edge of the platform.

Measurements of seven house ruins.

No. of house	Name of the place	Length	Breadth	Number of windows	Passage-way		
					Length	Breadth	Height
		m.	m.		m.	m.	m.
XII	Ammaain	<i>a</i> 8·02 <i>b</i> 7·45	3·60	3 (?)	7·52	0·71 (0·63)	?
XIII	Saluarsiwaq	<i>a</i> 5·34 <i>b</i> 4·52	<i>a</i> 4·24 <i>b</i> 5·00	1	5·52	?	"
XIV	Ikaaättiwaq <i>I</i> . . .	9·98	5·04	3 (?)	7·43	"	"
XV	Ikaaättiwaq <i>II</i> . .	5·92	3·23	?	"	"	"
XVI	Uperniwik	10·94	4·05	"	6·96	"	"
XVII	Igalaaqagitseq . .	6·90	<i>a</i> 1·92 <i>b</i> 2·50	0 (?)	?	0·71 (0·58)	0·94
XVIII	Atteqin	6·95	<i>a</i> 4·24 <i>b</i> 4·42	?	6·96	?	?

The boxes of the men were mentioned on p. 40 and will be described later. In No. XI the occupant of the middle platform (a woman) used a stone as foot-stool instead of a box.

The window platforms and the side platforms are sometimes built of flat stones instead of wood (e. g. in No. XI). The lamp supports in front of the platform are also partly of stone, partly

houses in the Ammassalik and Sermilik Fjords.

Passage-way ⁵⁾			Number and sex of inhabitants ⁶⁾					Number of family-stalls ⁷⁾	Number of lamps	Number of sup-ports ⁸⁾	Number of boxes ⁹⁾	No.
Length	Breadth	Height	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	All told					
m.	m.	m.										
?	0.82	1.08	5	5	6	3	19	5	5	a 5 b 3	?	I
"	1.18	0.99	8	8	10	15	41	6	6	a 5 b 1	5	II
2.80	1.33	0.92	5	7	6	10	28	8	8	a 7	5	III
?	0.89	0.99	5	6	4	4	19	5	6	a 4 b 2	2	IV
"	0.71	0.94	5	5	5	6	21	5	5	a 4 b 1	5(?)	V
"	0.77	0.94 (0.79)	9	7	9	3	28	6	7	a 5 b 1	6(?)	VI
"	0.92 (0.63)	0.97	6	7	5	6	24	6	7	a 6 b 2 c 1	?	VII
"	0.71	0.94	6	11	6	9	32	9(?)	9	a 8 b 3	"	VIII
"	0.60	0.86	6	10	8	9	33	10	10	a 10 b 2 c 3	"	IX
"	0.66	0.89	3	4	5	3	15	4	4	a 3 b 1 c 1	"	X
5.50	0.81	0.94	1	3	2	5	11	3	3	a 3 c 1	2	XI

to be built symmetrically; in V and XI both side-walls (*a* and *b*) were measured. highest and the supports stand furthest in along the edge of the main platform, then (*b*) halfway the entrance. others. Two windows measured only in I, II, III, IV and IX, in the other houses only one in each. the passage, but in VI and VII also furthest up in the passage, just before the ascent into the house. own age. I have not always noted the sex of the children, but the proportion is without doubt high); they are of varying width, according to the size of the family. wall, free out on the floor or at the edge of the window platforms; *c* right at the front wall,

of wood, sometimes only a large, flat stone. On these stand the lamps, water-bowls, meat-troughs and other articles of use.

The house entrance is so low and narrow, that it is only with very considerable bending of the body that one can crawl through and it is impossible for two grown-up persons to pass in it. In the course of winter also the damp heat streaming out from the house leaves a thick layer of ice along the bottom, roof and walls of the passage, so that this become even more narrowed and it is even more difficult to crawl in and out through it. When this ice-wall melts in spring, the entrance is steeping wet everywhere and very uncomfortable to pass through. — The length of the interior of the passage is greater than the outer length, as it reaches some distance into the house, almost to the inner edge of the window platforms. In entering from the opening of the passage, therefore, one is already some way into the house. In No. XI, for example, almost 1.2 m. of the passage lay inside the house wall, which has to be added to the length outside (5.63 m.) to give the whole length of the passage. Both the height and the breadth of a passage often vary from the

one end to the other. In No. VI the height of a section (measured on the inside) was 94 cm. at the outer entrance, but in at the wall of the house only 78 cm.

In No. XI there was exceptionally no step up from the bottom of the passage into the house; the passage and floor lay at the same level.

The passage is an excellent ventilator. In spring, if there is bright sunshine and the house is overheated, an opening is sometimes made in the roof. In Nos. VII and VIII there was a permanent hole for ventilation in the roof close inside the entrance (just as in West-Greenland). — Any door to the opening is quite unknown among these Eskimo. In West Greenland the outer end of the passage is provided with a wooden door or shutter, attached by hinges to a quare frame. It is only in a few of the Ammassalik houses, that such a wooden frame (fig. 65) has replaced the large, fine stones, which usually mark both the outer and inner openings.

Outside the house we find the caches, pits or cellars in the ground covered over with a heap of stones, which are intended for keeping the blubber or dried meat. At house No. I there were 3 of these stone cellars; in No. V one man had 3, another only 1. In addition, each hunter has one or several stone cellars further away from the house, where the booty is kept for a time, until a favourable opportunity presents itself for bringing it home (see p. 131).

Immediately outside the outer entrance lies the refuse-heap, which at many houses has the appearance of a broad mound.

The ruin at *Ingalaqangitseq* (the name means “windowless”) in the Ammassalik Fjord appeared to be very old. The tradition was, that the house was built with no windows, because the inhabitants were afraid of heavy thunder-storms (*katterin*), which sometimes broke over the fjord. In the one corner at the back wall (away from the coast) there was a hole in the wall, which might have been a reserve exit, provided with a flat, thin covering stone. It opened out on to a peculiar hollow or trench running along the outside of the back wall.

The Ammassalikers only use wood now as building material (in addition to stone and turf), but in most of the districts which have been inhabited by Eskimo old houses have been found, in which whale-bone (ribs, vertebrae, jaw-bones and crow-bones) have been used, as rafters in the roof or to cover over the passage or even to completely replace all wood-work in the house (in districts where drift-wood is scarce). In his “*Historia gentium septentrionalium*” (1555) Book 2, chap. 9, Olaus Magnus reported:



Fig. 64. Eskimo house in a cove of Tasiusak fjord. Back wall and roof. The roof skins are kept down by heavy stones and snow. (W. Thalbitzer phot., spring 1906).



Fig. 65. The entrance of the house. The snow is level with the walls. (W. Thalbitzer phot.).

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“Their (the Greenlanders’) houses resemble hulls of ships with the keel uppermost; they are built of the ribs of whales and are covered with moss and heather.” At South Cape in Scoresby Sound, Ryder found houses, in which ribs of whales were used in the roof and vertebrae of whales in the passage¹). Also in southern West Greenland houses have been found built of whale-bone²). In the northernmost districts at Smith Sound, Feilden states, that “on the shores of Buchanan Strait we came upon deserted settlements containing the ruins of many igloos; in one instance the ribs of a large cetacean had been used as the rafters of a hut”³). Knud Rasmussen stayed the night in an old house in Wolstenholme Sund, in which the cross-beams in the roof were whale ribs⁴). The same building material is met with more or less sporadically over the whole of the Eskimo region westwards and probably everywhere as a by-gone stage. I may just mention Frobisher’s description of houses “raised with stones and whale-bones and a skinne layd over them” in *Meta incognita* (Baffin’s Land)⁵), F. Boas’ reference to the houses of the Central Eskimo⁶), E. W. Nelson’s description of a whole Eskimo village on the point of East Cape, Siberia, consisting of “dome-shaped” houses in which whale-ribs were used⁷), just as in the dome-shaped Iglulik house north of Hudson Bay, and to John Murdoch’s description of the Eskimo house at Point Barrow, North Alaska⁸). The approximately round form of the West Eskimo whale-rib houses is naturally determined by the material, the curved ribs meeting each other over the top in the same way as tent-poles in a tent.

¹) Ryder (1895) p. 289.

²) Grønlands historiske Mindesmærker III, p. 694 footnote 5.

³) Nares, Narrative (1875) p. 188.

⁴) Rasmussen (1906) p. 85.

⁵) Frobisher (1577) pp. 225—226 and 300: “Upon the maine land over against the Countesses [of Warwicke] Iland we discovered and behelde to our great marvell the poore caves and houses of those countrey people, which serve them (as it should seeme) for their winter dwellings, and are made two fadome under grounde, in compasse round, like to an oven, being joyned fast one by another, having holes like to a foxe or conny berry, to keepe and come together. From the ground upward they builde with whales bones, for lacke of timber, which bending one over another are handsomely compacted in the top together, and are covered over with seales skinnes, which in stead of thiles, fence them from the raine. In which house they have only one roome, having the one halfe of the floure raised with broad stones a foot higher than ye other, whereon strawing mosse, they make their nests to sleep in”.

⁶) F. Boas (1888) p. 548 (“the walls being formed of stones and whale-ribs”); 1901 pp. 76 and 401 (Southampton Island), 96 (Aivilik, Repulse Bay).

⁷) Nelson (1899) p. 257 (figs. 85 and 86) and p. 265.

⁸) Murdoch (1892) p. 72, foot-note 2.

Three types of Eskimo houses are contrasted with one another and two of them, at any rate, are found represented both in the east and west: (1) the roundish, dome-shaped type, with whale-bone as material, (2) a rectangular type, in which the material consists of wood, stones and turf; (3) and a pear-shaped house, mainly built of stones and turf. The first type is found from the northernmost coasts on the Bering Strait (the Siberian Eskimo on the Bering Strait used to build an oval, low stone-wall, on which they raised a dome-shaped framework of whale-ribs, covering these with hairless walrus skin)¹⁾ to the regions of Hudson Bay, Davis Strait and East Greenland; the use of whale-ribs in ancient Greenland houses is evidence of an original connection with this type. The rectangular type of house has been sketched from Alaska²⁾, in company with the usual Eskimo features (long, underground passage; oil lamps along the platform; roof built with a double slope and ridge), which leave one with the impression, that it is not very different from the rectangular house we find in South Greenland and Ammassalik; according to the results of the Amdrup Expedition it occurs as high up on the east coast of Greenland as at 67°48' N. lat.³⁾. Lastly, there is the pear-shaped type, described especially by Peary⁴⁾, Kroeber⁵⁾ and Steensby⁶⁾ from among the Smith Sound Eskimo. It is characterized by two small side-extensions in the front part of the house, containing the side-platforms. This type is also found in a number of houses in North-East Greenland⁷⁾. It is possible, that the houses in Scoresby Sound, where Ryder observed a niche in the side-walls, belonged to the same type⁸⁾. It is not found at Ammassalik; but one of its characteristic features, the fact that the depth of the house is greater than its length across the front, is frequently noticed in the rectangular form of the Ammassalikers. The Greenland forms of house are on the whole mostly rectangular, even the pear-shaped house in the ground-plan. It seems, however, that the house of the Smith Sound Eskimo forms a transitional type between the Greenland rectangle and the circle or approximately circular ground-plan of the Central Eskimo (Southampton Island) as seen in the dome-shaped form of house. The pear-shaped type in Greenland is without doubt a relict of the Mackenzie Eskimo house, in which the side-wings are

¹⁾ Nelson (1899) p. 257 (figs. 85 and 86) and p. 265.

²⁾ Nelson; Murdoch; Barnum (Grammatical Fundamentals 1907, p. 304).

³⁾ See p. 353.

⁴⁾ Peary (1898) pp. 108 and 270.

⁵⁾ Kroeber (1899) pp. 270—271.

⁶⁾ Steensby (1910) pp. 311—324, figs. 8, 11 and 14.

⁷⁾ Thostrup (1911) Pl. II, nos. 313—319, 392—401, 406—407 etc.

⁸⁾ Ryder (1895) pp. 294, 297. Cf. Thostrup (1911) Pl. II, nos. 522—524.

so large, that the resemblance with a pear is no longer present; Petitot compares the form with a Grecian cross¹). This only applies, however, to the inner construction of the house. The outer is dome-shaped, covered by earth and snow. The light comes in through a window, which is placed on the top of the dome, an arrangement unknown further east, so far as I am aware, but it agrees with the house form of the western Eskimo, where the entrance is often through the roof. This does not mean, that these houses lack the usual, long entrance (underground in the west).

It is a question, whether there exists a genetic relation between the dome-shaped on the one hand and the cross-shaped or pear-shaped type on the other. I am of the belief, that both forms are equally typical of the winter dwellings of the Eskimo, as they occur side by side over the greater part of the Eskimo territory, the former however predominating towards the west (Bering Strait), the latter towards the east (from Mackenzie River to Davis Strait). The material has practically determined the development of the dome-shaped type; the use of whale ribs in place of tent-poles must necessarily lead to this form (cf. Frobisher's description above p. 359, footnote) and it thus belongs naturally to the districts where the Eskimo have been keen whale hunters. But the other type, the house of the Mackenzie River Eskimo, is probably more deeply rooted in the early history of the Eskimo people, as it (as I think) must be connected with the Siberian "earth-tent", the winter-dwelling of the Ob-Ugrian peoples (Ostyakes, Wogules, Samoyedes and others) as described in recent years by Sirelius²). The rectangular, central structure in the Mackenzie house, with the sloping beams of the side wall leaning against its uppermost wooden frame-work and with the flat roof above, might be an American expansion of the "earth-tent". The fact, that it is not known from the northern part of Alaska is of no importance, since archæological investigations with excavation of ruins have not been carried out there. The characteristic roof-supports in the house of the eastern Eskimo

¹) Petitot: *Vocabulaire Francais-Esquimau* (1876) pp. XXI—XXII; *Les Grands Esquimaux* (1887) pp. 49—50; figs. IV and V.

²) Sirelius (1906) pp. 74—104, (1907) pp. 120—127 and (1909) pp. 17—113. — H. P. Steensby in his work on the origin of the Eskimo Culture (1905) has made a one-sided comparison of the Eskimo house, viz. the house-type of the Mackenzie River, with the hut of the Prairie Indians (Mandan Indians). The resemblance does not seem to me striking and the argument with regard to the origin of the Eskimo type loses its value, because the author has not taken the Siberian house and tent forms into account. Comp. my review in "*Geografisk Tidsskrift*" (Copenhagen) 1907—08, pp. 219—220.

(especially of the Greenlanders) probably have their archetype in the four corner-supports of the Mackenzie house; further, the illustration in Petitot seems to indicate, that roof-supports occur also along the edge of the main platform¹⁾, just as in the Greenland house. It is only in North-East Greenland, that the houses seem to have no roof-supports; they have been so small, in fact, that these were quite unnecessary. On the other hand, the supports (props) were needed to bear the roof in the large, long house, which appears in South Greenland, both on the east and west coast, especially in the south. It remains uncertain, whether this is an ancient character, preserved from the house-type of the Mackenzie Eskimo, or whether it has arisen independently in Greenland.

Hans Egede described the winter-houses of South-West Greenland²⁾ as square, built of stones and turf, 4 to 6 feet high, with the roof quite flat, the largest occupied by as many as 8 families, with 10 to 20 (?) lamps. This agrees with the largest houses at Ammassalik. In northern West Greenland such large houses are unknown³⁾. A remarkable thing about the settlement in South Greenland is, that both large and small houses are found in the same districts⁴⁾. Oblong houses alternate with those in which the depth is greater than the length of the front, cf. the measurements from Ammassalik, noted p. 356. In the latter I see an intermediate form between the original small houses (for 1 or 2 families) and the long houses as described by Egede which now only occur at Ammassalik. — There is no doubt, that the internal arrangement of the Greenland house agrees precisely with Eskimo custom and use elsewhere. The platform along the back wall, where each family lives separate, with the hanging skins between, each with a lamp in front of its compartment, is a true Eskimo feature, which is found again in the dome-shaped houses of the Siberian Eskimo⁵⁾. The long entrance is also found everywhere, and the position of the windows as well as other essential features appears again further to the west. But the idea of the long and narrow, distinctly rectangular houses in South Greenland, where practically a whole village of

¹⁾ Petitot (1887) fig. V.

²⁾ Hans Egede, *Perlustration* (1741) pp. 63—64; *Relation* (1738) pp. 153, 155, 157 (one settlement consisting of houses with 30 families in all, another one of 7 houses with 40 families).

³⁾ Cf. Rink (1857) p. 242.

⁴⁾ Rink (*ibid.* pp. 242—245, 326—327) explained this fact by referring to the decline in the social conditions of the civilised West Greenlanders; but I do not think he was right in this assumption.

⁵⁾ Nelson (1899) p. 258.

families live under one roof, is not typically Eskimo; it may have been adopted by the Eskimo in the middle ages on becoming acquainted with the large, rectangular buildings of the Icelanders in *Vestribygð* and *Eystribygð*. Add to this, that they realized, on trying this arrangement, that it brought them both social and economic advantages, as G. Holm¹⁾ and Amdrup²⁾ have already pointed out.

The almost circular stone-house of the Southampton Island Eskimo would appear to be a combination of the dome-shaped whale-rib house (in the upper structure) and the Mackenzie River house-type, and the same may perhaps be said of the Smith Sound Eskimo's house. The latter have, further, it seems, with great ingenuity added a new feature to the construction of their houses in the skilful manner with which they build the roof.

The snow-house, the well-known winter dwelling of the Central Eskimo, belongs to the high-arctic regions. Here we find that they have adopted the custom of building semicircular walls of snow blocks to shelter them from the piercing wind, when they are out on the watch at the breathing holes of the seal, often for a whole day³⁾. Would it be too far-fetched to suggest that the Eskimo might have possibly borrowed the idea of their dome-shaped snow-houses from the snow burrows of the seals on the ice⁴⁾?

In wide areas of the Central Eskimo region the snow house is the only kind of winter-house, but this is no doubt a later development. Turner⁵⁾ mentions expressly, that in Hudson Strait "in former times these people inhabited permanent winter-houses like those used by the Eskimo elsewhere, as is shown by the ruins of sod and stone houses to be seen in various parts of the country. These appear to have had walls of stone built up to support the roof timbers, with the interstices filled up with turf or earth". — The form of the combined snow-house from the central regions (Iglulik etc.), consisting of four circular domes built together, strongly

¹⁾ Holm, here p. 186; (1888) p. 204.

²⁾ Amdrup (1909) pp. 320—321.

³⁾ Parry (1824) Pl. between pp. 172—173, cf. Boas (1888) p. 477.

⁴⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 271: "Later in the winter the seals resort to very considerable cracks among the hummocks for air, and nets are set hanging around these cracks — — —. At this season there are frequently to be found among the hummocks what the native call *iglus*, dome-shaped snow houses about 6 feet in diameter and 2 or 3 feet high, with a smooth round hole in the top, and communicating with the water. These are undoubtedly the same as the snow burrow described by Kumlien (Contributions p. 57), which the female seal builds to bring forth her young in. They are curious constructions, looking astonishingly like a man's work."

⁵⁾ Turner (1894) p. 228.

resembles the type of the pear-shaped house and serves the same purpose¹⁾.

TENTS (p. 42, figs. 66 to 70). — I took the following measurements of tents at Ammassalik:

Kooitse's tent: height at the entrance 2.75 m.
 length of ground-plan (along back of tent, externally) 6.12 m.
 breadth (along sides of tent) 6.06 m.
 Sakarias' tent: height 2.6 m.
 length 4.79 m.
 breadth 4.96 m., breadth of entrance 1.0 m.

Technical Names: *tupeq* tent; *paaia* entrance; *qanaai* tent-poles; *qimeetaa* the middle (longest) tent-pole; *qipiñuätak* the two sloping poles at the entrance; *qanaterpia*, or *qanerpia*, *sännersaa* the bent overlier, cross-beam supported by the sloping poles (and on which the upper end of the tent poles rests); *nuércaataan*, *mimaautaataa* thong (or thongs) wound round the overhanging cross-beam and binding the tent-poles to the latter; *umiän* (plur.) tent curtain (below the overhanging beam); *qalárqat*, *qalarai* the tent skins, its skin; *kiliwät* the seams (between the sewn skins); *tartin^waa* side of the tent; *miñippia* the side of the curtain, which is kept closed; *ammarpia* the side of the curtain (on the right, seen from outside), which is opened; *perñiwai* the stones weighting down the lowermost part of the tent skins to the ground (tent ring).

The central structure in the tent is a kind of archway or port, consisting of two sloping supports and a bent overlier²⁾. An entry or space is formed in front of the archway and in front of the curtain, which hangs down from the arched overlier (*sännersaa*), by the tent poles projecting some distance beyond the latter and the tent skins thus falling down outside the poles which support the overlier. They are held stiff below by means of two poles placed sloping forwards (see figs. 66 to 68). — The planks of the platform, lamps, drying frames, boxes etc. are brought from the winter-house. In the latter there is always a partition of skins between the separate compartments of the families, but a summer tent has no partition, as it is only occupied by one family.

The tent observed by Clavering in 1823 on the south side of Clavering Island (74° N. lat.), which was occupied by a family of 12

¹⁾ Parry (1824) p. 500, the figure. Cf. Boas (1888) fig. 496 etc., and (1901) fig. 140.

²⁾ Similar overliers (cross-pieces of tent-poles), consisting of heavy pieces of whale-bone, are found on Southampton Island in Hudson Bay. Boas (1907) p. 389. fig. 183.



Fig. 66. Tent frame, front view. (J. Petersen phot.).



Fig. 67. Tent frame, side view. (J. Petersen phot.).

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Fig. 68. Tent frame, back view. (J. Petersen phot.).



Fig. 69. A man kindling fire by drilling, assisted by a woman, in the front room of a tent. (J. Petersen phot.).

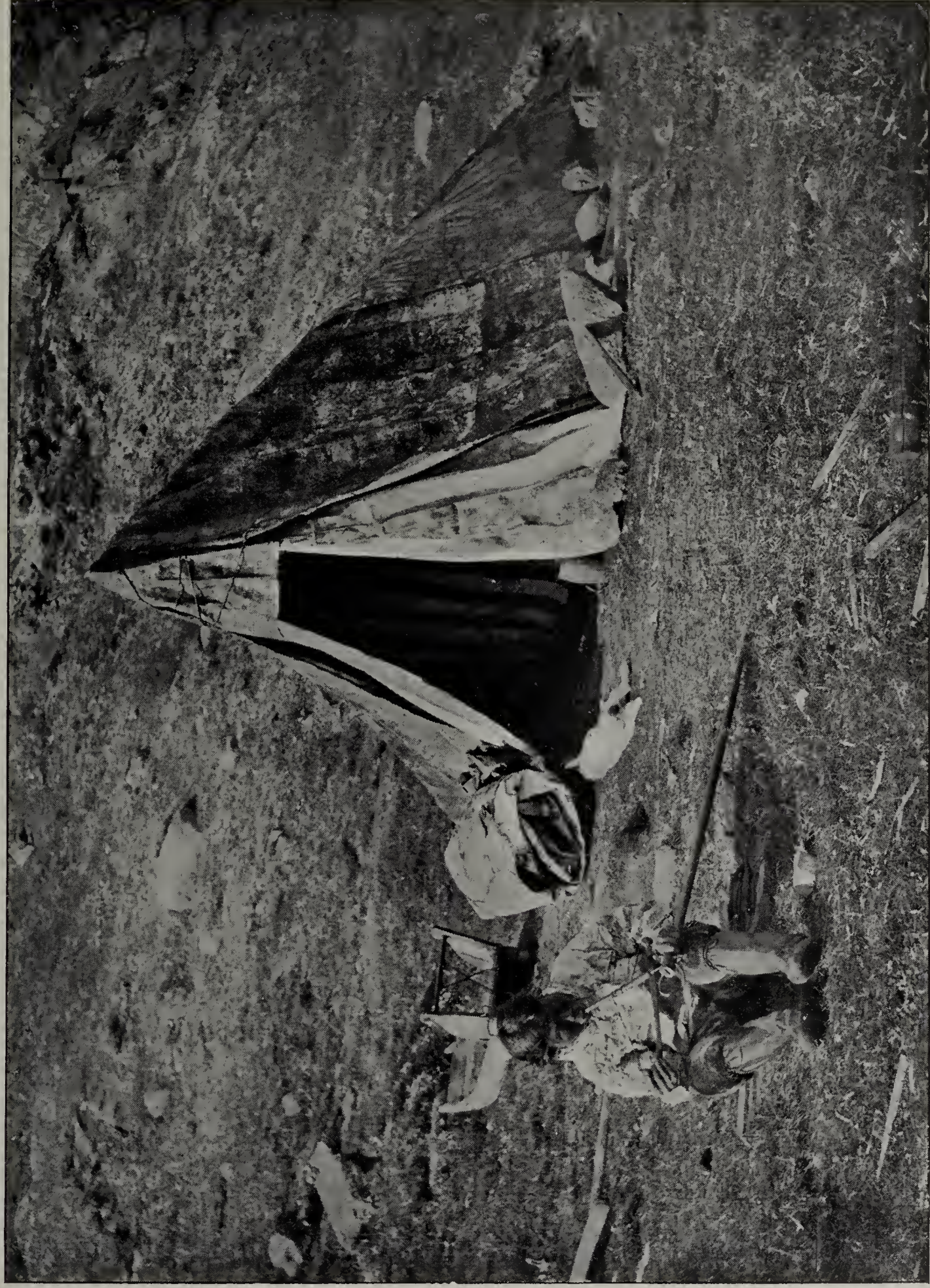


Fig. 70. Tent complete. In the foreground a man about to drill a hole in a harpoon shaft. (J. Petersen phot.).

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persons, was almost 12 feet in circumference and 5 feet high. "The framework was composed of wood and whalebone"¹).

Graah describes a tent from the southern part of the coast, which he saw in 1829 at *Illuilek* (about 68° 30' N. lat.) and gives a picture of a tent²). Here the space in front is formed as an independent construction of 4 supports, connected together above by cross-sticks which reach right over to the uppermost part of the archway and appear to be bound to the outermost tent poles. His remark that "the tent space is usually surrounded by a 4 foot high wall", probably only refers to the fact, also known from Ammassalik, that quite a low wall of stones and turf is built in a circle, on which rest on the one hand the lowermost ends of the tent poles, on the other the border of the platform at the back of the tent. I know nothing to indicate, that there is a free wall round the tent; in West Greenland, on the other hand, there may be a short wall in front of its entrance with openings to both sides, which mainly serves the purpose of shelter (*qanisaq*, Kleinschmidt's Dictionary p. 130) and such a wall can also be seen in Graah's figure.

Hans Egede's description of the tents of the South-West Greenlanders in the 18th century agrees with what we find at Ammassalik³). The skins used in the interior of the tent, apart from the sealskins, were reindeer skins with the hairy side out towards the interior of the tent. The outer, hairless skin was made water-tight by smearing it over with blubber. "Each head of a family has such a tent for himself and his family, along with a large women's boat for the removal of their tents and property".

Giesecke mentions (May 4, 1811) a special kind of tent from the Umanak Fjord in North-West Greenland, which he saw in 1811⁴):

"Wir nahmen bei dem Grönlander Thimoteus unser Nachtquartier. Er wohnte in einem *Ekortok*, einer Art Zelte, welche die Grönländer in Omenaksfjord im Frühjahre gebrauchen, um sich mehr vor der Kälte zu schützen. Sie gehen nicht wie im Sommer ganz schräg hinter zur Erde nieder, sondern die Felle werden auf der Rückseite gegen die Erde zu ganz perpendikular abwärts gebogen, die Brixen [platforms] werden dadurch schmaler aber auch etwas höher von der Erde gegen hinten zu. Der Eingang, durch welchen man kriechen muss, ist von behaarten Seehundefellen, und nicht, wie im Sommer, von Därmen. Ueber dem Eingange ist ein $\frac{3}{4}$ Ellen breites und $\frac{1}{2}$ Elle hohes Fenster von weissgegerbtem dünnem Seehundefell an-

¹) Clavering (1830) p. 21.

²) Graah (1832) p. 73.

³) H. Egede, *Naturel Historie* (1741) pp. 65—66; cf. German ed. (1763), p. 140 and Pl. IX.

⁴) Giesecke (1878), p. 237; 2nd Ed. (1910) p. 318.

gebracht. Es ist also im Zelte ziemlich dunkel. Doch helfen die Lampen zur Erleuchtung."

Ekortok probably means only, that the tent is of the kind used on the reindeer hunting up in the country (from *Upervivik Næs* there it is still the custom to go northwards into *Uwkusissät Fjord* to hunt the reindeer). The word may have been derived from the verb *ikorpoq* "camps in tent at a place for a time to hunt the district after reindeer" and it is probable, that it is related to *ikorfarpaa* "puts something under another to raise it higher, gives it a supporting base (*ikorfaq*)", so that the designation has originally referred to a special mode of constructing the tent. The Ammassalikers have a word derived from this, *ikerfersernej* "house-wall" (see p. 221).

The oldest sketch of an Eskimo tent is found in Frobisher¹⁾ and with all its brevity it happens to strike upon an interesting feature, suggesting the probable relationship between the construction of the tent and house (Mackenzie River type): "Their houses are tents made of Seale skins, pitched up with 4. Firre quarters foure square meeting at the top, and the skins sewed together with sinewes, and laid thereupon; they are so pitched up, that the entrance into them is alwayes South or against the Sunne". The latter statement does not agree with my experience; the entrance of the tent faces towards the shore and the sea.

SLEDGES AND BOATS.

SLEDGES (cf. pp. 44—45, 185—186, and figs. 36, 71—72, 77). — The most striking feature about the Ammassalik sledge is the great breadth of the uprights (upright posts), which are almost three times as broad below as above (fig. 71 is not quite typical in this regard, the uprights being narrower than usual; the correct condition is seen in fig. 36 and in my "Description of the Amdrup Collection" fig. 89). Above there is a narrow part like a neck and head, which serves as a handle, when the driver jumps off and steers the sledge "in the uprights". In West Greenland (Disko Bugt and further north) the sledges have thin, rounded poles as uprights. With regard also to the cross-bar, which connects the uprights above and keeps

¹⁾ Frobisher (1577) p. 225.

them at the right distance from one another (serving also as handle), there is the difference, that in West Greenland it is lashed to the uprights, in East Greenland fixed into holes in these.

The reason for the characteristic form of the uprights in the Ammassalik sledge may be, that the broad base below forms a guard for the baggage, which is usually placed on the hindmost part of the seat (here there are special holes in the broad cross-pieces of the seat for fixing the baggage). It often happens, in fact, when journeying on the uneven sea ice or along the ice-foot at ebb-tide, that the sledge runs against corners of screw-ice or ice hummocks. This might be a satisfactory explanation of the origin of this special type in this region of Greenland. On the northern part of the east coast, however, we only find sledges (or fragments of sledges) without uprights resembling the sledges of the Central Eskimo. Away from Ammassalik the uprights on the sledges are only used in northern West Greenland (wooden uprights of cylindrical poles) and in Baffins Land (reindeer horns); elsewhere the Eskimo sledges have no uprights. In addition to this, journeys are not made by sledge in the southernmost parts of the east coast, and sledges are not used, nor have they been used earlier on the part of the west coast, which lies south of Holstensborg (66° N. lat.). The type of the broad uprights used by the Ammassalikers is an isolated phenomenon, and it is not clear, what chance has given them the idea of the special form of their uprights¹).

Technical names: *kaatooleek*, *kaatoilin* sledge; *i^wnna* a sledge runner; *narciän* the foremost part of the runners; *pertaaiät* the bone keels of the runners; *ikaaritaat*, *ikaanutaat* the cross-pieces of the seat; *narciccar* the foremost cross-piece of the seat; *erqiwa* the hindmost part of the seat; *napaaiai* the uprights; *sannee^wtaa* the cross-bar between the uprights; *nutootaan* the cross-shaped straps between the uprights; *miaa^wlaa* strap fixed in a hole in the next last cross-piece of the seat for tying the baggage.

Measurements: sledge fig. 71: runners length 1.68 m.; height of uprights 41.5 cm., breadth below 31 cm., at the top (handle) 12 cm. The uprights diverge upwards, the runners downwards; distance between the uprights above 45 cm., at the seat 36 cm. The distance between the runners at the seat is 35.5 cm., at the keel 42.5 cm. Each of the uprights is fixed on the seat and held in position by means of 2 straps through two transverse holes in the runner and two corresponding holes in the nether part of the upright.

¹) See also my comparative study of the Eskimo sledge types in "Ethnological Description of the Amdrup Collection" pp. 388—395, cf. pp. 508—519.

Amareq's sledge had the following dimensions: length 153 cm., breadth 41 cm.; height of the runner 19·5 cm.; height of the uprights 44·5 cm.

Umeerinneq's sledge: length 174 cm., breadth 34 cm.; height of runner 16·5 cm. (in front), 18·5 cm. (behind); height of the upright 44·5 cm. (distance between the uprights above 46·5 cm., below 38 cm).

The Ammassalikers' sledge is smaller (shorter) than the West Greenlanders' and the form is also much narrower and lower.

The runners diverge not only vertically, but also horizontally, that is, they are not quite parallel. On one sledge I measured, the distance between the runners in front was 41·2 cm., behind 48·4 cm. On another sledge the same distances were respectively 32·6 and 39·2 cm. If the opposite condition prevailed, the sledge-runners in the passage over soft snow would collect the snow as in a funnel, to the detriment of the speed. As it is, the sledge acts rather like a snow-plough to some extent. — On an earlier occasion I have discussed the significance of the manner in which the bone keels are nailed to the underside of the runners¹). In the oblique position of the holes to one another and the oblique direction through the plane of the bone rails there is a definite intention, which experience must have taught these people. All tends to increase the solidity and speed of the sledge.

No tradition has been noted down from the Ammassalikers regarding the sledges of earlier times. Johan Petersen received no other information from them than that their sledges have always had the same kind of broad uprights as now, and in "olden days" have had still higher uprights and been broader(?).

Hans Egede's pictures of the West Greenlanders' sledges from the central and more northerly regions ("Perlustration eller Naturel-Historie", Plates to pp. 46 and 50) show a type which in all essentials agrees with the present in the same parts of the land. The uprights consist of a whole piece of wood, commonly a bent branch; the cross-bar is flat and straight and firmly attached to the uprights. The cross-pieces in the seat are narrow and evenly cut boards fixed at a small distance from each other. The points of the runners were straight, whereas nowadays they usually bend upwards. — The last of Egede's figures represents another type of sledge without uprights, which seems to have been used in the seal-hunting on the ice (ituartin). But, regarding whether this type was common in earlier times we have no further information than that given by this picture²).

¹) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 436—437 (cf. p. 496).

²) H. Egede (1741) p. 58 describes it as "lang Lav-skammel", a long low bench.

Thus, in contrast to the West Greenland features, the Ammassalikers have broad uprights, sometimes composed of two or several pieces, connected by a cross-bar, which has two downward, ornamental expansions with two holes for the cross-straps. The cross-pieces of the seat are some few, broad boards, fixed close to each other and with semicircular notches cut in their ends (*ilercilersinnerin*) probably for the straps which bind the boards to the runners. The fore ends of the runners are almost straight (or slightly bent upwards).



Fig. 71. Sledge from Ammassalik, upper side. (Holm coll.). C. $\frac{1}{14}$.



Fig. 72. Part of the under side of the sledge. $\frac{1}{10}$.

A common feature in the west and east coast sledges is seen in the cross (X)-shaped straps between the uprights. They might form a support to the back, but it may be noticed, that it is not the custom to lean back when driving in a sledge. This cross fills up the gap between the uprights and is intended to prevent the baggage from falling out. The sledges of the Smith Sound Eskimo have the same characteristic. On the other hand, these last are different from the sledges of the rest of Greenland, in that the cross-pieces of the seat (probably from want of wood) are very different in breadth and placed very irregularly on the runners,

whereas at Ammassalik as at Diskobugt the cross-pieces are of the same form and placed regularly. Even if they are not always of the same breadth at Ammassalik, they yet fill up the whole seat of the sledge, without openings between. — The cross-pieces (like the uprights) are everywhere lashed to the runners with seal-thongs, not fastened by nails. Only the former method could give the construction of the sledge the requisite elasticity and solidity to carry it safe and sound over the rough, uneven ways, hummocky ice or stony, frozen river-beds. The lashings are very solid (through double rows of holes in the cross-pieces and sides of the runners) and well protected in counter-sinkings.

That sledging, probably with the same kind of sledge as the Ammassalikers', has been in use some distance to the south of the Ammassalik-Sermilik district, at the time when the whole of the east coast as far as Cape Farewell was inhabited, is stated by G. Holm¹). Seal-hunting with the sledge in winter is said to have been carried on as far south as Kangerdlugsuatsiak Fjord at $60\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. lat. (cf. p. 341).

The small, elegant sledge of the Ammassalikers is drawn by 4 to 6 dogs and is able to carry two persons, but as a rule only one, the hunter. It contains in itself all the minutest details, which have made the Eskimo sledge an unsurpassed means of transport over the frozen ways on the sea, the fjords and the intervening stretches of land. Its construction in large and small is, at the least, just as intelligently adapted to the difficulties met with as our modern, four-wheeled carriages to our beaten and paved roads. Wheeled vehicles would be extremely unpractical for the hunter's life on the screw-ice fields over the sea, or on the wild whirlpools of snow-masses on the cliffs of the land. The smooth runners of the sledge glide over the uneven courses like a boat over the waves; it bears up on thin ice and on thinly frozen snow, where wheels would sink through. It is low, not easily overturned, even when tossed like a boat from one side to the other on journeying between ice-hummocks or through stony ravines. It is easily steered from poise and counterpoise, by means of a firm hold on the top of the uprights, the driver running behind the sledge when going up or down a steep slope. In such cases he springs off and either pushes behind, when going up, or hangs on to the uprights going down a slope, placing the feet in under the sledge, so that the whole of his weight is concentrated on the hindmost, sharp corners of the run-

¹) G. Holm in "Meddelelser om Grønland" VI (2nd ed. 1894, p. 68).

ners, which thus cut deep into the snow. At the same time, the space between the runners becomes filled with a heaped-up mass of snow, which is held fast there partly by his feet and offers great resistance in the glide downwards. If the slope is very steep, the dogs are always either outspanned from the sledge or have the one foreleg hitched up in the trace under the neck; otherwise they continue pulling with increasing speed. Sometimes indeed both dogs and sledge are half buried in the snow at the foot of a slope. In the course of the winter the sledge routes improve as a rule, the same track being followed between the settlements and hunting-grounds from day to day until the way becomes level and smooth.

These paths, which are effaced in the summer and are not to be found on any chart, belong to the tradition of the family and are known by old and young. A large number of them pass over fjords and sounds; for example, from Taseesaq over to the island Kulusuk and the islands north of this. Others follow the valleys inland, over the ice of the inland lakes, as from Taseesaq over the southern lake to Ikkatteq on the opposite side of the island or over the larger lakes in the middle of the country to Immikeertain and Sarpaq to Sermilik Fjord, or further north in Ammassalik Fjord from Kingorsuaq (*Qiyertiwaq*) to the head of Sermilik Fjord. The same lines of communication are followed by women and children, who must wander on foot, or by the men without sledges. If the snow is not good for sledging, the natives now generally use skis, which were unknown before the arrival of the Europeans, but were rapidly adopted when found to be extremely practical in the deep, soft snow, which often lies long into the winter¹).

When I passed the winter there, there was still unpassable snow for sledging in January. A great deal of snow had fallen, but it had not yet frozen hard and sledging was impossible on land; under the thick snow the sea-ice also was not yet solid. I had to be content, therefore, with short turns on the sledge out on the neighbouring fjord, where the ice was solid under the snow with training my new span of dogs there, but we went deep into the snow.

¹) If the snow is impracticable on foot, it may be suitable for skis. This was probably learnt by the Ammassalik Eskimo already in 1893—94, when a Norwegian whaler overwintered in *Taseesaq* and the Norwegian sailors showed the Eskimo, how skiing was done in Norway. Now every young man owns his skis and ski-pole. He covers the underside of the skis with sealskin, with the hair outwards (the southern West Greenlanders have the same device in skiing); in this way he does not slip backwards when going up a steep slope. The skis often help him out over brittle ice, where formerly he could not go. They are perhaps the only, real advance, the Europeans have brought him.

February and March were also unfavourable for sledging, with heavy snowfalls and storms. Sledges arrived some few times from the north, but the visitors quickly returned as soon as they had bought what they wanted, being afraid that the ice would break up and cut them off from home. It was not until April, when the snow lay high enough to cover the roof of our house after a heavy snowstorm on April 7th, that calm, cold weather set in which favoured sledging. Being accustomed to sledging from my winter in West Greenland I drove my own East Greenland sledge, with a span of 5 dogs, along the coast southwards. The tour lasted from the 12th to the 19th April and I was accompanied by the hunter Keersagaq, who carried our provisions and baggage on his sledge. Our route led first over the southern valley of the island and up over the heights between the *Aamangaa* and *Oongortoq* hills to Sermilik. This part of the journey I knew already from a ski-tour I had made in the winter-dark of January with my wife and 8 natives. Just as then we passed the night in the house at *Ikkatteq*. Next day we crossed the broad mouth of Sermilik Fjord, through a forest of frozen-in icebergs and enormous ice hummocks, and drove up on land again behind the mountain *Angeen*. Late in the day we reached the house at *Qeqertaalaq*, whose owner Nappartuko we had met on the way, with the skin of a bear he had just killed. I returned afterwards to Sermilik and in the following days visited all the settlements in this fjord, following the sledging routes which lay along the coasts and among the labyrinth of ice-hummocks over the fjord.

Each dog has its own trace, almost at the same distance from the sledge¹). But the females are usually placed a couple of head lengths in front of the males and the oldest, most experienced dog a head in front of the others. They are mainly guided by the whip, the lash of which is long enough to reach the snout or at least the hind-quarters of the dog furthest from the sledge. Much practice is required to use it. One must know how to light just on the hind-quarter or the ear of the dog, intended to be punished. As answer to a successful "hit" the dog howls and the whole span is stimulated to greater effort. The team is driven to the right by aiming the lash alongside the dog furthest to the left and whipping up the snow immediately to its left side. It is forced to the left by the outermost dog on the right feeling the lash close to its right

¹) Among the West Eskimo in Alaska the dogs are spanned to the sledge in pairs in a long row, two and two behind each other (in files of two). In front there is a single dog as leader. See Woldt-Jacobsen (1887) p. 155.

side. At the same time the manœuvre is accompanied by certain cries, between shout and words, which mean "right", "left", "get on" etc.¹⁾. Well-trained dogs can almost be guided by cries alone; the most difficult thing is to get them to stop.

On the seat of the sledge is fixed a sealskin, firmly attached by means of a long thong slung round the ends of the cross-pieces (the thong, but no skin, is to be seen in fig. 71). The baggage (or animal captured) is tied on the seat at the back of the sledge between the uprights by means of a special strap for the purpose. Along the left side of the sledge are two loops, in which the special lance is hung, before the hunter sets out in the tracks of the bear.

DOGS' HARNESS AND TRACES (fig. 73). The technical name of a dog's harness is *ane*, with suffix *aniwa* (plural *aniwän*) 'its (their) harness'. The harness, which is shown uppermost in the figure, has the underside turned outwards. It consists of two wide, fixed loops of leather, joined at three places by thinner cross-straps; one of these lies over the neck of the dog, the second under the neck, the third under the breast. When the dog is to be harnessed (each dog has its own special harness, sewn by the wife of the hunter), its head is inserted through the opening between the upper cross-strap and the two lower held together, then its fore-paws are lifted through the loops, so as to come outside. When the harness is pulled tight, the meeting-point of the two loops reaches over the back almost to the tail. From here a short strap (*pitiwa*) continues the harness backwards and in its end is a bone toggle (*sännialaa*, figs. 77 and 79*b*), which is buttoned into a small bight on the end of the trace. At the other end of the trace hangs a heavy, roundish piece of bone (*orsseq*) with two transverse holes (figs. 76 and 79*a*). The trace (*noqaataq*) is fixed through the one hole. The other hole is used, when all the dogs are in the end to be spanned to the sledge, these toggles being assembled on a specially strong cross-strap (*nuppisaa*), which hangs between the runners under the front cross-beam in the seat. This strap is tied at the one side of the sledge with knots, but free at the other side. Thus, the driver can always loosen it quickly, when it is a matter of letting the dogs free at a moment's notice (for example, when bear-hunting). It is a simpler principle than that found in West Greenland, where the cross-strap is fastened at both ends and divided in the middle, the

¹⁾ Compare the North-West Greenlanders' Eskimo cries to the dogs of the sledge I have noted (1904) p. 326.

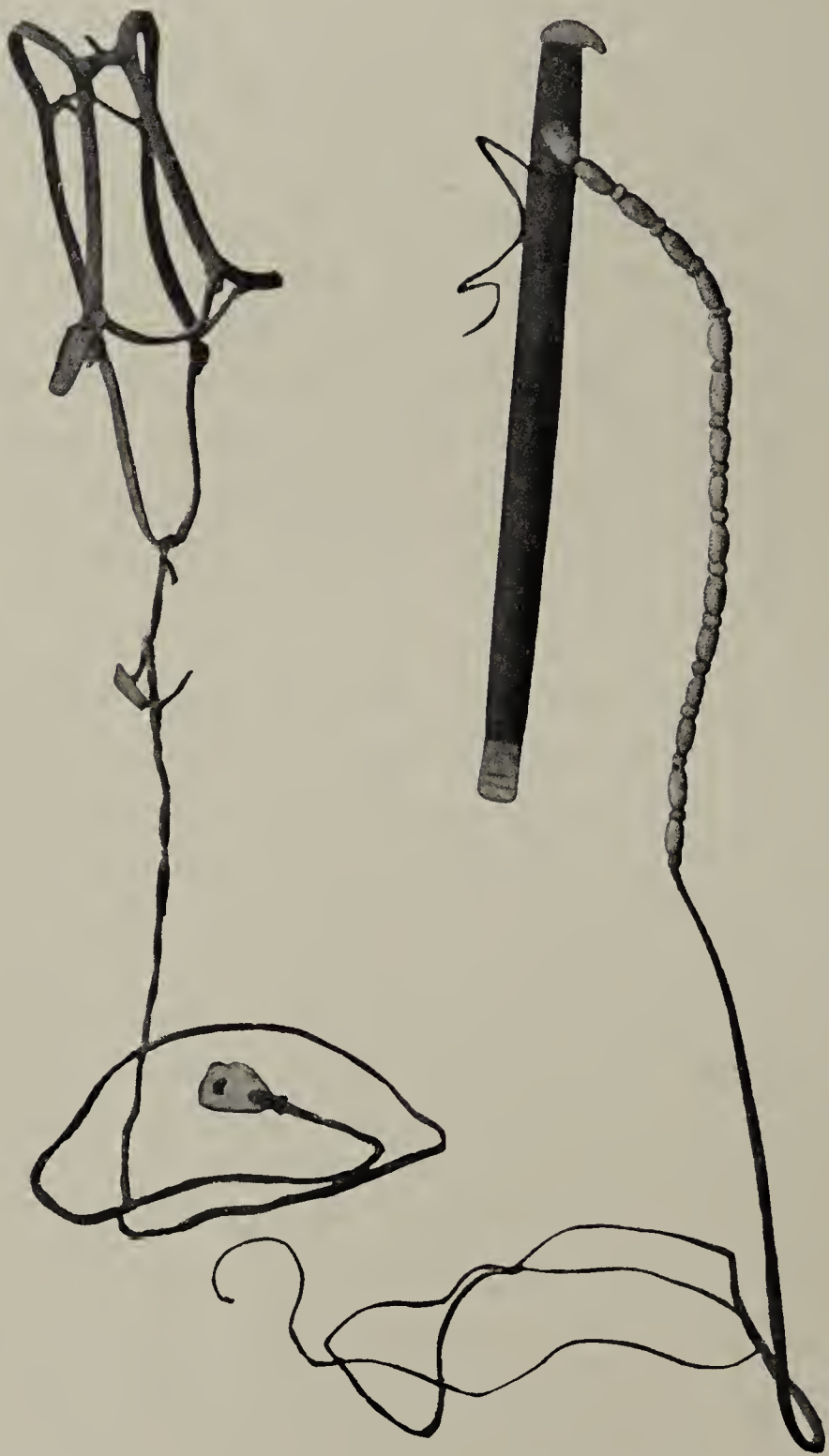


Fig. 73. A dog's harness and trace (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{7}$.

Fig. 74. Whip (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{7}$.

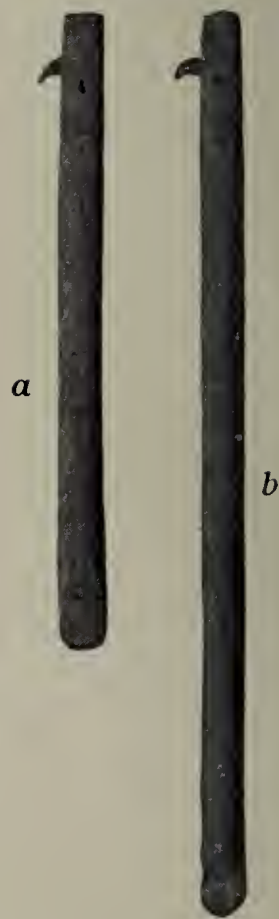


Fig. 75. Two whip handles from Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{7}$.



Fig. 76. Two eyes for dog-traces. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{1}$.



Fig. 77. Toggle button for dog-traces. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{1}$.

fastening being a toggle and bight. But, naturally, the dog can also be let loose by drawing the toggle of its harness out of the bight in the front end of the trace, both in East and in West Greenland.

When the sledge is stopped and a rest taken, the dogs lie down in front in the snow. To compel them to keep quiet, one of the fore-paws is bent up and fixed between the harness and the body. The same means is often used to brake the speed of the dogs on going down steep slopes; they can naturally only move slowly and with difficulty on three legs.

WHIP (p. 45 and figs. 74—75). The East Greenlanders use the same designation for the whip and the lash of the whip, *norqartaait*, (which word meant perhaps originally, as in West Greenlandic, the string of a bow). The stock (*ipua*) of the East Greenland whip is shorter (length ca. 50 cm.) and thicker than the West Greenlanders'. At the top it has a bear's tooth as hook (*niccia*) and it ends below in an ice-pick (*ilarneeiätaa*), a blade of bone or iron. The upper end of the lash, nearest the stock, is drawn through a number of ivory beads, which serve as counterpoise in swinging the whip (unknown in West Greenland). Large and small beads alternate in this chain. — The driver can use the ice-pick to scrape the snow or ice-clumps from the runners, which is necessary when the snow gathers under the keel (especially if soft and wet) and reduces the speed. But it is used more especially as a brake on going down slopes, which are not so steep that the man has to jump off and run in the uprights. The driver then seizes it with both hands and presses the end down in the snow at the one side of the sledge. The snow spurts up alongside owing to the speed and leaves a deep mark along the track.

At the end of a journey the lash, which is often about 5 m. long, is carefully coiled up and bound round the stock with the small strap hanging on this at the topmost bead.

The cutting of the lash (from the hide of a bearded seal) requires great care; the breadth has to taper off gradually towards the point. The hide is also worked very carefully to make it flexible. At the end of the main lash is an end-lash of white-whale skin, ca. 1 m. long, plaited fast on it through two incisions. A reserve stock of these end-lashes is necessary for a good equipment, as they become slit or fall off in the course of the winter. A white-whale end-lash is to the main lash like the dot to the i; in it lies the efficacy of the stroke.

The West Greenland whip (at least at the present day) lacks the bear's tooth at the top as well as the ice-pick below. Nor has

it the beads at the beginning of the whip-part, where there is only a plaiting of knots; nor the strap to hold the coil to the stock.

THE TETHERING SWIVEL (fig. 80) consists of two pieces of bone, a flat plate (*immulisaa*) with three (or five) holes and a cylindrical peg with a head (*qitt^waata*) which turns round in the middle hole. The tether of the dog thus consists of two straps; the one can be



Fig. 78. Miniature sledge, a boy's toy, from Nualik (Amdrup coll.).

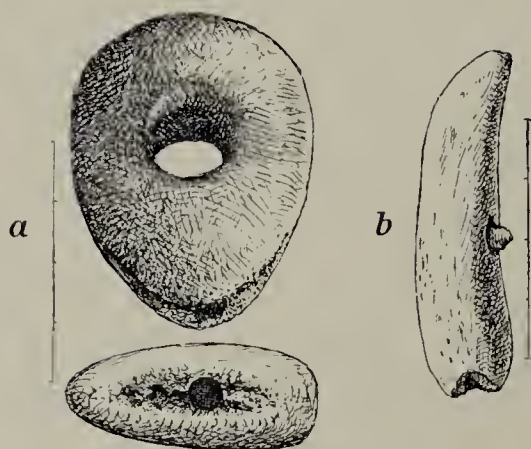


Fig. 79. *a* Eye for dog-traces.
b Toggle button. (Amdrup coll.).

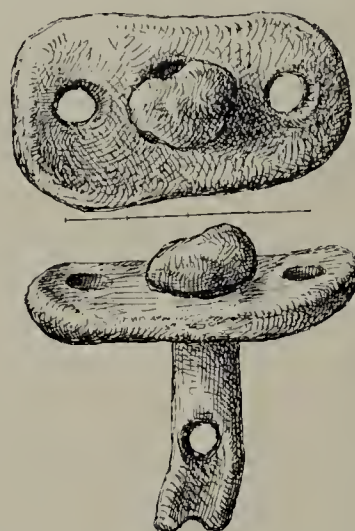


Fig. 80. Swivel for a dog's tether.
(Amdrup coll.).

fixed in the collar strap, which the dog always bears round the neck and in the bone-plate; the other in the lower end of the peg, which has a hole bored in it, and in a wedge in the ground or to a stone. The swivel prevents the tether getting into knots when the dog moves round the centre of his area in the same direction. — The dogs are only set free when they are to be harnessed to the sledge. Otherwise they remain tied up day and night in the neigh-

bourhood of the house. Only the females are given their freedom, when they are about to have puppies and so long as they have these; during this time they keep to the house entrance and inside the huts, where the puppies are often born under one of the window platforms.

In West Greenland the dogs are not tied up, except among the Smith Sound Eskimo. But they keep as a rule to the house where their owner lives and from which they are fed. In summer they are placed out on an island.

Dog-houses of snow are sometimes built (*ittewiḡaq* = West Greenland *illuwigaq*), a dome-shaped building of large, square blocks cut from the frozen snow. (Gulls and ravens are sometimes caught in snow-houses of similar form). — As the name indicates, this construction is only an imitation of the human snow-houses, which are known from the Central Eskimo districts and from Smith Sound, but have fallen out of use as human dwellings in the subarctic regions.

THE UMIK OR WOMEN'S BOAT (see pp. 42—44, cf. 185—186, and figs. 32 and 81—85). —

Technical names: *aa^wttaarin* (West Greenland *umiaq*) the large skinboat rowed by women; *iputin* oars for rowing; *iputaai* its (the boat's) oars; *isitsaa* shaft of the oar; *mulia* blade of the oar; *aḡé^wtaa* steering-oar; *napaa^wtaa* wooden peg on the side of the rowing-oar for fastening it in the loop; *ipuserpiät* loops fastened along the gunwale between the seats for holding the oars (instead of wooden tholes), oar-grommets; *itcoraai* the seats in the boat; *kittiwa*, plur. *kittiwän* the stem and stern heads, especially the short seat between the "horns" of the umiak; *kannai* the "horns", or protruding ends, of the gunwales; *aawiän*, *aawieerqaḡ* framework, skeleton of the boat; *napalert^waai* side-ribs, futtocks; *qutaḡ* (*qulaḡ*) the uppermost horizontal beam forming the gunwale; *toopia* the broad side beam next to the gunwale, having its ends lashed and mortised into the side branches of stem and stern; *qoqaaⁱwtaa* the short and narrow side beam between *toopia* and the bottom; *akiwa* (plur. *akiwän*) the nethermost side beam forming the edge of the bottom; *qilercia* the median beam of the bottom, the keelson; *nammia*, plur. *nammiän* cross-pieces of the bottom; *sooa*, *cooa* stem of the boat; *aḡiwa* stern *nee^wtaa* the special constructions of stem and stern (a crooked branch, or imitation of a crooked branch, the nether part

of which is formed liked a delta; the ends of the three bottom beams are mortised into the base of the delta); *tunnaak* the nether part of *nee^wtaa*, the deltoid part of it; *pernera* the mortising junction of the median bottom beam and *tunnaak*; *umia narqa* the bottom of the boat; *pooa* (plur. *pooän*) the skin cover; *tuttutaa* the thong which ties the cover to the upper side beam (*toopia*) after it has been tightened over the gunwale; *qitseet^waa* bone nail on the stem and stern head (in the centre of the seat) which fixes and tightens the cover (named alike in West Greenland); *qulaacaa* straps which tie the ends of the gunwales to the stem and stern heads; *itsorq^weetaat* straps which tie the seats to the heads of the side frames.

aqitt^waan the steerer (who steers with the steering oar sitting on the stern seat); *cätter*, *cätterpaaq* the (woman) rower on the seat nearest to the stern; *cüukkaq* the (woman) rower on the seat nearest to the stem; *ipiterniaaik* "row!" *qasiseertaarter* the accompanying kaiaker; *napalin* umiak supports (four or more posts) on which the umiak is laid up in winter, bottom up, in the neighbourhood of the house.

The thin bands, which are seen in fig. 81 connecting the gunwale and the bottom, are only temporary to keep together the different parts of the skeleton until the boat is covered with seal-skins¹⁾. In the same figure it can just be noticed, that the bottom is flat, but the frame-work of the bottom is better seen in fig. 82.

The skin is of the strongest kind and yet so thin and so thoroughly worked, that the water can be seen through it, when the sunlight falls on the outer side. In moving about in the boat, care is taken to avoid stepping on the skin, the feet being placed on the bottom-frames or on the thwarts.

In earlier times it was not the custom at Ammassalik as now, to groove the long, flat side-beam on the inner surface of the side-ribs (see fig. 81, 2nd plank from below); it was carried through holes bored in these. Nor were the side-ribs fastened, as now, to the bottom planks (side-keels) with nails, but lashed to them with seal-skin straps.

The fore and aft stem bent at the bottom consists of a single piece of wood of this shape (a branch naturally bent), widening out below almost like a spoon. The broader part below is cut out to fit the ends of the keel-planks.

¹⁾ The figure shows the skeleton of the boat now preserved in the National Museum in Copenhagen, covered with skin. Johan Petersen photographed it at Ammassalik, before he had it covered and sent to Denmark.

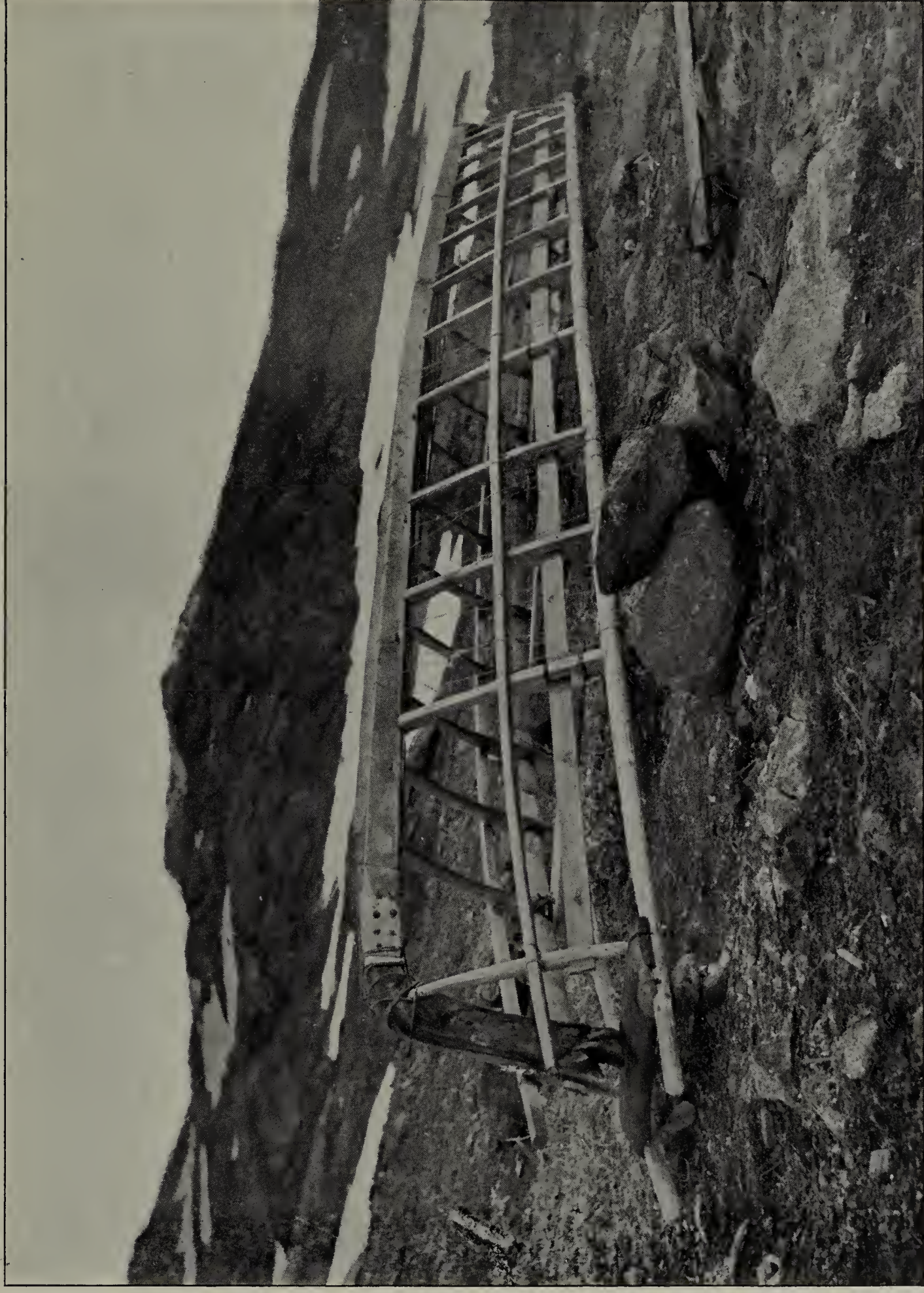


Fig. 81. Framework of a umiak (women's boat) at Angmagsalik. (J. Petersen phot.).

**A HISTORY
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I took the measurements of two umiaks¹⁾ (the length measured outside along the bottom, the height inside from stem to keel).

	Length	Greatest breadth		Height
		above	below	
Umeerinneq's umiak	9.10 m.	1.47 m.	0.92 m.	0.71 m.
Keersagaq's —	8.15 -	1.59 -	0.91 -	0.58 -

The umiak is rowed only by women, one (or two) on each seat and each with only one oar²⁾. Two kinds of strokes are distinguished, one for slow, the other for fast rowing. The steerer is sometimes a man, more often a woman.

A sail is not known to have been used at Ammassalik, but in West Greenland I have often seen women's boats with a sail. Hans Egede mentions this also for his time³⁾: "In these boats they also use a sail, made of gut-skin, and can move quickly from place to place in this manner. The mast is stepped far forwards at the bow. As the sail is broad up at the yard and narrow down at the sheets and as the boats are frail and cranky, easily upset, they can only sail before the wind (and not against the wind)".

The Eskimo in Baffin Land also

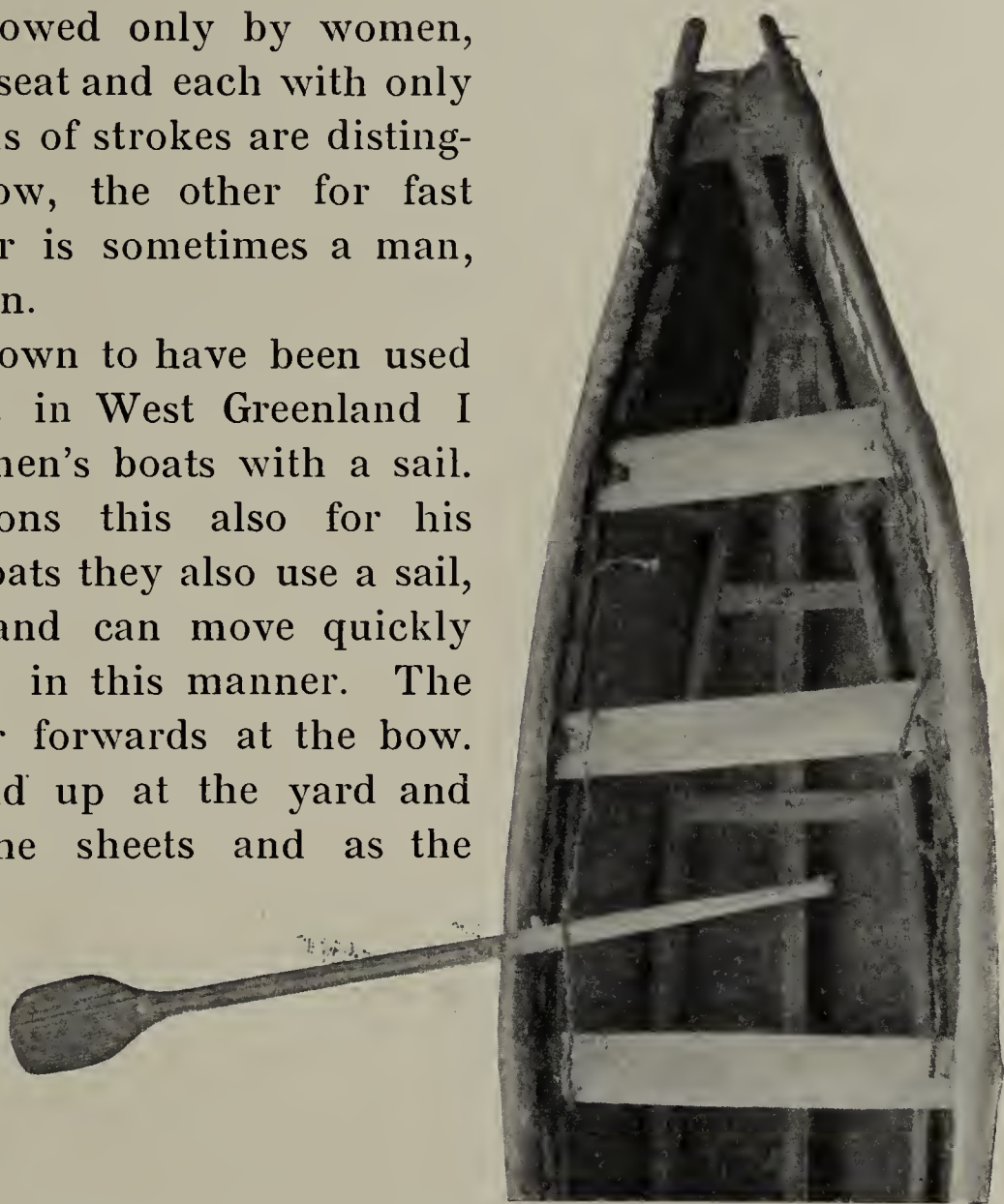


Fig. 82. Part of an umiak (miniature) from Angmagsalik. (W. T. priv. coll.).

¹⁾ Graah (1832) p. 141 mentions the general small size of the East Greenland umiaks. — When G. Holm in 1880 was carrying out archaeological investigations on the west coast, he measured an umiak, coming from the east coast, Inuk's boat from Tingmiarmiut ($62\frac{3}{4}$ N. Lat.): Length $28\frac{1}{2}$ ft. (8.94 m.), greatest breadth at the bottom $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. (0.94 m.), do. at top $4\frac{1}{4}$ ft. (1.33 m.), height $2\frac{1}{4}$ ft. (0.71 m.). "Meddelelser om Grønland" VI, p. 69. Cf. here p. 43 and p. 186.

²⁾ Glahn (1784) p. 279 mentions, however, that at the whale-hunting on the west coast the men also rowed the women's boat sometimes. "But they do not row with the usual oars, nor with the back to the bow (like the women) but with small hand-oars (angût) and the face turned forward".

³⁾ H. Egede (1729) p. 35 and (1741) p. 62. A sail on the women's boat is seen in an illustration in Cranz (1770) Pl. VI and in a drawing by a Greenlander (Nr. 26) in *Kaladlit assilialiait* (Godthaab 1860) and in another illustration in *Kaladlit okaluktualliait* (Godthaab 1861) vol. 3, Pl. I.

use a sail in their umiaks¹⁾; this was noted already when Frobisher discovered the land²⁾. From Alaska Nelson shows an umiak model with matting sail³⁾.

On the northern part of the east coast no certain trace has yet been found, that the natives have had umiaks. This would correspond to the condition among the Smith Sound Eskimo and the Eskimo of Coronation Gulf and Boothia Felix (North Canada), who also have no umiaks⁴⁾. The three sets of stone-rests found by the Danmark Expedition at Renskæret (76° 41 N. lat.) are explained by Thostrup as umiak rests⁵⁾, but to judge from the low

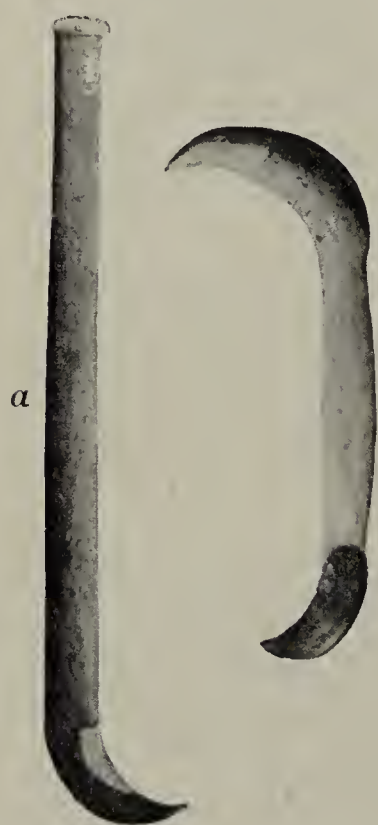


Fig. 83. Two umiak cleaners (Holm coll.) ¹/₅.

height of these supports (from 10 to 40 cm.) and from the absence of other evidence of the presence of umiaks north of Scoresby Sound, I believe, that the explanation given by Thostrup must be considered as doubtful. If these stone supports have really been used as boat-rests, might they not be considered as double kaiak rests, each set for two kaiaks? Their height may have been greater originally⁶⁾.

UMIAK CLEANERS (p. 43, cf. fig. 83) — or boat-hooks? The instrument consists of a short wooden stock with a bent bear's tooth fixed at the one end and a bear's claw at the other. It is not improbable, that this instrument is useful in certain cases for more than simply cleaning the boat. Turner⁷⁾ mentions "boat-hooks" as belonging to the complete outfit of a kaiak among the Eskimo of Hudson Bay, "used for all the purposes of a boat hook, and also to retrieve a sunken animal" (seal). It is possible that the Ammassalikers' umiak cleaner is a transformed relict of this instrument.

¹⁾ Boas (1888) p. 528.

²⁾ Frobisher (1577) pp. 225 and 227.

³⁾ Nelson (1899) Pl. LXXVII.

⁴⁾ Kroeber (1899) p. 269; Steensby (1905) pp. 95 and 104, (1910) p. 289. I may take this opportunity to correct Steensby's statement, that "a umiak cannot be taken on the sledge" (l. c. p. 289). On the contrary, the Ammassalikers each spring move their tents and umiaks from the winter house to the summer tenting grounds, driving over the ice. Cf. Holm p. 45 and fig. 35 in this volume.

⁵⁾ Thostrup (1911) p. 238 and fig. 29.

⁶⁾ The stone-rests for kaiaks on Southampton Island in Hudson Bay, illustrated by Boas (1907) Pl. V, fig. 2, are of a much greater height and more solid construction.

⁷⁾ Turner (1894) p. 240 and Boas (1888) p. 483, figs. 409—411.



Fig. 84. Umiak or women's boat laid up for the winter, bottom up, on its wooden supports near the house. (Thalbitzer phot. 1906).



Fig. 85. Umiak on its supports, deep in the snow. Two kaiaks are seen behind it lying on the snow. A little way off the roof of the house emerges from the snow; a boy stands at the entrance opening. (Thalbitzer phot. 1906).

KAIKAKS (pp. 45—46, p. 187 and figs. 33 and 86 to 102). —

Technical names: *carqin* (dual *carqisiñ*, plural *carqisin*) kaiak, man's boat (West Greenland *qajaq*); *paa^wtin* paddle, double-oar: *paa^wtaa* his or its (the kaiak's) paddle; *mulia* blade of the paddle; *täsia* the part of the paddle grasped by the hands, the handle; *kättor* bone cap on end of paddle blade; *kättua* (dual *kättuak*) its (the paddle's) kättor; *toqutsernera* holes in basal surface of kättor for mortising on the shaft end; *ciaa*, *ceea*, *ceerajuät* bone tire along edge of paddle; *paaia* man-hole of kaiak; *kiliyaa*, *paasiät*(?), *peqici^wn(n)/ak*(?) wooden ring, hoop around man-hole; *ijérqiwia*, *eerqiwia* (or *nañeq*) piece of fur skin in the bottom of man-hole, seat of the man; *atciñukulaa*, *atconukkutaa* holder or peg of bone for the harpoon shaft fixed in the deck to the right of the man-hole; *ninniweekit^waa* or *saa^wnert^waa* bone mounting on fore part of keel; *pooa*, *pooja* skin cover of the boat; *pooa ki^wkkaq* globular button or bone cap which covers the point of stem and stern; *oowiwän* (*oo^ghweewän*) cross seams in deck skin (in back and front of the man-hole); *kiliwän* longitudinal seam (seams) in the kaiak cover; *naaitinera* patch sewn on the cover; *ilaneq*, *ilänera* patch on the under side of the cover; *neet^waaia* sloping part of the keel; *usukummiaa*, *isukummiaa* or *usootaa* (plur. *usoosät*) kaiak end, end part of the framework reckoned from the place where the keel bends upwards to the point of stem or stern; *tunnaak* junction of the gunwale planks in fore and after, deck parts of framework between *usoosät* and ribs; *pernera* seam between *usoosät* and *tunnaak* parts; *apummaa(k)* (two) gunwale plank(s), gunwale; *ataak* lateral bottom planks; *kujaa* or *qilercia* ('the mid one') keel; *tippiän* ribs (grooved into the keel); *ajaajät* narrow cross pieces in the deck between the gunwales; *soolia* separate part of deck frame in front of the kaiaker consisting of the two following parts; *masia* broad cross piece in deck before man-hole (over the thighs of the man); *tunertiwän* two or three longitudinal pieces in the deck before the man-hole reaching from *masia* to the knees of the man; *erserpia* cross piece in the deck behind the man-hole; *tukummia* flat cross piece in the fore part inside the kaiak against which the kaiaker places his feet; *cooa* fore, stem; *keewa* after, stern; *talérpialé tuaa* right side; *kittérmialé tuaa* left side; *ilerq^waaatin tuaagin* turning right (in rowing); *kittermeerti tuaagin* turning left; *ikaan* kaiak supports, four posts erected to guard kaiak and tent poles on their tops, used only by men who have no umiak and therefore no umiak supports (*napalin*); *ikaan* are not so high as *napalin*.

Every adult man has his kaiak, exceptionally two kaiaks. Most are able to build and steer their kaiak themselves. Boys have as a

rule small kaiaks, built by their father and provided with miniature implements.

Many of the men have learnt the art of righting themselves, if the kaiak is upset. I saw *Qilertaanalik* exercising himself in this art at the island Ammain in Sermilik Fjord (fig. 130). Time after time he turned over and raised himself again with the aid of the paddle, so that he and the kaiak made a complete circle in the water. He used several different methods of getting up again, each with its own special name. He could even right himself by means of his throwing stick alone without the help of the paddle. One of the finer tricks consisted in placing the paddle behind the neck and wheeling round with this position as starting point¹).

I measured the following kaiaks (length from stem to stern along the middle line of the deck; greatest breadth across the deck in front of the man-hole; greatest height in the well from deck to keel the deck arching upwards here; the height given is measured perpendicularly from the gunwale of the kaiak down to the surface on which the boat rested).

	Length	Breadth	Height	Length of the bent up part of the keel
Attiartertoq's kaiak.....	5.50 m.	0.445 m.	0.196 m.	0.94 m.
Najaajakattaat's do.....	5.55 -	0.458 -	0.209 -	1.46 -
Nujappik's do.....	5.37 -	0.471 -	? -	0.82 -

The bottom of the kaiak is flat, almost of the same form as the deck in circumference, but much smaller (about $\frac{1}{2}$ the length, $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of the breadth of the deck). The bent-up, sharp part of the keel (*neetwaia* of the *usoosät*) is almost equally long fore and aft.

The breadth of the deck over the place where the keel begins to bend up was 0.170 m. in Attiartertoq's kaiak. The breadth noted above for the central part of his kaiak was measured close behind the man-hole. The breadth of the bottom under the same place was 0.340 m. A piece of bone tire is nailed (nowadays at all events) both in front and behind along the upward sloping ends of the keel; the one under the front end is the longer (1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ m.) and reaches some distance in on the flat bottom.

The size of the boat probably stands in relation to the size of the man (necessarily so in regard to the width of the man-hole and the height of the inner space). *Qilertaanalik*'s kaiak was 5.30 m. long, his own height was 1.62 m. *Najaajakattaat*'s younger brother (not full-grown) had a kaiak 4.90 m. long, 0.47 m. broad.

¹) Cf. Ryder (1895) pp. 136—137.



Fig. 86. Kaiak frame. Qaataq about to make the framework of a kaiak, sitting on his sledge outside his house. Behind him to the right three pairs of skis upright in the snow, with skin stockings stuck on top to dry; in the centre, a seal-skin stretched out on the snow with wooden pins; to the left, a pair of skis lying on the snow. (Thalbitzer phot. 1906).



Fig. 87. Kaiak laid up on land near the beach, with seal-skin float and paddle at the side. (Thalbitzer phot. 1906).

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As covering (*pooa*) of the wood-work white skins are used at Ammassalik as a rule¹⁾, but the white colour is often dulled by the skins being smeared over with boiled blubber to make them watertight. Two seal-skins to a kaiak are the rule. The seam runs in the middle of the deck along the whole length of the boat.

Two kaiaks are sometimes bound together (*katiyaartin*) in transporting a heavy burden, dead bear or a woman²⁾. The stem of the one is then laid alongside the middle of the other, so that the right side of its front part is pressed close against the left side of the hind part of the other. Skin thongs are then slung round the united parts of the boats and the load is placed in the middle, where the breadth is greatest.

On the East Greenland coast north of the Ammassalik district no kaiak has hitherto been found, except for the one observed by Clavering among the Eskimo met with at Clavering Island. Kaiaks have been used everywhere naturally and many evidences have been found of their use³⁾, but to the north the kaiak has probably not been of so much importance as the sledge in the hunting life of the natives. At Syttenkilometernæsset (72° 49' N. lat.) the Danmark Expedition found three kaiak rests (supposed to be so) built of stone. Otherwise drift-wood is used for the boat supports in Greenland, but kaiak supports built of stone are known from Southampton Island in Hudson Bay⁴⁾.

The form of the stem varies from place to place. The kaiaks of the Ammassalikers like those of the South-west Greenlanders have nowadays straight stem projection. The kaiak of the Makenzie Eskimo has a bent-up stem fore and aft⁵⁾ and the same feature characterizes the Aiwilik Eskimo's lake-kaiak⁶⁾. But the same Eskimo's sea-kaiak has a straight stem, bent up stern projections, and the stem in the kaiak of the Kinipetu Eskimo even looks as if it were bent a little downwards⁷⁾. The Baffin Land Eskimo's kaiak is straight fore and aft as also that of the Smith Sound Eskimo⁸⁾ and the southern West Green-

¹⁾ In West Greenland white skins are used as kaiak covering south of Godthaab whilst black skins are usual for kaiaks in North Greenland. Cf. Glahn, "Anmærkninger" (1771) pp. 254—255. Schultz-Lorentzen (1904) p. 311.

²⁾ The Ugjulik Eskimo also bind together 2 or 3 kaiaks as a ferry (Amundsen (1907) p. 326). — The Indians bind together their canoes; the Copper Indians sometimes bind together two or four canoes by means of cross-poles, according to Hearne, see Steensby (1905) pp. 96 and 169.

³⁾ Ryder (1895) pp. 306—307. Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 373, 438—439, 465—466.

⁴⁾ Boas (1907) Pl. V, fig. 2.

⁵⁾ Petitot (1887) Pl. VII (pp. 278—279).

⁶⁾ Boas (1901—1907) p. 76, fig. 105.

⁷⁾ Ellis (Voyage to Hudson's Bay, London 1758, German translation) Pl. IX.

⁸⁾ Boas (1901—1907) pp. 9 to 13, and (1888) p. 487; Kroeber (1899) p. 273, fig. 3.

landers, whereas the kaiak of the Upernivik, Umanak and Diskobugt Eskimo has both the stern and stem curved upwards; in the southern parts of North Greenland, we find kaiaks with bent-up stern but straight stem projections.

In earlier times the East Greenlanders at Ammassalik have only had kaiaks with the stem and stern sloping upwards. According to Johan Petersen's account the old type of kaiak was still in full use at Ammassalik in 1884 on the arrival of Holm's expedition. But even then, some few kaiaks of the newer construction, which had come from the south, were already noticed. On the next visit of Europeans (the founding of the Danish colony in 1894) there was not a single kaiak of the old type to be seen, all the kaiaks had straight ends; the South-west Greenland mode had conquered. For the sake of the ethnographic collection it was necessary to order specially examples of the old type.

Old hunters (Akernilik, Ukuttiaq, Ajukutooq, Attiartertoq), with whom I spoke in 1906, confirmed this fact. The ends were originally bent up (*nappaḡalin*), not straight. Nappartuko made a model for me from a piece of wood (fig. 90). The stern, he said, was a little more bent up than the stem and the part round the man-hole reached somewhat higher up than in the present kaiaks.

They maintained also, that the original kaiaks resembled the women's boats, not having the curved ribs or bottom frames (*tippiän*) all in one piece like those on which the kaiak skins are now hung; the bottom was built of straight cross-pieces (*nammin*), placed at a certain distance from each other, each between two vertical frames, and the different parts were held together by thin straps and not by means of nailing or fitting together. Or as they expressed it: "Originally our forefathers did not have kaiaks, but only umiaks". Mitsuarnianga informed me, that *nammin* and *nappalertait* (side frames) in their forefathers' kaiaks were like those of the umiak, but that the ends of the boat did not resemble the umiak. Attiartertoq said, that he had once made a model of an old time kaiak without *tippiän* for his son. Further, Akernilik explained, that in his youth he himself had seen a kaiak belonging to Awkuluk's younger brother, which had the stem and stern of bone, both sloping upwards and forked (thus somewhat similar to the umiak). — Apart from the latter exaggeration, I am unable to disregard these statements, as they were confirmed by several old men and they agree, further, with the reports on the Eskimo kaiaks more to the west. Thus, Turner states regarding the eastern Hudson Bay Eskimo, that "the bottom of their kaiak is quite flat and the frame for the

keel and sides at the bottom is arranged similarly to that of the umiak". His careful description of the kaiak is in full accord with this¹⁾. The same is true of the Smith Sound kaiak²⁾. But for the western Eskimo of Hudson Bay, Boas states that the Kinipetu and Aivilik Eskimo's kaiak differs from the kaiak of Davis Strait and Baffin Bay in having a rounded bottom. "Instead of the flat bottom described above, the kayak has rounded ribs, which are attached to eight longitudinal strips"³⁾.

If we consider the section of the kaiak and the form of the man-hole, the Greenland kaiak agrees almost fully with the kaiak of the Aivilik and Kinipetu Eskimo; only the present kaiak of the Smith Sound Eskimo is a copy of that of the Cumberland Sound Eskimo on Baffin Land⁴⁾.

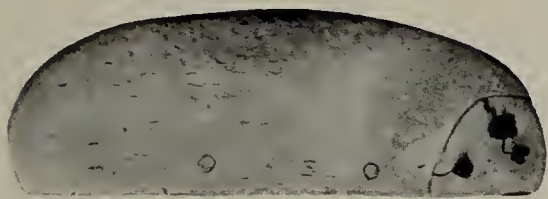


Fig. 89. Bone end of a kaiak paddle (corner repaired) from Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

THE PADDLE (fig. 88) — *paa^wtin* — is at the present day of the same type at Ammassalik as the West Greenlanders'. It is provided at both ends with thin bone edges and a small cap of bone (*kättua*), which is square or nearly semicircular with three rounded edges and one straight (fig. 89). On the surface of the straight edge there are four, narrow, rectangular sockets into which the wooden end of the paddle is mortised; the part fitted in is shaped like four square tongue-like pegs. Further, the bone caps are nailed on to these pegs or series of tongues by transverse bone nails. The handle part of the paddle is elliptic in section; the blades are quite flat. One paddle measured was 206 cm. long, another (found by Amdrup at the "dead house") was 200 cm. long.

When rowing the paddle is held in both hands, not (as at Cape York) resting on the front part of the wooden ring of the man-hole⁵⁾, but free in the air in front of the

¹⁾ Turner (1894) p. 237.

²⁾ Kroeber (1899), pp. 272—273, figs. 3—4; Boas (1901) p. 12.

³⁾ Boas (1901—1907) p. 76, and figs. 105—106.

⁴⁾ Boas (1901) fig. 105 (p. 77) and fig. 1 (p. 10). The Smith Sound kaiak has been introduced in recent years from Baffin Land.

⁵⁾ Steensby (1910) p. 358, and fig. 36.

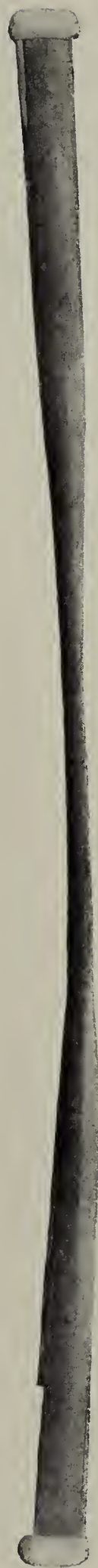


Fig. 88. Kaiak paddle from Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{12}$.

stomach. The movement consists in "digging" alternately to each side deep down in the water (more nearly vertical than horizontal) and thus urging the boat forward.

Fig. 91 shows an old-time kaiak paddle, as carved by David in Sermilik; I obtained a similar description from Nappartuko and Aawtaaserarter. The bone cap of the ends was replaced by the



Fig. 90. Model of old-fashioned kaiak at Angmagsalik. (Thalbitzer coll.). ¹/₂.

front teeth of a crested seal. The blade of the paddle was intended, namely, not only for rowing, but also for striking or killing the sea-animal attacked; its ends were thus pointed. The form of the blade was drawn by David on paper with rounded edges (elliptic) instead of straight. This form of blade would agree nearly with the



Fig. 91. Model of old-fashioned kaiak paddle. (Thalbitzer coll.). ¹/₃.

form of the half paddle, which was found far up in the north on the east coast, at Cape Borlase Warren (74° 18' N. lat.) by the 2nd German North Pole Expedition¹). On the latter there was a knob-shaped expansion on the handle part a little in from the blade, a relict of the hand support or rest, found in the Central Eskimo paddle²). Thus the North-east Greenland paddle has had this same feature in common with the paddle of the Smith Sound Eskimo and of the Aivilik and Kinipetu Eskimo, which agree exactly with each other and all of which had the ends of the blade pointed³). Whether a hand rest on the handle of the paddle has also been used originally at Ammassalik, is not known, but the straight form of the blade (in David's model) agrees with the Smith Sound paddle; the rounded form (in his drawing and in the paddle from C. Borlase Warren) might correspond with the Aivilik lake-paddle and the Point Barrow double kaiak-paddle⁴).

A HOLDER FOR THE PADDLE or a pinch (*nootaakitaa*) instead of a thole is formed by means of an oblong and flat piece of wood, which is held fast to the deck of the kaiak to the left of the man (between the man-hole and the kaiak stand)

¹) Koldewey (1874) p. 622 and 603, fig. 12.

²) Boas (1901) p. 12 states regarding the paddle of the Cumberland Sound Eskimo: "The handle is separated from the blades by a ring with a notch in the middle, around which a narrow strip of fur is fastened". — Kroeber (1899) p. 273, fig. 5.

³) Figures given by Boas (1901) p. 79, fig. 107; Kroeber (1899) p. 273, fig. 5; Steensby (1910) p. 358, fig. 37.

⁴) Murdoch (1892) p. 330 fig. 340.

by the one end being placed under the pair of cross-straps, which lie just in front of the man-hole. A holder of this kind is seen on the kaiak fig. 102. It has the following use. When the man wishes to let go the paddle for a moment, he drops it out into the water to the left of the kaiak, so far, that the one end only reaches in over the edge of the deck; the bone cap of the end is shoved in under the free end of the wooden piece, so that it is jammed between this and the skin-deck. The other end of the paddle rests on or in the water and gives a good balance to the boat, which might otherwise easily upset. A couple of interesting specimens of this implement, finely ornamented, were found in use as amulets (Johan Petersen coll.; see fig. 353).

THE KAIK STAND is the receptacle for the harpoon line on the kaiak (p. 47 and figs. 92, 94, 154). The middle figure in fig. 92 shows a type of kaiak stand, which is now only met with at Ammassalik. It may be called the cross-shaped type and regarded as nearly obsolete (only two men still used it in 1906). Along the middle line of the broad central board and the part, which slopes down to the deck, runs a very thin strap, held tight by means of a peculiarly shaped bone clasp. This strap is used for fastening the harpoon line which is coiled up on the top of the kaiak stand before use to prevent its falling off as long as it is not used. The hunter takes the clasp off when he wishes to keep the line ready for running out along with the harpoon. As a specimen of the same type of kaiak stand, found in a grave, is present in Pfaff's collection from North-west Greenland (Stockholm Riksmuseum), the type must have been known on the west coast and it is nearly related to the Central Eskimo type.

Technical names: *asalé* (plural *asalin*) kaiak stand; *neewa* leg of kaiak stand; *qarcaaia* median board; *napaliwän* upright bone pegs on the upper surface of the median board and the cross-piece; *saarqitaata eaa* lateral peg on each leg (for supporting the shaft ends of the weapons of the fore deck); *paarnaarïtaa* loose peg for fastening the stand to cross straps on the deck.

Uppermost in fig. 92 is seen the ordinary West Greenland form of kaiak stand of the present day, as used also at Ammassalik, where it has now quite replaced the other, more old-fashioned type. According to Holm, this type prevailed at Ammassalik already before the Europeans came there. Amdrup found remains of a kaiak stand of this type at the "dead house" (fig. 98, cf. fig. 94).

Fig. 92c shows an intermediate form of kaiak stand.



Fig. 92 a.



Fig. 92 b.



Fig. 92 c.

Three kaiak stands, or receptacles for the harpoon line. (Holm coll.). About $\frac{1}{8}$ s.

Fig. 94 shows two old pieces of a kaiak stand, which were found by J. Petersen in an old man's kaiak and kept as charms or amulets to enable him 'to reach a good old age'. It appears from the fragment fig. 98b, that the ring (hoop) on the top of the kaiak stand has sometimes been passed through a groove in the upper edge instead of through an oblong hole in the topmost part of the leg or the pegs on it.

Glahn mentions in his "Anmærkninger" (1771)¹), that "the kaiak stand in (West) Greenland is made of bone and consists of a round ring with some small cross-pieces or cross-trees of bone, sometimes of skin. This is the simplest manner. It is also made of wood, but much more artistically and sometimes inlaid beautifully with ivory". Judging from the names he is inclined to believe, that the bone kaiak stands were the oldest and that the wooden ones were only invented later.

The Ammasalikers often have the kaiak stand entirely of wood, but the bone ones are also well-known. I have seen one,

¹) Glahn (1771) pp. 233—234.

in which the broad central board was of wood, but the ring, the two thin legs and the six cross-ribs were of bone. The ring was passed through five longish holes, four in two pairs of flat bone pegs projecting up from each end of the flat horizontal board in the middle of the kaiak stand, and the fifth hole in the top of the right leg. The bone-ring itself was composed of three thin pieces, spliced together at or nearly through the covered places.

The kaiak stand is fixed to the deck by a wooden peg or bone hook, which hangs in a short strop under the middle of the stand and can thus be easily pushed in under one of the cross-straps attached to the deck skin under the kaiak stand. The wooden peg can be seen in fig. 154. Concerning the attachment see also p. 394.

The butt end of the shaft of the bird-dart has its place on the upturned peg on the left leg of the kaiak stand; this peg is formed as a bent-up continuation of the foot (fig. 98) or of a piece of bone which is attached to the outer side of the leg. The right leg also bears usually a peg or hook (for example, a bird's claw as in fig. 98), which is of use in holding the shaft of the bladder dart.

The harpoon line has its place on the top of the kaiak stand, where it is coiled up into 17 to 18 coils. Its usual length is circa 6 m.

All the three types (or two main types) described here are peculiar to Greenland. Outside Greenland the kaiak stand is not raised on legs above the deck; it must therefore be called by a different name. Boas¹⁾ shows a "receptacle" for the coiled harpoon-line, the bottom of which consists of three boards. The rim, which appears to be of wood, is pegged and tied to the bottom. The middle board extends beyond the rim of the receptacle in the form of a handle. We recognize here, so to speak, the archetype of the primitive, cruciform stand (fig. 92*b*). — In Alaska we find a float-board, consisting of an oval hoop of wood; "the sides have holes by which a thin board is fastened to the inner side. The front of the bow is oval, and the sides taper gradually to the points of two projecting arms, which



Fig. 94. Parts of an old kaiak stand. (J. Petersen coll.). ¹/₃.



Fig. 93. Snow and ice-scraper for the kaiak. (Holm coll.). ¹/₅.

¹⁾ Boas (1901) pp. 11—12, fig. 2.

extend four or five inches behind the bow" (Nelson)¹⁾. The type is different from that of the East Eskimo receptacle. It is sometimes used along with the bladder float as a drag to impede the flight of the animal through the water. Various other small variations of this type also occur in Alaska²⁾ (cf. under sealing floats).

THE SNOW SCRAPER OR SNOW BEATER (fig. 93, cf. p. 48) is made of bone and very narrow (slender) at Ammassalik and in South Greenland. The Ammassalikers call it *ilarneeiaat* 'instrument for scraping frost or rime off'. A more characteristic, broader type is known from the northern parts of both the east and west coast³⁾. The same instrument also shows similar variations outside Greenland, probably connected with its different use e. g. scraping or beating the glazed frost or snow off the kaiak, the fur clothes etc. or cutting the blocks of snow for the snow-houses. Both broad and narrow types are found in the western districts of Hudson Bay⁴⁾, whereas only narrow forms seem to occur further west, in Alaska⁵⁾.

Kroeber gives an illustration of the snow-knife of the Smith Sound Eskimo which is not unlike the Ammassalik type. He states, that it "is used to cut the blocks of snow" (for the snow-houses)⁶⁾.

Further south on the west coast, in North Greenland, old discoveries have been noted both of the broader and the narrower type. It is not clear, to what extent the two forms should be kept separate and regarded as two different kinds of implement, each with its own use. L. Turner, for example, makes a distinction between them: the kaiak scraper (i. e. snow scraper) of the Eastern Hudson Bay Eskimo "resembles a snow knife but is shorter"⁷⁾. Franz Boas gives a full description of the various, though related types of snow knives, snow beaters and double-edged knives (*pana*). The short and broad one-edged type we know from North Greenland must be closely connected with the snow-knife (made all in one piece) of Boas from Southampton Island⁸⁾, but this type is not known from Ammassalik or the southern West Greenland. On the other hand, the narrow snow-knife or "snow-beater" (likewise made

¹⁾ Nelson (1899) p. 138, figure see Pl. LIV.

²⁾ Cf. Nelson l. c. Pl. LXXIX, fig. 4 and Mason (1900) Pl. XIV.

³⁾ Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 438—440. Stolpe (1906) p. 104; Pl. IV, fig. 12.

⁴⁾ Boas (1901—1907) p. 409, fig. 207.

⁵⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 305, fig. 305; Nelson (1899) Pl. L and p. 77, fig. 21.

⁶⁾ Kroeber (1899) p. 271, fig. 2.

⁷⁾ Turner (1894) p. 252.

⁸⁾ Boas (1907) p. 409, fig. 207, cf. (1909) p. 535.



Fig. 95. Bone buttons and attachments on the kaiak deck. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{1}$

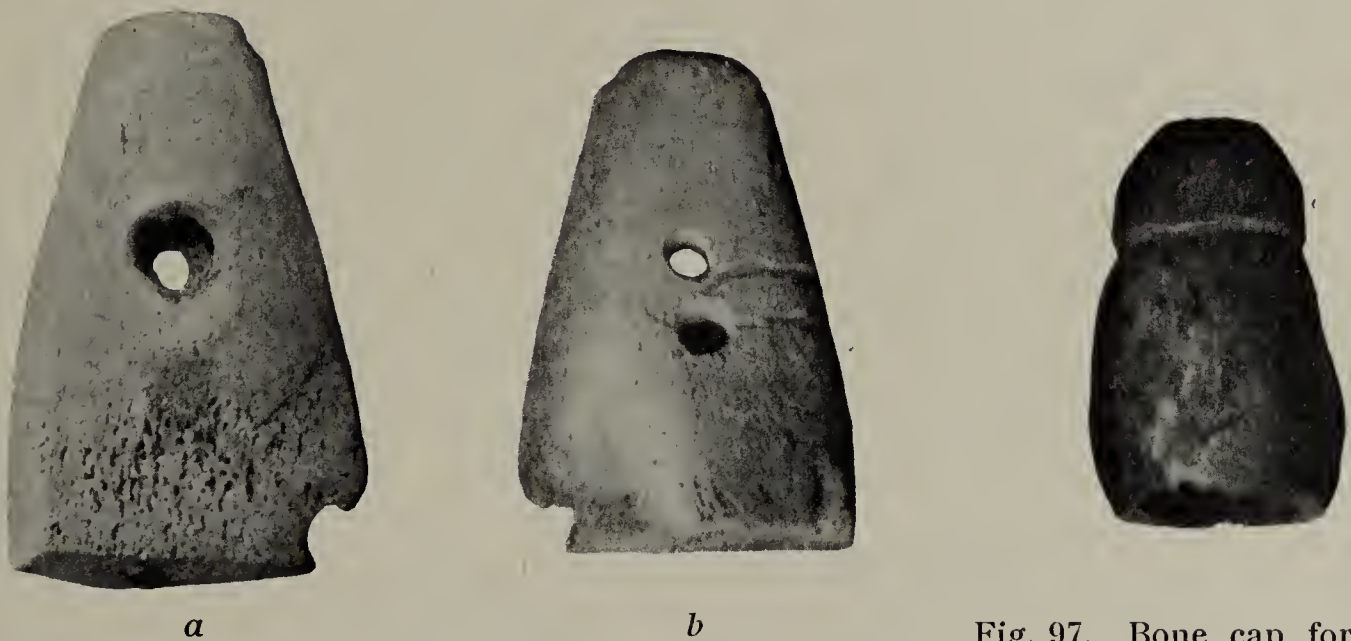


Fig. 96. Attachment for the harpoon shaft on the kaiak deck(?). *a* front, *b* back. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 97. Bone cap for the kaiak end (stem and stern). Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{1}$.

of one piece of bone) which is used at Ammassalik as a snow- and ice-scraper for the kaiak skin etc., is found again at Smith Sound (Kroeber) and in the Southampton Island region of Hudson Bay (Boas)¹).

CROSS-STRAPS AND BONE EYELETS OF THE KAIK. Hanserak states in his diary, that "the Ammassalikers and their neighbours have kaiaks with up-turned stern like the northern West Greenlanders, but the cross-straps (*tarqai*) over the deck are quite different from those of the west coast, as those fastened on the breast of the deck only extend over the middle part of this"²). The expression 'cross-straps quite different' contains an exaggeration. All I have found is, that this feature only applies to the first pair of the cross-straps, which are led together in pairs through bone eyelets and pass under the kaiak stand (the receptacle for the harpoon line). In South-west Greenland this pair of cross-straps are just as long as the others and the ends are fixed on each side of the kaiak immediately under the gunwale. In the Ammassalik kaiak they are quite short and are fixed (or sewn) in the deck skin not far from the median line.

The arrangement of the cross-straps and the corresponding bone eyelets over the deck of the Greenland kaiak has not been investigated and the contribution I can give is not complete. There are 10 thin cross-straps, 6 of which lie in pairs, held closely together by double-eyed, oblong eyelets, the others singly. At the "dead house" Amdrup found a number of these eyelets and other things belonging to the kaiak (28 pieces in all, figs. 95—97), always beautifully and carefully worked from bone or ivory. The following are the cross-straps (*ta^wrqän*) and the appertaining eyelets on the Ammassalik kaiak.

1. — Furthest forward on the deck near the bow there is quite a short cross-strap (*asalee^wtaa*, *asalee^wlua*), which at Ammassalik (as in West Greenland) is fixed (sewn) in the skin of the deck between the gunwales (not, like several of the other straps, on each side of the kaiak under the gunwales) and it is drawn through four or five eyelets, namely, at each end through a high eyelet sloping inwards and between these two or three smaller. This apparatus is called *asalee^wta* 'that which resembles (has a similar function as) a kaiak stand (*asaleq*)'; it serves to keep the bird-dart and bladder dart in position, the front part of the weapon being shoved in under

¹) Boas (1907) p. 407 fig. 204 c, cf. p. 408, fig. 206.

²) My citation of Hanserak's dairy is translated from the Eskimo manuscript (fasc. No. 8), which has been kindly lent me by Commander G. Holm. This passage corresponds to S. Rink's Danish translation (1900) p. 38, but both here and at several other places this Danish translation contains inaccuracies, even errors; it must in any case be regarded as being very free.

this strop or in between the bone eyelets above. I imagine that the eyelet represented in fig. 95*a* shows the larger kind and *b* and *c* the smaller of these eyelets.

2. — Almost midway between the first cross-strap and the man-hole there is the second strap (*miaa^wtaa*) single and divided into two

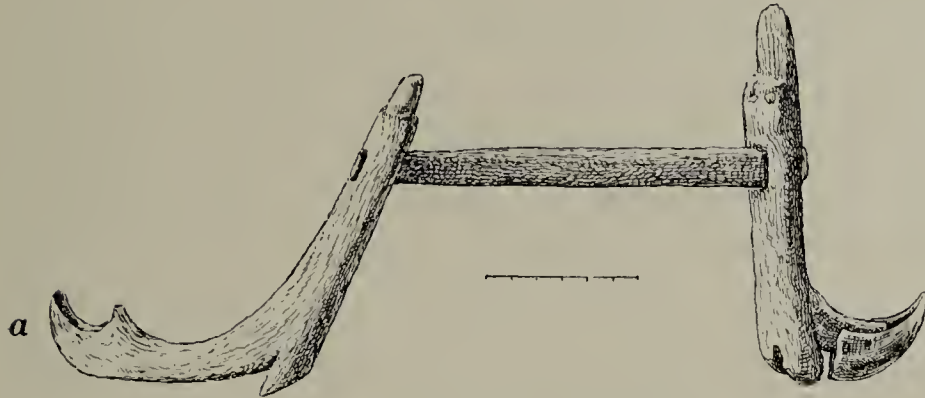


Fig. 98.

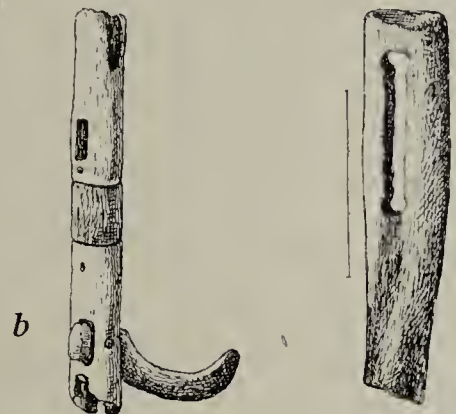


Fig. 99.

Three fragments of kaiak stands. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

parts, its outer ends likewise fixed in the deck skin. The two parts are unequally long, so that they can be brought together and tightened by the one being drawn through an eye on the other. At the end of the short part there is a bone eye or ring, through which is passed the end of the long part, and in the end of the latter there is a button or a bone hook (*nitsia*), sometimes with two or three barbs, which when the strap is tightened can be hooked into one of the cross-straps nearer towards the man-hole. This divided cross-strap is characteristic of the Ammassalik kaiak and unknown in West Greenland. The kaiaker uses it for fixing things, when he has a load on his kaiak, for example, a small seal. (Fig. 100).

3. — This is a single cross-strap, which is fixed at the gunwale in the sides of the kaiak and has no bone eyelets as a rule. The kaiak stand is fastened to this strap by a bone hook and the throwing stick of the bird-dart is pushed in under it (fig. 101).



Fig. 100. Eye and button for the foremost cross-strap on the kaiak. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

4—5. — A pair of short cross-straps, gathered at a short distance from each other by being drawn through the respective holes of two double bone eyelets (fig. 95*f*) and attached in the deck skin under the kaiak stand. It is probably this pair which Hanserak refers to in his just-cited description. Nowadays there are also kaiaks at Ammassalik, in which these cross-straps, or at any rate one of them, reach right over the deck from the one gunwale to the other. The kaiaker places his knife in under these straps.

6—7. — Between the foregoing pair and the man-hole, ca. 10 cm. in front of the latter, there is a pair of cross-straps, which reach over the full breadth of the deck from the one gunwale to the other and the ends are fixed under the gunwale. These straps are brought together like the preceding pair by being drawn through four double-eyed eyelets (*qoojutaaít*, *qoorutaaít*). In addition, they bear single-eyed eyelets (fig. 95*d*) on each side of the double-eyed, probably in varying number (I have seen a kaiak, where the cross-strap No. 6 had four of these, namely two on each side of the median line, and No. 7 a couple, one on each side). The hindmost leg of the kaiak stand presses against the first of these straps, or its foot may even be placed under it.

8—9. — These form a pair of straps, which resemble those last mentioned and lie at a distance of 32 to 34 cm. behind the man-hole right across the kaiak deck. They are kept in place by means of two double-eyed eyelets of the same type as those on the straps 4—5 and 6—7, but the eyelets here do not lie near the middle line of the kaiak, but are usually pulled out towards the sides. No. 8 further bears a single-eyed eyelet outside each of the larger eyelets. On these straps the bladder is attached, so long as it lies on the deck, the two wooden pegs tied to it being pushed in under them (cf. fig. 101).

10. — A divided cross-strap (*miaa^wt^waa*) midway between the man-hole and the stern of the kaiak. As with No. 2 the long end is drawn through a bone ring, which is fastened at the end of the short part (as a loop) and the two parts thus united can be tightened or lengthened by means of a toggle (*aañanera*) and a button (*uññuaa*), which are fixed at the outermost end of the part drawn through the bone ring (*orcee^wtaa*). The bone foreshaft of the sealing lance is placed under this strap, which also (like No. 2) can be used for fixing a small seal, if this when captured is laid up on the hind part of the kaiak.

EYELETS. — The kaiak skirt or “half-jacket” (p. 31), by the Ammassalikers called *akiwilisaq*, is provided with three eyelets below (seen in fig. 102) and often with a buckle above (regarding the buckle see fig. 335 and accompanying text)¹). The eyelets below serve to bring together the ends of the running line, which tightens the lower part of the skirt round the wooden ring of the man-hole. They are placed in front opposite the belly of the man; the largest is a flat, single-eyed eyelet (fig. 95*e*), in the shape of a semicircle,

¹) Compare also Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 464—466.

through which the ends of the running line are drawn. In these ends the two other (flask-shaped) bone eyelets are fixed; the end is stuck into the basal socket of the eyelet and fixed by a bone nail.

The smaller EYELETS in figs. 95 *f—i* (*qoorutaaít*), each with two transverse holes, belong to the cross-straps which lie in pairs over the kaiak deck (the cross-straps Nos. 4 to 9). Each pair of straps is drawn through two (or four) similar eyelets, each of which (or each pair) has its place on its own side of the middle line of the kaiak deck, where they can be moved to any side desired. These eyelets serve on the one hand, to lift the straps slightly above the deck skin, and thus to keep these dry so that the weapons or whatever it may be can be more easily fixed under them, on the other hand, by moving them a little, to tighten the straps where anything has been pushed under them. Fig. 95 *h* is broad and has the form of a seal, flat below and convex above (the figure shows it from above); *d* and *g* also have broad bases, whereas *f* and *i* are thinner (in the shape of spectacles). These eyelets are all from the "dead house". The eyelets for the cross-straps on the modern Ammassalik kaiaks are formed after the South Greenland type, especially the double-eyed, which are now made flat and broad, without any trace of the characteristic seal-shape.

Fig. 96 shows the front and back of a kind of eyelet or attachment, of which three pieces were found in the "dead house" (Amdrup coll. Nos. 298—300). In the narrow base is the opening of the same hole, which is seen in the broad side of *b* (lowermost of the two holes), thus a vertical canal. A little higher is a transverse hole, the rim of which on the other side is formed into a bed for a knot (countersinking). The notch seen low down in the one corner is common, like these holes, to all three pieces. It has probably been some sort of upright peg at the side of the deck, to prevent the harpoon and harpoon-line from slipping off, placed on the right side of the man-hole and sloping a little in towards it (*a* the inner side, *b* the outer side). Their form is now out of date. They have perhaps been a special East Greenland form of the well-known "attachment of right-hand side of man-hole of kayak"¹⁾ of the Smith Sound and Central Eskimo. Instead of this the Ammassalikers now use a small, cylindrical or semicylindrical bone block with a groove on the top (*atciŋukulaa*), almost at the same place on the kaiak, according to Johan Petersen, in imitation of the kaiak of the South Greenlanders. He knew, that they had earlier had a fairly long

¹⁾ Boas (1901) p. 12, fig. 3 and (1907) fig. 224 (from Southampton Island); probably misnamed "hand-support of harpoon-shaft" by Kroeber (1899), p. 281, fig. 17.

bone peg, bent upwards, which lay a little further forward on the same side of the kaiak.

Fig. 97 shows one of the hollow bone buttons or caps (*pooa ki^wkkän*) which are fixed at the ends of the kaiak fore and aft. It is in the shape of a mushroom, the upper part forming a hemispherical head surrounded by a groove.

THE POSITION OF THE WEAPONS ON THE KAIK is in East Greenland quite the same as in West Greenland. The bird dart and the bladder dart are placed on the foredeck, the former on the left, the latter on the right side. The point lies on the first cross-strap between the small pegs; the butt on the lateral bone peg on the legs of the kaiak stand.

The harpoon rests on the mid-deck of the kaiak to the right side of the man and with its head turned towards the stern. The throwing stick lies above the wooden shaft of the harpoon with its ornamented side uppermost. In earlier times the shaft rested on a fixed horizontal bone peg, which extended from the ring of the man-hole out towards the side, projecting a little beyond. Instead of this only a short, upright bone block with a groove in the surface is used now at the same place, copied from the South Greenland kaiak, where it is placed a little further forward, between the man-hole and the kaiak stand. — The harpoon head is set on the 'loose shaft' so as to have its belly with the line holes turning upwards. The harpoon line, which is looped through these holes, is pulled tight along the upper side of the shaft as far as the middle, where it is attached with a bone clasp on a peg on the shaft a little in front of the throwing stick. From there it runs loosely to the kaiak stand where the rest is neatly coiled.

When the harpoon is to be used, the kaiaker seizes the throwing stick along with the harpoon shaft which lies under it, and lifting both from the deck, with a turning movement of his arm and hand he swings them round half a circuit so that the head of the harpoon comes to point forward, its butt end backwards (on the kaiak deck its position was the opposite). In this position the harpoon head gets the back uppermost, the belly downwards, and if the head is shaped with a single basal barb, this is above on the shaft. The blade of the harpoon head is placed horizontally.

According to Fabricius¹⁾ the hunter first places the harpoon head on the 'loose shaft', then attaches the bone clasp of the harpoon line on to the shaft and stretches the line with the harpoon

¹⁾ Fabricius (1810) p. 157.



Fig. 101. Hunter in his kaiak about to seize his harpoon. (J. Petersen phot.).



Fig. 102. Hunter in his kaiak about to hurl his harpoon. (J. Petersen phot.).

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head at the end so much, that the basal socket of the head comes just over the point of the 'loose shaft' in straight continuation of the wooden shaft and its basal barb faces to the left or in towards the kaiak.

The large lance is placed on the left side of the man, mainly on the after-deck of the kaiak. Its head is directed backwards and is pushed in under the last cross-strap on the deck.

The kaiak scraper (snow and frost scraper) lies as a rule in under one of the cross-straps just in front of the man-hole; the throwing stick for the bird dart is at the same place.

HUNTING METHODS.

I shall give here a brief account of the methods used by the natives in hunting the animals, which are caught (or were earlier caught) at Ammassalik (cf. pp. 48—51).

It falls to the men to carry on the hunting of all the large animals, seals, whales and bears, formerly also the reindeer, and these are captured from the kaiak or on the ice, on a sledge trip or on foot. In whale hunting the men went out in the 'women's boats' (umiak). Even the fishing of the small caplins or ammassät which are caught at Qingaaq furthest up in Ammassawik Fjord in spring (p. 54), is carried on as a rule by the men, whereas in West Greenland this is the women's work. Only the animals and plants of little esteem, which are resorted to in times of famine, can be taken by the women. The foxes and ptarmigan, sea-scorpions, salmon, mussels and seaweed can be taken by the women as well as the men. Widows with children to provide for take part in the hunting of foxes and birds but never seals¹).

SEALS. — From the kaiak the men hunt the different kinds of seals, especially the common fjord-seal (*Phoca foetida*), the smallest species, which occurs everywhere in the fjords and along the coast the whole year round, the crested seal (*Cystophora cristata*) and the Greenland seal (*Phoca groenlandica*), which are hunted in the autumn out on the outer reefs. The other seals, bearded seal (*Erignathus barbatus*) and harbour seal (*Phoca vitulina*), walrus

¹) Tradition and tales speak, however, of women who went in the kaiak and caught seals (p. 252) and Holm met with two women who owned a kaiak (pp. 67 and 187, cf. 191) on the southern part of the coast, at Akorninarmiut. But these cases are great rarities. Outside Greenland seal-hunting women are mentioned (Repulse Bay) by Rae; see Boas (1888) p. 485.

and whales are now relatively rare¹). The fjord seal is caught on the winter ice; in the middle of winter especially these are taken through their breathing holes in the ice, but in spring they can often be overtaken when they creep up on the ice at the side of the opening made by themselves.

The chief weapons in the kaiak (before the introduction of the European gun) were the harpoon and lance. Both are still used. The KAIK HARPOON is a combination of a dart and a fixing apparatus, a dart with a loose head attached by a long, flexible line (the *harpoon line*) to the air-filled sealskin-float. The head penetrates in under the skin of the animal, which in its flight drags out the harpoon line, until the sealskin-float at the other end is thrown into the water and checks the speed of the animal. The KAIK LANCE is the death-dealing weapon that follows, a bone dagger at the end of a wooden shaft, by means of which the hunter stuns or kills the animal as it comes up to the surface to breathe²). If the animal does not die at once, the man gives it the death-blow by means of a hand-lance or small dagger of bone. When the seal is dead, the hunter loosens the skin from the blubber through a hole, blows it up and binds the edges of the hole together round a plug. He attaches the towing-strap through a strip made in the skin of the seal by two parallel cuts and fixes the other end under one of the cross-straps of the kaiak³). The forepaws of the seal are bound together and the towing bladder is attached to the seal to prevent it from sinking and thus he drags it along the surface of the water by the side of or behind the kaiak to his house or tent.

The methods of HUNTING SEALS (*Phoca foetida*) ON THE WINTER ICE in the East Greenland fjords are quite the same as those known from the large fjords in North-west Greenland⁴).

Nipparteq 'standing(?) on the watch' or *naalatteq* 'listening', (fig. 129) is the name given to the hunting method, or rather

¹) The Greenland seal has also greatly decreased in the numbers, according to the old Akernilik; even the crested seal is less common than in his young days. The famine years which have so often recurred during the last generation, have been mainly due to the decrease of these seals. The smallest kinds of whales (white whale and narwhal) are still caught from the kaiak.

²) Rink (1890) p. 192. Solberg (1907) p. 64.

³) In West Greenland, according to O. Fabricius (1810), the towing of the seal is carried out by means of a set of different straps which are attached round the body of the animal like a harness.

⁴) Hans Egede, *Perlustration* (1741) Cap. VII (pp. 58—59). H. Rink, *Nordgrønland* (1852) Part I, pp. 110 et seq., II, pp. 168 et seq. A. H. (Andreas Hansen) in *Atuagagdliutit* 1899, pp. 97—103. O. Fabricius' description of the ice-hunting weapons (1810, pp. 145—146) is very short and incomplete. They were first accurately described by G. Holm in (1888) pp. 77—79, in this volume pp. 50—51.

the hunter, who hunts alone at the breathing hole (*attiwa*) of the seal in the winter ice¹). He sits or stands on his ice-stool, the while he waits for the slight movement in the water of the hole, which tells him of the oncoming seal. For the seal has various holes at different places on its way under the ice, and it often lasts many hours, before the animal appears. He must wait soundless and immovable, not to frighten it. Under his feet he has either a small mat or a pair of shoes or sandals of bear or dog skin. When the snout of the animal sets the water in movement he strikes it with his ice harpoon (*sümmia*) and lets it swim away with the loosened harpoon head and the line, until it becomes tired and again seeks up to breathe. When he has succeeded in striking it with his lance and killing it, he widens the hole with the pick, which is attached to the butt end of the shaft of the weapon, and drags the animal up on the ice. — In the northern fjords of West Greenland several hunters went out in a group on the ice to distribute themselves at the breathing holes of the seals and wait at them like so many *nippartut*, and this “company hunt” is called there *maawtut*, from *mawpoq*, meaning ‘sinks his weapon through the ice’ i. e. carries on this kind of seal hunting on the ice. This expression and probably also even the hunting in company is unknown at Ammassalik.

In spring the bright light of the sun in the still air attracts the fjord seals up on to the ice to sun themselves and sleep. They scrape their breathing holes larger and creep up through them. *Aorniarteq* (from *aorpoq* ‘to crawl’) is the name for the hunting method, or rather the hunter, who hunts the seal up on the ice by crawling towards it and surprising it (*taqertsertarpaa*). If the seal notices the approaching hunter, the latter deceives it either by imitating the puffing sound and movements of a seal with the head and body whilst creeping forward, or by pushing a block of ice like a shield in front so that the seal may not see him. In this way it is possible to approach so near to the animal as to strike it. For this and the following method of hunting a special kind of harpoon (*tookaq*) is used. The shaft is 2 to 3 meters long and it is pushed forwards resting on a miniature sledge of wood (*qanimutaak*), figs. 117 and 126. Both in East and West Greenland, as the result of European influence, it has become customary to attach a small

¹) *atte* (with suffix *attiwa*) “the uppermost part of the breathing hole of the seal in the ice” corresponds to the West Greenland *aLLO*; *ki^wkkwileq* “the widened lower part of the breathing hole”; *naalarpoq* “to listen”. The hunter finds his way to the hole by listening for the breathing of the seal, which is heard far over the ice. If he finds a hole, he looks first to see if there is any thin ice over it; in such cases he knows, that there is no seal below.

white sail to the sledge, just large enough to hide the hunter from the sharp eyes of the seal. This was probably (in West Greenland already in the 18th century) a substitute for the earlier used ice-shield.

I may cite here the interesting description of the mineralogist GIESECKE regarding this kind of seal hunting on the ice at Umanak in North-west Greenland. When I journeyed through the same large fjord 90 years later, I obtained quite similar accounts of the still persisting method of hunting. Giesecke writes in his diary under April 1811¹⁾:

“Der Grönländer geht auf diese Jagd mit Hundeschlitten; sobald er einen Seehund (*Phoca foetida*) sieht, so macht er die dazu abgerichteten Hunde mit einen Peitschenschwung, welcher vor ihren Köpfen weggeht, oder nur mit einen Zeichen stille stehen. Er nimmt dann einen kleinen Schlitten, welcher an der Rückwand des grossen hängt, und mit einem kleinen 1 Elle breiten und $\frac{2}{3}$ Elle hohen weissen Seegel versehen ist, welches ein Stück Eis vorstellen soll, und kriecht von demselben bedeckt, den Schlitten mit den Händen vor sich hinbewegend, auf allen Vieren bis zur Schussweite auf den Seehund los, steckt dann durch ein im Seegel angebrachtes Loch den Büchsenlauf, und schiesst auf den Seehund. — Auf den Schuss kommen die Hunde mit den Schlitten, wie auf ein Signal in vollem Galop angerannt, und halten den Seehund, falls er nicht ganz todt seyn sollte. — Die Grönländer sagen, dass sie diese Art, die Seehunde zu belauern, von den Eisbären gelernet hätten, welche statt des Seegels sich eines Stückes Eises bedienten, um dasselbe vor sich hinzurücken, und durch diese List den Seehund zu erbeuten. — Ein Grönländer kann auf diese Weise, besonders hier in Omenaksfiord 7 und 8 Stücke in einem Tage fangen. Oft liegen sie paarweise in ihrer Begattungszeit; zuweilen habe ich ihrer zu 20 und 50 auf einer Stelle auf dem Eise gesehen. Sie halten sich besonders gerne in der Nähe der Eisbinke des Fiords auf. Ehmals schossen die Grönländer sie statt der Büchsen mit Bogen und Pfeilen, oder tödeten sie auch mit Harpunen. Statt der Seegel von weisser Leinwand gebrauchten sie weissgegerbte feine Seehundefelle. Einige Grönländer belauerten sie auch ohne Seegel, bloss damit, dass sie das Geschrey und die Grimassen des Seehundes nachahmen.

Ich wollte diesen Fang, dessen noch in keiner Reisebeschreibung erwähnt wurde, weitläufig beschreiben, um einen deutlichen Begriff davon zu geben. Einen auf diese Weise gefangenen Seehund nennen die Grönländer *Utuk*²⁾ und *Utuniarpok* bedeutet: er geht auf den Utukfang. Die ärmern, welche weder Schlitten noch Hunde haben, gehen zu Fuss auf diese beschwerliche Jagd.”

Itluarteq (plur. *itluartin*, *itjuartin*) is the term used to denote the seal hunting of two men who work together at two holes in the ice. This method is used especially, when the ice in winter has become so thick, that it is difficult to see through the breathing

¹⁾ Giesecke (1878) p. 230; (1910) pp. 308—309.

²⁾ Phonetically *ootoq* (with a long closed o) means ‘a heated seal, a seal which has crawled up to lie and sun itself on the ice’. The name is only known in the northern West Greenland, and unknown at Ammassalik.

hole, whether the seal is at the lower (widened) opening. A spot is chosen near to where there is a strong current in the fjord or near an iceberg frozen-in in the fjord ice, where fissures have formed owing to the rising and falling of the water under the ice. The seals are attracted to the spots where the light penetrates through.

The breathing hole of the seal is not used. Two new holes are cut either with the ice pick of the harpoon shaft if the ice is very thick; or, on the thinner ice, the bone-point of the weapon (fore-shaft, *igimaaq*) is sufficient. The one hole is so large, that the hunter himself can get into it and cut down further a meter or two. The second hole is much smaller.

If the ice is 2 to 3 meters thick, the shaft of the weapon must reach 3 to 4 meters down in the small hole. Part of the art in using the weapon consists just in holding it in the exact direction through this hole. This is done by one (*artaaia*) of the two hunters. The other (*pattiwia*) lies down peering through the larger hole, with a loose skin over his head and shoulders to enable him to see better down into the water, when the seal is approaching¹). To decoy the seal he or the other makes a peculiar sound, which is sent down along the pole; the small, white pieces of bone dangling at the end of this also attract the attention of the seal. The decoy sound (probably varying according to the distance or proximity of the seal) is a long, repeated whisper *tjuq, tjuq, tjuq aah!* or a fluctuating whistle of two tones followed by a long drawn out whisper *pushsh*, or beating and scraping on the shaft. The weapon in the hole is also moved a little up and down. When the spying hunter sees, that the seal is right opposite the point of the weapon, which reaches down through the small hole, he utters an emphatic and at the same time cautious *keeh, keeh* (or *keeq, keeq*), an interjection which means "strike"! If the watcher has estimated the position of the seal in the water correctly, the animal is now struck by the harpoon; the harpoon head pierces the skin and hangs fast by turning round. Then the hole in the ice is widened from above and the seal hauled up. With this method of hunting, which has now died out (after the introduction of European guns), a couple of capable hunters were able to bring home 6 to 7 seals on a day, if they were lucky.

Cases occur naturally, where a hunter captures a seal by some method, which cannot be referred absolutely to any of those men-

¹) Cf. Hans Egede (1741) Plate on p. 50, where the decoy is seen lying on a sledge without uprights, with a skin over his head. Mason (1900) p. 239 cites from Egede "a low bench, upon which they lie down upon their bellies". It is a kind of sledge, to judge from the illustration.

tioned. An Eskimo has many ways of getting over a difficulty and can invent a plan of attack. His decoying sounds and whistling for the seals may vary with individual experience. If two hunters, on their way out to sea, were to catch sight of a rising seal, the one would try to get the seal to look in his direction by whistling, whilst the other approached from behind and gave the animal its death-blow. If a man wandering about happens to spy a seal, which has crept up and gone to sleep on the ice, he steals gently up and surprises it with a blow of his knife, if he is in luck.

NET-FISHING FOR SEALS. — The catching of seals in nets is mentioned as used in former times both at Ammassalik and on the west coast¹). According to one of the legends (only known from East Greenland), *Matakatak* hunted seals with nets (*nigak*) which were made of whalebone²). In a variant of the same tale which was given me by Mitsuarnianga, *Matakatak* had another name *Qajaaitseq* 'the one without a kaiak' (because he did not owe any); he made his nets of thongs of bearded-seal skin which he wove into meshes and set out between the islands.

I think it highly probable that net-fishing for seals was used in Greenland in old days. Netting is one of the most used methods on the winter-ice in Alaska³). Old implements for making nets have been found in Greenland and nets were made there for the salmon fishing before the arrival of Europeans, according to Glahn and O. Fabricius⁴). The same is mentioned by John Davis who based his observations on the "gentle and loving Savages" he came across on the 64th N. lat. of the Greenland west coast (July 4th 1586) in the following words⁵):

"They are never out of the water, but live in the nature of fishes, save only when dead sleepe taketh them, and then under a warme rocke laying his boat upon the land, hee lyeth downe to sleepe. Their weapons are all darts, but some of them have bow and arrowes and slings. They make nets to take their fish of the finne of a whale: they do all their things very artificially."

When the Danish colonisation began in the 18th century the seal fishing with nets had long fallen out of use. But the foreign colonists soon took up again, or introduced anew, the use of nets for catching seals and this way of sealing has since been very important for the production in West Greenland⁶) but it is still not much practised at Ammassalik.

¹) Holm in this volume pp. 51—52. Cf. (1888) p. 79.

²) Id. *ibid.* p. 256.

³) Murdoch (1892) p. 252.

⁴) Fabricius (1818) p. 269. Glahn (1771) p. 204.

⁵) John Davis (1586) p. 398.

⁶) Rink (1852) pp. 119—124; (1877) pp. 120—121.

Of the WHALE FISHING in earlier times Kilime gave me an account. The men, who went out in the umiaks, were clad in water-tight skin anoraks (*qaarset^waaf*), which were tied tightly round about and then blown up, so as to bear them up in the water like bladders, if the whale should upset the umiak. They attacked this with their lances or with tent-poles on which knives were fixed. The umiak crept close up to the whale. Six sealskin floats (*arper-seetin*) of unusual size (the largest made from the harbour seal) were attached to it and when dead it was towed to land and divided up with knives and ulos¹). (Cf. pp. 31 and 56).

BEARS (cf. pp. 52—53) are chiefly attacked with the lance, whether from the kaiak, sledge or on the ice. They are often attacked in a very venturesome manner. A man feels it an honour to have scars of wounds on his body from the claws of a bear. He thinks nothing of getting out of his kaiak on to the ice-hummock, where the bear has gone, and attacking it singly with his two-edged knife (*pana*). Many of those who come well out of such a doubtful combat, owe their life to the assistance of a comrade who in the moment of need hastened to the man threatened with death and rescued him from the hug or teeth of the beast.

Bears are met with both in summer and in winter. They come as a rule from the south along the land²), either out on the sea ice, where regular bear paths are formed, the animals following in each other's tracks, or through the fjords, over the cliffs. The winter hunt is carried on from the sledge with dogs and often lasts several days on end. The team of dogs is specially trained for the bear hunting. The lance (*awalisaq*) used in attacking the bear hangs in two loops on the left side of the sledge. The dogs are quickly let loose, when the hunter following up the tracks has overtaken the

¹) In the tale about *Natatek* (pp. 246—250) a special weapon (*angmaletarsiutek*) is mentioned in connection with the narwhal hunting, presumably at openings in the ice. But no further information is available. — Glahn in 1784 wrote a report on the customs of the Greenlanders in whale fishing. It appears from this, that the hunting of the large whales (or rather only of *Balaena vera*, *Zordragerii*) was only carried on in the Holstensborg district (W. Greenland ca. 66° lat. N.); 2 to 3 umiaks went out together, each with 10 to 12 men on-board. Further, many kaiaks accompanied them, acting like the "flying-column of an army", or in modern language, like torpedo-boats in a fleet.

²) If a man finds a bear track out on the sea ice, he looks southwards for the next bear that may follow. The reason why the bears are almost always going northwards, when they are encountered at Ammassalik, is said to be, that they move southwards in large numbers out at the ice-edge, many miles from the coast, where the men never go out. From the south point of the land they then turn northwards along the coast.

bear and they surround it barking the while, so as to 'hold' it; the hunter has then as a rule little difficulty in killing it with his lance. *Panarpara* he says, "I killed it with my knife", perhaps expressed in this way as a relict of a time when the point of the lance (*ipuli-gaq*) has been knife-shaped(?). It is in complete agreement with the often mentioned custom of fixing a knife (*pana*) on to the end of a pole for use as a lance; the custom is spoken about both in the whale fishing and bear hunting (cf. also the tale of *Musatak*, in this volume p. 291).

Bears are said to be sensitive along the back, which explains why such a small, feeble animal like the dog can bring it to bay. For the dog's teeth could not possibly pierce the thick hide and skin of the bear, to do any damage. But the bear seems to have an instinctive terror of the dog; the mere touch of this produces a shuddering in its sensitive nape.

Sometimes the bear is caught in its winter-lair in the snow (*naneq apitseq*), where it has buried itself for a month or two. The hunter first blocks up the entrance effectively with snow, then makes an opening in the snow above the bear and stabs it from above.

Each year some 70 to 80 bears are killed at Ammassalik at the present time; the skins are sold to the magazine of the administration at Ammassalik and sent to Copenhagen in the autumn. But many more bears are seen each year than are caught. Even the great bear-hunters seldom kill more than 2 or 3 bears in the year. When I visited *Imaakwa*, the angakok at Sawanaraarteq in Sermilik fjord, who might have been about 50 years old, he stated, that he had caught 48 bears in his life (numbering them on his fingers: "two persons together and 8 on the third"). I imagine that this is about the normal number.

The tradition tells of bear traps, both in West Greenland and at Ammassalik. On both coasts the Eskimo hero *Kaasasuk's* bear trap is shown at certain localities, in West Greenland in the neighbourhood of Upernavik (72° N. lat.)¹⁾ and more to the south on the outmost end of the Noussuaq peninsula (70° 30' N. lat.)²⁾; in East Greenland south of Ammassalik at two or three places and north of it at Tugtilik³⁾. — Kruuse makes mention of a bear trap he saw at Nualik (if it is not merely a shelter)⁴⁾; Amdrup of one at Skærgaards-

¹⁾ According to oral communication of a tale written down by me at Upernavik in 1901.

²⁾ Giesecke (1811) p. 257 (2nd ed. p. 347); Rink (1866) p. 355; Steenstrup (1878—80, ed. 1893) p. 6; Holm (1888) pp. 80—81, in this volume p. 53.

³⁾ Holm in this volume pp. 52—53.

⁴⁾ Kruuse (1912) p. 187.

halvø¹⁾. Thostrup finally remarks that bear traps were not found by the Danmark Expedition²⁾. The question regarding the actual use of such traps is yet open for further investigation.

REINDEER HUNTING (p. 56) has also been carried on formerly in this district, with the bow and arrow just as in West Greenland. According to Hans Egede's account of this hunting and his illustration to the text³⁾, the hunting was carried on in summer, taking the form of a regular battue, in which the animals were herded together by a chain of men, women and children and forced to go in a definite direction "towards narrow paths and passages" by means of the chain and rows of poles or sticks with sods stuck on the top. Close to a narrow passage (in Egede's illustration) an archer is seen, concealed behind a stone and aiming with his arrow at the animals which are approaching. The hunting has undoubtedly been carried on in quite a similar manner on the large island *Kulusuk* (Cape Dan) at the entrance of Ammassalik Fjord. At the one end of a fertile plan, which reaches down to a large inland lake, there is a narrow strait or pass between hills, where we find the remains of the *Taalín*, a wall or fence of upraised stones connected with a shooting cover, for use in reindeer hunting (cf. Holm p. 57 and my photograph fig. 394). The word is the name for the place on Kulusuk and is found as place name at several localities in West Greenland (here called *talut*), where similar walls occur⁴⁾. In the middle of the wall I have seen there is an opening like a gate, through which the hunted animals have been obliged to take flight. Before the end of the wall are the remains of a rectangular cover in which the waiting hunter has lain concealed. I was shown, how the animals usually came, from the high slopes in the east, on their way down to the grassy heath and the inland lake. A large detached rock lies out on the heath and behind this a man on the watch conceals himself and signals to the archer in the shooting cover, when he sees the animals approaching. Now only a small part of the wall remains, a row of stones ca. 2 to 3 feet broad. The stones are comparatively small with no trace of sods between them. Old men believed they could remember, that in their childhood it had a greater height and it is said to have even been so high earlier

¹⁾ Amdrup (1902) p. 240.

²⁾ Thostrup (1911) pp. 198—199.

³⁾ Hans Egede (1741) pp. 33—34 and Plate to p. 33. Fabricius (1810) p. 239.

⁴⁾ For example at Kangikitsok in Ilua Fjord furthest south on the west coast; see Holm in "Medd. om Grønland" VI (1894) p. 137. — The shooting walls are also mentioned in tales, see e. g. No. 23 and No. 39 here. They are often mentioned outside of Greenland, e. g. in Baffin Land by Boas (1888) pp. 501—502. Cf. Steensby (1905) pp. 54, 67, 82, 86, 109, 115, 179 etc.

that it reached up to the chest of a full-grown man(?). On this island the reindeer were probably exterminated a few generations ago¹⁾, just as on Disko Island in West Greenland, where they must have been exterminated about the year 1800²⁾.

THE BOW AND ARROW are only known by tradition at Ammassalik (p. 56); no bow or fragment of a bow has hitherto been received by the ethnographic collections from this district of Greenland, whereas there are numerous fragments of this weapon from the northern regions of East Greenland (in Ryder's³⁾ and Nathorst's collections). In the Amdrup collection there is only a very small fragment (of wood) of a bow from the northern part of the coast visited; it is not known where it was taken. I shall not enter into a detailed description of this weapon, therefore. In West Greenland it was still used about the middle of the 18th century, chiefly, however, for the capture of the land birds⁴⁾. As to the cross-bows, see end of next chapter.

FOXES (p. 55) are captured in stone traps. Several kinds are mentioned: *pusisaawtin* or *pulisaawtin* in which the foxes are killed by a falling stone (*akimisaawtin*); *puttalin*, in which the foxes are taken alive; *qimmia* is the thong, which connects the bait (*naajatsaat*) with the falling stone (*miliya*). At the "dead house" Amdrup found an instrument, consisting of a square-shaped wooden block, with a (broken) shaft fixed in a hole in the middle (fig. 179). The Ammassalikers explained, that it is used to clean out the fox-traps (as a chimney is cleaned).

GULLS and RAVENS (cf. p. 55) are often caught in a kind of trap built of snow, called *teorqaawiy* or *ittiwiyaq* (plural *ittuikkät*), the same word as is used to indicate the snow-huts, which the Eskimo build to pass the night in on their journeys. This snow trap is so

¹⁾ Graah obtained somewhat confused information regarding the occurrence of reindeer in the north. From the island Aluik at 64° 17' N. lat. he saw snow-free land far to the north, and some of the natives explained, that it was "large islands, which had grass and vegetation, though no large plains. One of them said, that reindeer lived there, but the others denied this". Graah (1832) p. 107. — Holm gives among the place-names on the coast north of Ammassalik one belonging to a fjord *Tugtilik* which means 'having reindeer' (on about 66° 20' lat. N., cf. the chart in "Meddelelser om Grønland" IX, Pl. XVII) and according to a tradition reindeer had been numerous up there at a former time. Holm l. c. p. 224, and in this volume p. 111.

²⁾ Hans Egede (1741) p. 33, footnote, states that "there is a quantity of reindeer on Disko Island; now they have become rather scarce there as at several places" (pp. 76—78). But Giesecke records in his Journal (for September 1807), that the reindeer on Disko Island have been exterminated.

³⁾ Ryder (1895) pp. 307—309.

⁴⁾ Glahn (1771) p. 230. Bahnson (1900) fig. 104.

large, that the trapper himself can sit in it whilst on the watch; on the top is placed the bait for the birds, above a thin, transparent lump of frozen snow. When the bird settles down to feed, its legs break through the snow and it can be taken by the watcher with the hands. Then the hole is covered with fresh snow and the bait¹⁾. Or he may also place a snare with the bait (blubber) close outside a small opening in the snow hut. In Sermilik Fjord it was also the custom to build up similar hut-traps of stone and turf (chiefly for the capture of ravens)²⁾. Gulls are also caught on a bone stick (10 to 15 cm. in length) from the bone of a bear, on which a piece of blubber is fixed. This swims on the water on a long line. The gull swallows the bone with the blubber and the bone stick cross-ways in its neck. The watching hunter then easily kills it with his weapon. Cf. pp. 55—56, and fig. 175*a* and *b*.

PTARMIGAN are often killed by stones (*mittertoq*) but also in traps (*pusisarter*) or snares (*napiarter*).

SALMON and SEA-SCORPIONS (pp. 53—54) are fished from the shore or on the ice with spears of various types (*kanneen*; *kaki-paain*). Salmon dams (*saputaatät*) are laid down at the mouth of rivers or at their outlet from the inland lakes; they consist of long rows of stones, lying in such shallow water that they reach above the surface and at short distances from each other, forming openings through which the fish are obliged to go, when chased. I have seen such dams both in a lake around the head of a river just over the fall west of the colony at Tasiusaq, and at the inner end of an inlet around the mouth of a rivulet, close by the summer place at Qingaaq.

HUNTING WEAPONS.

THE HARPOONS (used in hunting the seals, walrus and whales) belong to the Eskimo's large class of stunning or half-killing weapons; like the fish-hooks and snares they are more intended to catch hold of than to kill the animal. The characteristic feature of the harpoon in contrast to the lance and dart is the loosely attached head at its front end, a barbed toggle head made of bone. When the

¹⁾ O. Fabricius (1818) p. 240 mentions quite the same methods of hunting for West Greenland.

²⁾ Compare what is told of *Misana* and the fox-and-raven trap in the tale of *Imerasugsuk* (in this volume p. 236). Cf. Thostrup (1911) pp. 233—235.

HUNTING WEAPONS FROM ANGMAGSALIK. (Holm coll.).

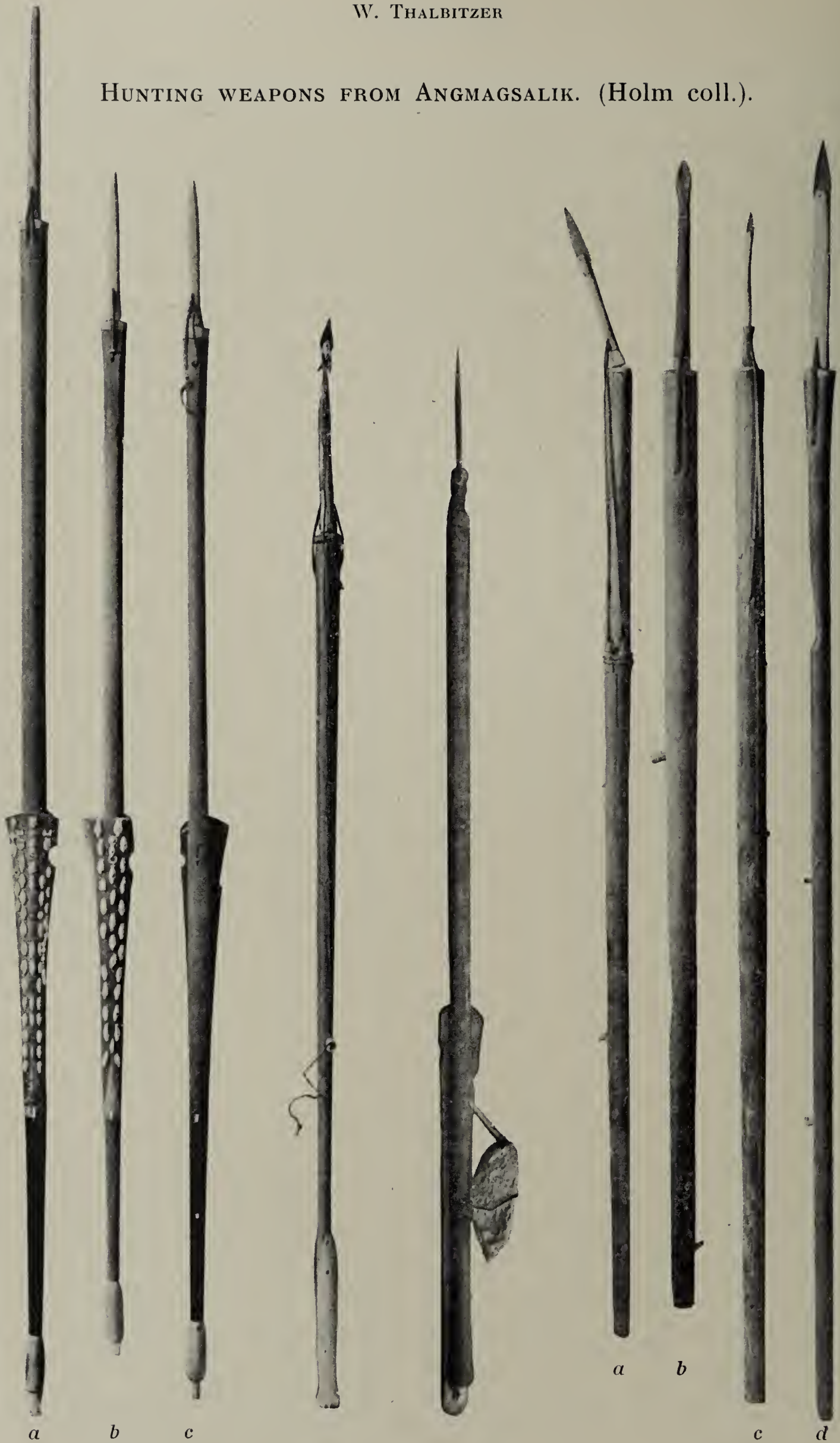


Fig. 103.
Knob-harpoons with
throwing board at-
tached. $\frac{1}{12}$.

Fig. 104.
Feather har-
poon. $\frac{1}{8}$.

Fig. 105.
Bladder dart.
 $\frac{1}{10}$.

Fig. 106.
Four lances. $\frac{1}{12}$.

hunter has struck the seal, the detached head remains in the wound under the skin of the animal, like a sort of fish-hook, and there turns round like a toggle, when the animal in seeking to escape downwards tightens the line. The harpoon head remains in constant connection with the man or his float by means of the line, while the wounded animal is seeking to escape. The line passes through a transverse hole in the harpoon head, where it is doubled up into a closed loop or bight, whilst the other end is attached to the float (in the kaiak harpoon) or is simply held in the hand (ice-harpoon). These harpoons, which are used by all Eskimo in sealing from kaiak or ice, have the common principle, that the head leaves the shaft when the animal has been struck. This is the principle of the true harpoon. The false harpoon, which is only known from East Greenland, has a hinged toggle head of a special type; it is hinged on to a transverse axis, round which it turns, at the end of a very long wooden shaft. Such a harpoon is, for example, the East Greenlander's *ituartit* weapon, used in the two-man sealing on the ice.

Following G. Holm's description of the East Greenland harpoons (pp. 46—47)¹⁾ I shall call the two nearly related types of kaiak harpoons the *knob-harpoon* and the *feather-harpoon* (figs. 103 and 104). The designations are based on the different forms of the bone weight, which is fixed at the butt end of the wooden shaft and which regulates the movement during the flight through the air (figs. 108 and 115). For the same reason the use of the throwing stick is somewhat different for these kinds of harpoons. Common to both types is the characteristic 'loose shaft' (*eemaq*, West Greenland *igimaq*), a movable shaft, often of narwhal tusk which forms a neck or joint²⁾ (fig. 119) between the loose harpoon head and the true shaft. The latter (figs. 112 to 113) is of wood, but has a short bone foreshaft (i. e. a small bone or ivory cap on the end surface, figs. 109 and 110). — Other sealing weapons of Greenland of types related to the harpoon are the ice-harpoon and the lance. The ice-harpoon (fig. 116) does not have the loose shaft. On the other hand,

¹⁾ The description of Otto Fabricius (1810 and 1818) of these weapons — harpoons and bladder darts, which he calls *Harpun-pile* (harpoon-darts) and *Kaste-pile* (casting darts) and lances, bird darts etc. — is classic, somewhat generalized but full of exact descriptions of the details. With regard to the harpoon (l. c. pp. 130—131 and 139), he accepts Cranz' description but at the same time points out that the figures are misleading ("he has drawn all the nails and straps on the wrong side of the weapon"). Fabricius' description is restricted to West Greenland, especially the central and southern parts; it can only in part be considered as applying to East Greenland, where the culture differs in many details from that of the other coast.

²⁾ O. Mason (1900) p. 199, cf. 237.

the lance (figs. 106 and 107) has a loose shaft, a flexible bone-rod for its head (unbarbed and without any detachable toggle head) and it is thus stamped as a contrivance, which is not thrown to kill, but mainly to prevent the animal from escaping, by wounding and stunning it.



Fig. 107. Loose shaft (bone) of a lance. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{6}$.

THE KAIK HARPOONS. — Technical names (at Ammassalik): *caarqin* knob harpoon; *innarnaq* feather harpoon; *sawikättaa* its loose head, toggle head with inserted blade; *ulunnaq* (plur. *ulurnät*)¹) toggle head of bone all in one piece without inserted blade; *ulua* its (the head's) inserted blade or point of stone, bone or iron; *akiän* lateral barbs; *ummia* front (upper) portion of the bone head or toggle (in which the blade is inserted in a groove); *qipia* hind (nether) portion of the head; *putua*, *puttua*^k the line hole; *seetoraia* or *kiaawia* the shaft socket (properly 'anus'); *pamiaa*^k the basal barbs (properly 'tail'); *eema* its (the harpoon's) loose shaft, or the bone joint between head and foreshaft; *sawatarpia* foreshaft, bone cap on end of the wooden shaft; *sättutaa*, *tättulaa* short double straps connecting the loose shaft with the wooden shaft; *attiwa* the part of the wooden shaft between the throwing stick and the foreshaft (literally 'its nether part'); *pak^wkaa* the part of the wooden shaft between the throwing stick and the bone end (knob); *ajätcisaa* throwing stick; *aa^wtaakilaa*, *aataakitaa* the foremost bone peg on the shaft side for attaching the throwing stick; *napaa^wt^waa* the hindmost bone peg on the shaft for the throwing stick; *isoqutaa* bone knob (weight) on the basal shaft end of knob harpoon; *noorqutaa* peg (tenon) on the basal surface of the knob; *sutootaa(k)* (two) bone feather(s) on the basal end of feather harpoon shaft; *atcinaaq*, *atcin^waataa* harpoon line; *sawippia* lateral peg on shaft side for the attachment of the harpoon line; *talippia* bone clasp on the harpoon line for this attachment.

The Greenland harpoon heads are in principle toggle harpoons. But although the Greenland harpoon heads are always shaped like toggles and placed on the end of the shaft, yet in addition they are always provided with barbs, not only at the base but as a rule also higher up. O. Mason's



Fig. 108. A pair of bone feathers for the basal end of a harpoon shaft. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{6}$.

¹) The old Akernilik called these bone toggles without inserted blade *aqaluittä* and the fore portion (the blade portion of the toggle) *ulunnaq* (or *ulunner*).

division of this weapon into toggle and barbed harpoons¹⁾ can thus in so far not be used here. But, as he himself admits, the two types grade insensibly into one another, and in many Greenland harpoon-heads the line is drawn through so close to the butt of the head, that the direction of the pull differs very little from the longitudinal axis of the head; in such heads it is probable, that a toggling of the head does not take place in the wound, and it is only the barbs of the head which prevent its falling out. — A more detailed description of the Ammassalik types of harpoon-heads will be found pp. 424—430.

Regarding the form and function of the loose shaft — the characteristic bone-joint of the harpoon between the head and the shaft proper — I may refer to G. Holm's description here p. 46 and to O. Mason's detailed description²⁾, which like his other studies on the Aboriginal American Harpoons, is very instructive.

On only one point in Mason's account is a correction necessary. In his description of the East Greenland harpoon he states: "The foreshaft is in this specimen a cap of ivory, squared off on top, and the middle left projecting for the socket on the base of the loose shaft" (l. c. p. 238). According to this the loose shaft would have a socket on the basal surface, covering a corresponding projection on the top of the foreshaft. The same explanation is repeated in describing a second example from South Greenland and his illustration of this part of the harpoon (fig. 49 in Mason) shows the same peculiar feature³⁾. It is probably based on some mistake. The condition in all the Greenland harpoons, which I have seen, has always been that the tenon (or projection) was on the base of the loose shaft and the socket on the flat top of the foreshaft⁴⁾. There is some doubt, as to whether Mason has described his own specimens correctly on this point. In the first place it is unusual, that the two Greenland harpoons, he describes, should differ from the Greenland type known elsewhere; in the second place, there is a contradiction in Mason's description. On the same page, namely, where he describes the foreshaft erroneously (p. 238), he explains, in full agreement with the usual type of Greenland harpoon, that the loose shaft has a "flat surface at the base, with a projection in the middle, fitting into a cavity on the front of the foreshaft", and his drawing of this harpoon (Pl. 4) is accurate and correct. It thus appears, that through forgetfulness he has given an erroneous description of the ball-and-socket joint which he had described correctly on referring to the loose shaft⁵⁾.

The foreshaft of the harpoon, as Mason states, is "the working end of the shaft and is usually a block of bone or ivory neatly fitted on". The remark agrees with the harpoons and lances of the

¹⁾ O. Mason (1900) p. 199, cf. 237.

²⁾ Id. (ibid.) pp. 203—204; cf. 242.

³⁾ O. Mason, l. c. pp. 255—256: "The loose shaft is — — square at the base and socketed to fit over a small projection on the foreshaft," cf. p. 242 (below).

⁴⁾ Otto Fabricius (1810) p. 135.

⁵⁾ In F. Nansen's "Eskimoliv" (1891) p. 31 there is a drawing of the front end of a harpoon, which, though indistinctly, shows the same error in confusing the loose shaft and foreshaft. Nansen is cited by Mason (l. c. p. 240).

Central and West Eskimo; but so far as Greenland is concerned, it does not agree exactly, the foreshafts here being flat, rectangular plates or caps¹). Also the joining of the loose shaft and the foreshaft differs. Instead of having a basal tenon at the end, the loose shafts of the West Eskimo are only whittled off below to fit the conical socket in the block- or pear-shaped foreshaft²). Amdrup found

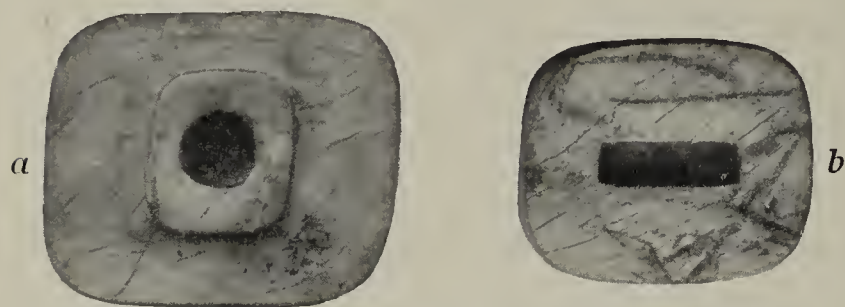


Fig. 109. Two bone caps for the foreshaft of a harpoon. *a* upper side, *b* under side. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

three foreshafts of this kind further north on the east coast of Greenland (on Dunholm Island $69^{\circ} 54' \text{ N. lat.}$)³). It is possible, that this kind of foreshaft (pear-shaped) has been common formerly on the Greenland walrus and whale harpoons. Further south, at the "dead house"

on Nualik, Amdrup found various harpoon and lance shafts (figs. 112 and 114) of the special Greenland type, some with the caps still on them. The illustrations (figs. 109 and 110) show the occasional difference, that the cap of the harpoon is rectangular and has on the top a low, square-shaped, projection in the flat upper side of which the socket is made, whereas the cap of the lance is circular. The fairly long groove on the underside of these caps is intended to fit the end of the wooden shaft, which at its flattened top has a corresponding ridge to fit the groove; in fig. 110, further, two wooden nails have been used in the attachment. The rectangular cap measures 4 by 4.8 cm. A rectangular cap of ivory, thus a foreshaft of the Ammassalik type, was found by the 2nd German North Pole

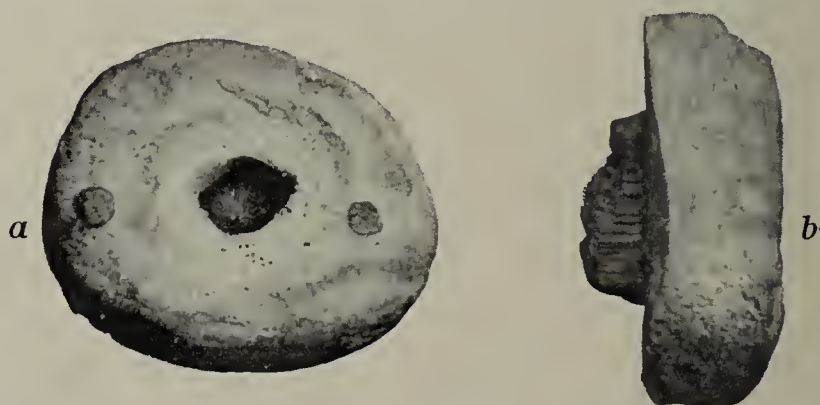


Fig. 110. Bone cap for the foreshaft of a lance. *a* upper side, *b* lateral view. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

¹) A foreshaft of block-shaped or pear-shaped form (e. g. foreshaft of a barbed harpoon, Mason l. c. p. 199) is found however, on the Greenland bladder dart (figs. 105 and 124) and *ituartit* harpoon (fig. 117); it may be compared with the block of bone which forms the lowest part of the lance's loose shaft (fig. 107).

²) Boas (1888) figs. 417, 419, 420. (1901) fig. 8. Something resembling a projection is indicated, however, in the qatilik or large spear, by Parry from Iglulik (N.W. corner of Hudson Bay) 1824, Pl. fig. 20, and Boas (1888) p. 492, fig. 425.

³) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 361—364 and 443—446. In Scoresby Sound Ryder found two loose shafts of harpoons, of separate types (i. e. one with basal tenon, one with tapering basal point) Ryder (1895) fig. 12.

Expedition in Franz Josephs Fjord¹), evidence of the continuity of the South Greenland culture as far north on this coast. At Smith Sound foreshafts are also used, which had distinctly the character of flat caps²).

The connection between the different parts of the harpoon — the head, loose shaft and wooden shaft — is made everywhere by means of two independent systems of straps or lashings. — 1. The connection of the loose bone shaft with the wooden shaft is that of a ball-and-socket joint. At the butt end of the loose shaft (in both harpoon and lance) there are two perforations, close above one another, the top of the wooden shaft likewise has two perforations, but side by side in a horizontal direction. The line is drawn through four times and thus appears as two straps or short thongs crossing each other on both sides of the harpoon shaft (seen in fig. 104). They are so tight, that they keep the loose shaft fast in the socket in casting, and it is only the shock against the animal, or the movements of the latter when the weapon has penetrated its skin, that bends the bone shaft and the much heavier wooden shaft from connection with each other (the straps also, when they become wet, will be more elastic) and thus loosens the straps; thanks to the straps the bone shaft is not lost but is dragged with the wooden shaft floating on the surface. — 2. A single long line is looped through a hole in the harpoon head, which is set loosely on the point of the loose shaft; the line is tightened along the shaft by an oblong clasp of bone with two or several eyelets, which sits on the line, being drawn down on to a peg which is placed on the side of the wooden shaft (see also fig. 104). The rest of the line lies coiled up on the kaiak stand and the other end is connected with the short line of the sealing float by means of a peg in a loop (or bone eye) (fig. 154).

The knob at the butt of the harpoon shaft, which acts as counterpoise, is a cylindrical block of bone (in East Greenland often of narwhal tusk), with a deep socket into which the end of the shaft is mortised; it is further fixed by bone nails. In the lower end of the knob is fixed, like an ornamental peg, a small stubby piece of

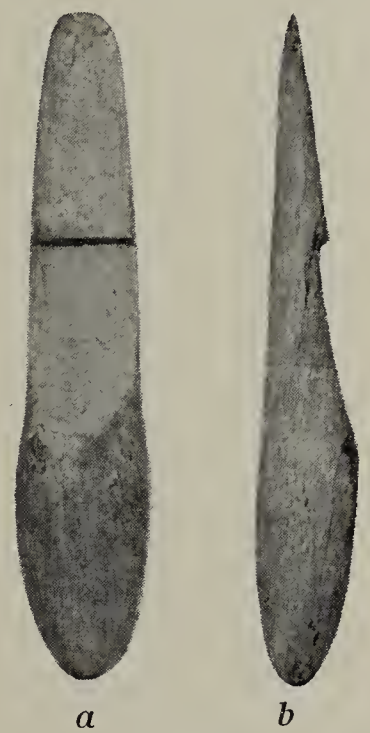


Fig. 111. Bone knob for basal end of harpoon shaft. Nualik. (Amstrup coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

¹) Koldewey (1874) pp. 605 (fig. 17 b) and 623.

²) Kroeber (1899) p. 281, cf. Pl. XI, 2.

ivory shaped like a seal's body, the basal end of which is carved like the stereotype seal-tail ornament (fig. 115).

The counterpoise of the feather harpoon is two fairly long and large bone plates, which are fixed with nails on each side of the hindmost end of the wooden shaft, their free ends being kept in position by a thin bone pin between them. The shaft end is rhombic in section and so shouldered off, that the outsides of the plates are flush with the shaft and their outer ends are held apart by the pin just mentioned (fig. 108). These bone-feather ends also end as a rule with the seal-tail ornament (figs. 104 and 113). In West Greenland they are known from earlier times in broader, more rounded or lanceolate forms, with or without the seal-tail ornament. According to Glahn¹⁾ they were generally made of narwhal teeth, seldom of whalebone. In Scoresby Sound in East Greenland Ryder found a couple of small bone feathers for a miniature harpoon, the most northern discovery of a feather harpoon on this coast²⁾. Outside Greenland the feather harpoon is not known. — Mason compares this device with the well-known use of bird feathers on the end of the darts or arrows. The eastern Eskimo used two feathers laid flat on "the shaftment of the arrow"³⁾.

Between the feathers on the butt end of the shaft of the harpoon there is attached a short "hind-shaft" of bone, rhomboidal in section and bevelled on the outside so as to have a sloping surface looking upwards. This fits in under a broad bone-hook on the throwing stick, formed by means of a projecting block of bone, which is fixed at the very end of the throwing stick on the upper side. The harpoon shaft is held fast to the throwing stick, when the bevelled hind-shaft is pushed in under the projection of this hook. Thus, on throwing, the hindmost part of the harpoon shaft rests on the throwing stick, and the impetus of the weapon, produced by a push from behind, loosens the shaft from its bed on the throwing stick, and shoots it out while the throwing stick itself remains in the hand.

The throwing stick is thus attached differently for the knob harpoon and the feather harpoon, in the former almost under the middle of the wooden shaft, in the latter far back, where the feathers are fixed. For attaching the throwing stick the knob harpoon has two bone pegs (or one separate and two close together) on the underside of the shaft, the feather harpoon only a single peg, corresponding to holes in the throwing stick. See also special section on the throwing sticks.

¹⁾ Glahn (1771) p. 230.

²⁾ Ryder (1895) p. 314, fig. 14.

³⁾ Mason (1900) p. 253. Boas (1907) pp. 365—366.

Fig. 112 shows two knob harpoon shafts from the house at Nualik, respectively 177 cm. and 190 cm. in length (including the bone knobs, which are 12.5 cm. in both). The shaft is almost rectangular in front (uppermost), circular lower down like the shaft of the feather harpoon, but flatter at the middle over the part which lies against the throwing stick, and here we find the bone pegs for the latter (so far as they have not fallen out). The peg which is found uppermost on the side of the shaft, is used for fastening the harpoon line on the shaft, after the toggle head is fixed on the loose shaft. The lowermost peg, a little broader and flatter, corresponds to the hole farthest back in the throwing stick. In the butt end (lowermost) the shaft is again circular, not flat like the feather harpoon. The bone knob is circular in section and consists of the thick main body, which increases in thickness downwards — the end of the wooden shaft is inserted into the deep, uppermost socket — and the diminutive seal-body peg on the basal surface, which ends below in the seal-tail ornament.

Fig. 113 is a shaft of a feather harpoon from the same place, 154 cm. in length (including the feathers which are 30 cm. in length). In front (uppermost) the wooden shaft is rectangular in section and in the end-surface there is a square prominence or ridge intended for the mortising of the bone foreshaft (wanting). Further down the shaft becomes thinner and at the same time oval or circular in section. Here there is a bone peg on the side of the shaft, placed almost at

right angles to the plane of the feathers; it has been used for fastening the harpoon line to the shaft (by means of the bone clasp attached to the line). A little further down, on the underside of the shaft and in a plane at right angles to the previous peg, there are two other bone pegs close together; these are intended to fix the front part of the throwing stick. From

SHAFTS OF HARPOONS AND LANCES FROM NUALIK. (Amdrup coll.).

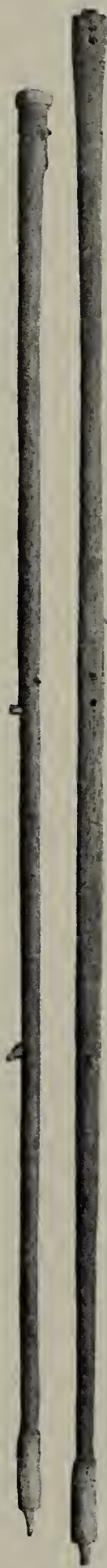


Fig. 112.



Fig. 113.



Fig. 114.

Knob harpoon shafts. $\frac{1}{12}$.

Feather harpoon shaft. $\frac{1}{12}$.

Lance shafts. $\frac{1}{12}$.

here downwards the shaft becomes more and more flat to fit the flat throwing stick, which in this harpoon is used farthest back on the shaft. Towards the base the section of the shaft again becomes rectangular so that the flat, inner side of the bone feathers may lie firmly against the narrow sides; they are here pinned fast by wooden pegs. The outer sides of the feathers are convex, resembling the back of a seal, and behind (lowermost) they are carved into the seal-tail ornament.

The general or most obvious difference between the East and West Greenland harpoons lies in this (according to Johan Petersen), that the loose bone shaft at Ammassalik is longer and more slender than on the west coast, where it is comparatively short. The same applies to the blade of the toggle head (iron or bone) which is longer in Ammassalik than on the West Greenland harpoon.

When bone was scarce in earlier times, the loose shaft of the harpoon was made up partly of wood, partly of bone; for example, the middle would be of wood, the point and butt end of bone. For want of larger bones also two smaller, cylindrical pieces of bone could be spliced together to form the shaft. In Amdrup's collection there are several loose shafts of harpoons, which are made in this manner; each part has an oblong bevelling, which fits on to the other's and the overlapping parts are spliced together by iron nails (fig. 119*a*). In my earlier description of Amdrup's finds from northern East Greenland I identified two cylindrical bone points from Cape Tobin as "miniature bone fore-pieces of whaling harpoons"¹). It seems more correct to regard these as fragments of ordinary loose shafts, intended to be spliced together with thicker (lower) parts of the shaft, which are wanting. They should thus be called "fragmentary fore-pieces or loose shafts for harpoons". These spliced bone shafts are extremely common at Ammassalik. — Further, the "feathers" of the feather harpoon might be made of wood with tips of bone or ivory. As the seal-hunting in earlier times (before the introduction of the rifle) was exclusively carried on by means of harpoons, much bone was lost and the bone parts had to be constantly renewed or replaced.

The different use of the knob-harpoon and the feather harpoon, even within the same district, is explained by Fabricius as an economic question, arising from the difficulty of obtaining a good piece of bone or sufficient bone for the feathers²). According to his description, namely, only a bone ring is used in the knob-harpoons in West Greenland, at the end of which a round bone knob is mortised, thus only a very small piece of bone (ivory). I have no information as to whether this feature is typical for older harpoons of this

¹) Thalbitzer (1909) p. 371, fig. 9¹⁻² (Amdrup coll. Nos. 18—19).

²) Fabricius (1810) p. 142.

kind in West Greenland. It does not agree with the East Greenland harpoons, where the knobs are so large, that a piece of bone is required not very much smaller than that necessary for a couple of feathers. I do not know the reason, why some prefer the one kind of harpoon, others the other; possibly it arises from differences in personal taste and qualities. Judging by analogy from others of the Ammassalik weapons, it may be that the feather harpoon is a local development in West Greenland, which through trading connections has found its way up along the east coast to the Ammassalikers and has there partly superseded or mixed with the knob-harpoons. To obtain a clear elucidation of the whole question it would be necessary to investigate, how widely both kinds are distributed on the west coast, and, if possible, what the relation between them was in former times. Fabricius adds the information to his description of these harpoons, that the feather-harpoon was chiefly used from Frederikshaab in South Greenland and northwards to Diskobugt. Regarding the knob-harpoon in West Greenland he states, that it occurs in two types, the one adapted to be thrown by means of the throwing stick, the other provided with ivory pegs for casting with the hand alone¹). In East Greenland (at Ammassalik) the difference is not known; knob-harpoons are always thrown with the throwing stick. On the other hand, we find the same difference in the use of the lances at Ammassalik.

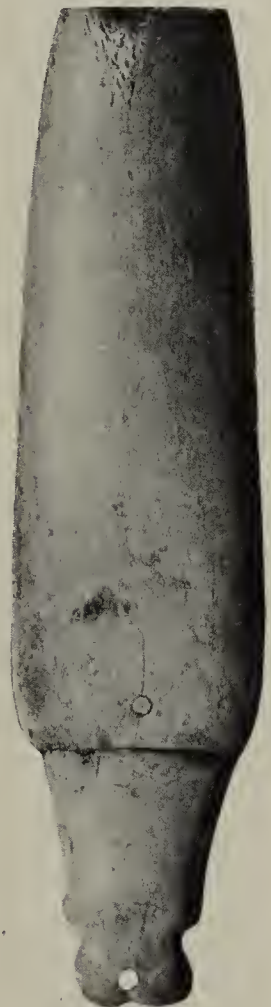


Fig. 115.
Bone knob for the
basal end of a
harpoon shaft.
(Greenland Col-
ony Administra-
tion coll.). ¹/₂.

THE LANCES (cf. pp. 47 and 48). — Technical names: *awalisaq* lance; *ajiwiŋaa* its head or point; *ipuliŋaa*, *iputiŋaa*, *iputeraa* its loose shaft; *sättutaa* the double straps which connect the loose shaft with the wooden main shaft; *aataakita* first bone peg (for throwing stick) on the shaft side; *napaataa* second bone peg (for throwing stick); *tikaarit*, *tikaanŋut* peg for finger grasp.

The lances, as will be seen from the illustrations (figs. 106 and 114), are usually shorter and thicker in the wooden shaft than the harpoons. The foreshaft is here as in the latter a bone or ivory cap (fig. 110), round or rectangular in circumference, provided with a socket for the reception of the loose shaft's basal tenon (fig. 107). The loose shaft (*ipuliŋaq*) consists of three parts, — 1. the head or

¹) Fabricius (1810) p. 142.

blade (in olden days of stone), which is pressed and nailed fast into a groove in the end of — 2. the thin bone shank, which again at its lower end is fixed into — 3. a block of bone, in which are bored the two transverse holes for the double straps. The bone block is not found in all lances (see for example fig. 106*d*). The thin shaft part of the *ipuliṇaq* was already often of iron in 1884 when the Europeans came to Ammassalik. Even at the “dead house” further north Amdrup found the fore-piece of a lance with an iron head of European manufacture (fig. 121).

The lance is a weapon, which the Ammassalikers use not only from the kaiak but also from the sledge, where it has its place in two loops along the one runner.

The two lance shafts from the “dead house” in the Amdrup collection (fig. 114) led the collector to enquire at Ammassalik as to their use, and he obtained the following information. The short lance was used on sledging for bear hunting. The longer one was used on the kaiak for bear and narwhal hunting. Besides this one a lighter lance was carried on the kaiak for seals. — The two shafts found by Amdrup are of fir, with very fine rings in the wood. No doubt all the wooden weapon shafts have been made of drift-wood from Siberia.

There are two kinds of lance, those thrown with the throwing stick, and those thrown directly with the hand without throwing stick. The lances which are used with the throwing stick from the kaiak have no peg for the finger (*tikaagut*) on the shaft. The other ones have the *tikaagut* and they are used especially on the sledge. The latter manner has the advantage that there is no risk of losing the throwing stick; perhaps the sight is better when the throwing stick is used. With the *tikaagut* the cast is said to be longer than with the throwing stick. The tighter the throwing stick sits on the shaft, the further the weapon can be thrown. The skilled hunter has the throwing stick tighter on the shaft than the beginner or the unskilled. The small parts of the weapon are adjustable; the two pegs for the throwing stick are so placed and whittled as to increase the weapon's accuracy in hitting and the power of the hunter to use it. A difference between the lances of West and East Greenland is the use of the throwing stick at Ammassalik. In West Greenland the lance was thrown with the hand alone according to the earlier authors¹). But the present South Greenlanders have adapted the lance also for being thrown with the stick from the kaiak.

In bear hunting, when the bear is the attacking party, the lance is thrown attached to the harpoon line, which the hunter always

¹) Fabricius (1810) pp. 166—179. Cranz (1770) p. 195.

carries with him on the sledge for this purpose. This is held coiled in the left hand, but is thrown loose at the moment the weapon is cast, only the bone piece at its end remaining held in the hand. The other end of the line is attached to the shaft almost in its middle. Here the East Greenland lance has a feature, which distinguishes it from the West Greenland lance. The double strap, which connects the loose shaft (through the two holes) to the wooden shaft, is continued by a single line along the flat side of the shaft backwards or downwards to the middle of the shaft, where it is pushed through a hole (fig. 106c); it is at the end of this, that the harpoon line is firmly attached to the shaft. As soon as the point of the weapon has pierced the skin of the animal, the hunter immediately pulls the weapon back by means of the long line, and the manoeuvre is repeated. The bear is wounded several times. The dogs take care, that it does not escape. — The hunter often prefers, however, to go right up to the bear and wound it with his lance or knife time after time until it falls.

HARPOONS FOR SEALING ON THE ICE (cf. pp. 50—51). — There are two kinds of harpoons at Ammassalik corresponding to the three modes of ice-hunting (pp. 398—400). In the *nipparteq* hunting they use a kind of true harpoon (*ajeepiaq sawekättararter*) with a detachable harpoon head (*sämmia*) of about the same type as for the kaiak hunting, but much smaller and attached to a shorter shaft of wood, which is provided with a bone pick (*tooa*) at the butt end. It is the only sealing weapon, which has not a loose bone shaft at the front end; the harpoon head is fitted directly on to the pointed end of the wooden shaft. Another peculiarity is, that the hunter carries a reserve harpoon head, fastened in a loop at the other end of the line (figs. 116b and c). The line is fixed on the middle of the shaft so that this may be used as a cross-piece or toggle over the hole in the ice.

Fig. 116 shows three harpoons used in the *nipparteq* hunting, belonging to the Holm collection. *a*, however, is only the wooden shaft of this weapon (length 173 cm.). It is composed of two pieces, the bevelled ends being fitted together and lashed with thongs. The pick of bone is firmly lashed on to the shaft below. — *b* has a somewhat thinner and shorter shaft (length 156 cm.) and it is also composed of two pieces (lashed together). Here the bone head is seen attached, with the line hanging and the reserve head at its other end. In the middle of the shaft four rings have been cut as finger rests. Common to *a* and *b* is a strap of raw hide, which lies along the shaft a little above the middle with the ends fixed through perforations in the shaft. This strap is intended for the attachment of the harpoon line to the shaft (cf. under *c*). The small harpoon head is kept in position by means of the harpoon line from which a seizing line is jammed in under this strap. There is a difference between *a* and *b*, the first having a basal pick of bone,

HUNTING WEAPONS FOR SEALING ON THE ICE. ANGMAGSALIK.
(Holm coll.).

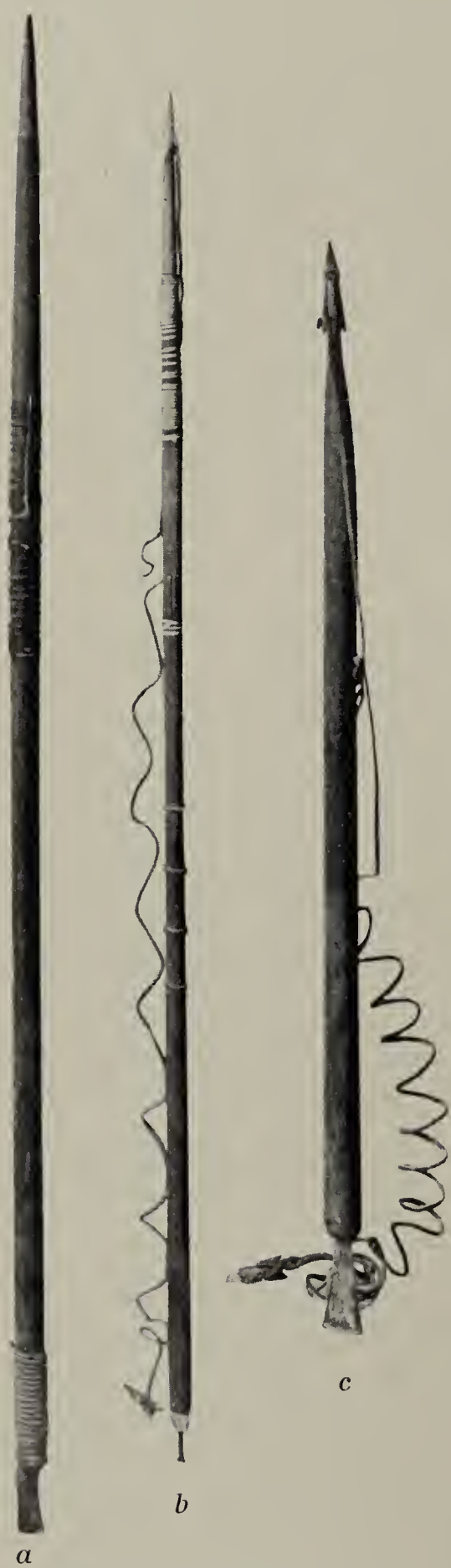


Fig. 116. Ice sealing harpoons
(*nippartin*). *a*, $b \frac{1}{12}$, $c \frac{1}{8}$.



Fig. 117. Ice sealing harpoons
(*ittuartin*). $a \frac{1}{10}$, $b \frac{1}{8}$, $c \frac{1}{10}$.



Fig. 118.
Foreshafts and
heads of ittuar-
tin harpoons.
 $a \frac{1}{6}$, $b \frac{1}{8}$.

PARTS OF VARIOUS HUNTING WEAPONS FROM NUALIK.
(Amdrup coll.).



Fig. 119.



Fig. 120.

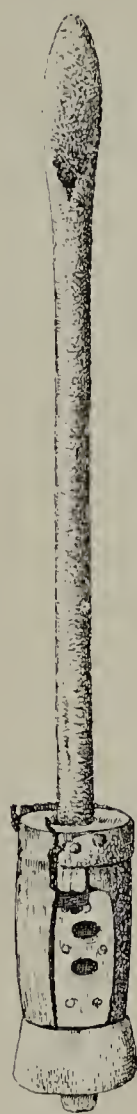


Fig. 121.



Fig. 122.



Fig. 123.



Fig. 124.



Fig. 125.

Fig. 119. Loose shafts for harpoons. Figs. 120—121. Loose shafts of lances with iron heads. Fig. 122. Foreshaft and iron head of bird dart. Fig. 123. Foreshaft and head of ice-sealing harpoon (*ittuarteq*). Fig. 124. Foreshaft of bladder dart. Fig. 125. Holder and blowing pipe for the bladder of bladder dart.

the latter of iron, which is mortised into a ferrule of bone in the butt end of the shaft. — *c* is still thicker and shorter than either of the other two (length 85 cm.) and provided with a bone head with attached iron blade. Here the harpoon line is fixed a little above the middle by means of an eyelet (small bone disc with a hole), which is held in position by a peg on the side of the shaft. The reserve head at the lower end of the line is of quite the same type as the one on the upper end of the shaft. The pick is of iron.

In the *ittuarteq* and *aarniar-teq* hunting a peculiar type of harpoon (*ittuar-teen*) is used (fig. 118), its toggle head differing from that of the other hunting weapons in being hinged in a fork-shaped groove at the end of a short bone shaft or shank. The latter is pointed below and fits into a socket in the foreshaft. Two small white pieces of bone are bound to the shank as a means of decoying the seal in the water. The wooden main shaft used in this mode of hunting was at Ammassalik from 30 to 40 feet long (composed of several poles)¹).

Technical names: *ittuar-teen*, *itciar-teen* harpoon for this kind of sealing; *isertoraq*, *isittoraq*, *isuttoraq* the hinged toggle head; *ulua* its blade (inserted in a narrow groove); *tookartaa* the shank; *qaarqïtaa* foreshaft (bone ferrule on upper end of the wooden shaft).

Fig. 118*b* shows a fixed foreshaft of bone, in which the shank is inserted. In fig. 117*b*, instead of a bone foreshaft, there is only a conical widening of the shaft. In the specimen found by Amdrup at the "dead house" (fig. 123) there is a similar expansion, and round it an iron ring. The expansion thus seems characteristic of the Ammassalik type of this weapon. I do not know, how the West Greenland foreshafts of this weapon were formed.

When this harpoon is used in the *aarniar-teq* (crawling) hunting, it is sighted in a horizontal position instead of vertical, with the front part resting on a small wooden sledge of special construction (*qammutaak*, fig. 126). The weapon is placed so that the basal hook of the harpoon head looks upward and will move upwards on turning on its axis. To avoid turning it when advancing the hook is held down against the shaft by a small loop (*pukkunnuwiäkkita*) which lies loosely over it and does not slip off until the point has pierced the animal. The under side of the sledge runners is covered with skin with the hair still on, so that the movement over the ice may not frighten the seal.

This harpoon, as can be seen from the illustrations, is also provided with a harpoon line, which is stretched from a hole in the loose shaft down along the wooden shaft, where it is attached (in fig. 117*b* it is fixed by means of a bone eyelet or clasp with

¹) Egede (1741, p. 59) gives the length of the same weapon in North-west Greenland as "16 to 20 alen," i. e. 32 to 40 feet.

two holes, which is fastened on a bone peg on the side of the shaft). At the other end of the line there is a loose bone peg. This arrangement presumably enables the hunter to keep hold of the toggle head and the bone shaft, in case this breaks loose from the wooden shaft after the animal has been wounded. The head of the weapon, if not the animal, is then in the hand of the hunter by means of the line.

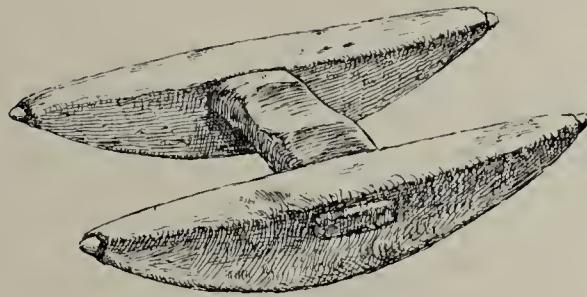


Fig. 126. Harpoon sledge for sealing on the ice. (Amdrup coll.).

THE ICE-HUNTING STOOL (figs. 127—129) consists of a flat, crescent-shaped seat resting on three legs, which are fixed in diverging holes and thus rest on a surface which is larger than the seat itself. They are also held together by means of three flat, wooden spars, which connect them below, fixed into longish grooves in the sides of the legs. A further characteristic is the knob-like elevation round about each hole on the under side of the seat, prob-

ably to increase the grip of the hole on the leg of the stool.



Fig. 127. Sealing stool. (Thalbitzer priv. coll.). $\frac{1}{9}$.



Fig. 128. Under side of the seat of the sealing stool (fig. 127).

The Ammassalik hunter sits on this stool while wait for the *pooh* (breathing) of the seal at the small snow mound, which usually forms on the ice round the breathing hole. Before he settles down, he first stamps on the snow to make it hard, if it is at all deep. Further, he must keep perfectly still, so as not to frighten the animal.

For this reason, as also probably to keep the feet warm he wears bear-skin shoes or sandals under his feet.

Such a stool is called *nikeqwaataq*, which really means "something to stand on" (not sit on), identical etymologically with the West Greenland *nikorfautak* (Kleinschmidt), *nekorgwautak* (Fabricius), which again is connected with the verb *nikorfawoq* "stands up, stands on the feet." This name indicates, that there has been a time, when the stool was used for standing on. In reality it would correspond with the use made by the Alaskan Eskimo of their ice-hunting stool,

which appears to be quite like this Greenland type¹). According to Egede the West Greenlanders have formerly been accustomed to sit on a one-legged stool (*iterrut*)²), whilst placing the feet on a three-legged stool³). Far to the north, at the entrance of Scoresby Sound (Cape Tobin), Amdrup found two stools with quite low legs⁴), obviously corresponding to the one mentioned by Egede, and similar stools have been found at several places in North-east Greenland. At Smith Sound in North Greenland we meet with a quite similar, three-legged stool, "covered with bear-skin below to prevent its sliding or making a noise, which would frighten away the animal" (Kroeber)⁵). I have not found this stool mentioned as being used by the Central Eskimo — in an illustration of a seal-hunter on the watch in Boas, he is seen sitting on an ice-blook⁶) — but in Alaska at Point Barrow the three-legged type is well-known (Murdoch)⁷).

In the central regions north of Hudson Bay and far to the west we find some smaller implements connected with the hunting on the ice which have not so far been found in Greenland. Both Lyons and Parry mention from Winter Island and Iglulik two "minor instruments of the ice-hunting," namely a long bone feeler for plumbing any cracks and holes through which seals are suspected of breathing, and a contrivance for warning the hunter who is watching a seal-hole, when the animal rises to the surface⁸). Amundsen has a description of more recent date of the same instruments which he saw in use among the natives of King William Land and Boothia Felix (the Ugjulik- and Netchillik-Eskimo)⁹). From Point Barrow in Alaska the same implements are described by Murdoch as "seal indicators" and he states that they are not known farther west¹⁰).

THE HARPOON HEADS (p. 46) are pointed toggles, made at Ammassalik as elsewhere either of bone (ivory) all in one piece or of bone with an inset blade of stone, iron or bone¹¹). There is a distinct

¹) Murdoch (1892) pp. 255—256.

²) Egede: *Dictionarium* p. 54; Fabricius p. 142.

³) Hans Egede (1741) p. 35.

⁴) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 427—435, figs. 38 and 39.

⁵) Kroeber (1899) pp. 269—270, fig. 1.

⁶) Boas (1888) p. 478, fig. 399.

⁷) Mason (1900) p. 210, fig. 8. Murdoch (1892) fig. 256.

⁸) Lyons (pp. 326—327. Parry (1824). pp. 510 (and fig. 17).

⁹) Amundsen (1909) pp. 265—268 (with illustrations). This author gives the names of the two instruments, namely, *illa*(?) of the first mentioned, and *kiviutchervi* of the latter, probably connected with the Greenland *qiwio* 'a down' *qiwutserfik* 'place (i. e. instrument, which is provided with a down.' Parry seems to have considered these two instruments as one and assigns a common name to them: *keipkuttuk* 'instrument of bone for discovering seals under ice' (l. c. pp. 510 and 563).

¹⁰) Murdoch (1892) p. 255, figs. 255a and b.

¹¹) The use of bone as material for such blades in harpoon heads is also known from Alaska. Nelson (1899) p. 146.



Fig. 129. Hunter fitted out for sealing at the seal's breathing hole. (J. Petersen phot.).



Fig. 130. Kaiaker about to turn round and right himself. (W. Thalbitzer phot.).

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Ammassalik type of toggle head, which seems to have supplanted almost all the other varieties¹⁾. The body of this toggle is short and thick having a greater breadth than height. It has no marginal barbs. Its base has an oval cleft, at the bottom of which is the socket for the shaft; the hollowed-out base thus forms two barbs flanking the shaft-socket (figs. 131 *a, b, c*). More rarely the base is bevelled, so that the barbs lie in the plane of the under side²⁾ (fig. 131 *j*). It is a characteristic feature, lastly, that the hole for the line is curved, so that both its openings lie on the belly of the head (figs. 131 *a, b, c, g*). But another type, almost just as common, has two straight transverse holes for the line beside each other, bored through from the upper to the under side (figs. 131 *d, e, f, h*). Heads without other barbs than the basal are in the majority; but marginal barbs towards the point are by no means seldom at Ammassalik (figs. 131 *e, f, g, i*).

A comparison with the interesting discoveries from more northern parts of East Greenland shows, that the marked, diminutive type of whaling harpoon head, which I proved to occur there (Amdrup coll. no. 5)³⁾, is not found at Ammassalik. On the other hand, there is a certain resemblance between the typical harpoon head from Ammassalik, described above, and the flat harpoon heads from Cape Tobin (Amdrup coll. 1 and 2)⁴⁾. Compared with the flattened northern type the Ammassalik heads are more stumpy, often just flat cones with convex sides; the hole for the line is bent round so that its openings come somewhat closer together, and the basal barbs are separated by a rounded (semicircular) cleft in the base instead of a rectangular and placed facing each other (figs. 131 *c*, 133 *b—e*). Various features of other types are also mixed with it, especially the bilateral barbs towards the point.

¹⁾ Otis Mason, "The Aboriginal American Harpoons" 1900 (the Greenland harpoon heads are especially mentioned on pp. 238—256) and G. Swenander's work on harpoon and lance heads in West Greenland (1906).

²⁾ Which of the flat sides of the harpoon head we should call the upper or under side, must depend upon how the Eskimo places the head on the harpoon shaft, when he lays it on the kaiak or lifts it preparatory to casting. I imagine that in throwing the position of the line-hole is horizontal and the belly of the harpoon toggle looks upwards — thus, the basal barbs, produced by the bevelling of the base, lie in the plane of the under side. To avoid misunderstanding, it would perhaps be best to speak of the two sides as the belly and the back of the body of the head.

³⁾ Thalbitzer (1909) fig. 4, pp. 349—351 and 357—359, cf. inv. Amdrup nos. 6 and 7. Related types are known from West Greenland, from Repulse Bay and Hudson Bay, Mason (1900) figs. 25, 54 and 55 and Boas (1907) p. 454, fig. 249 *c* and p. 462, fig. 264, and from Alaska.

⁴⁾ Id. *ibid.* pp. 344—345, fig. 1 and Pl. XV, 1—2



Fig. 131. Harpoon heads. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

I found distinct evidence, that the remembrance of the whaling harpoon head type still lived among the Ammassalikers. Fig. 136 shows a harpoon head, which Mitsuarnianga cut for me out of wood instead of bone, to show the appearance of an old-time toggle head. It has the true whaling harpoon form, bilateral, almost straight hole for the line, greater height than breadth, bevelling of the base so that it forms a single, basal barb situated flush with the one edge of the body. This is all in one piece, the blade consequently placed vertically or at right angles to the hole for the line. There is no doubt, that Mitsuarnianga has carved a toggle head of a primitive type, which has now fallen completely out of use, but which perhaps points to the old continuity with the inhabitants on the northernmost parts of this coast. In any case it is a remarkable fact, that the Ammassalik Eskimo should himself conceive this characteristic toggle head as typical of an old-time harpoon.

According to Johan Petersen the blade of the ordinary harpoon head at Ammassalik is longer and narrower than the common West Greenland type, which is short and stumpy.

Harpoon heads entirely of bone in one piece are shown in figs. 131 *a* and *b* and fig. 133 *a*. Harpoon heads with blade of bone are seen in fig. 131 *d* and figs. 133 *e* and *f*, blade of stone in fig. 133 *b*, the others have iron blades (fig. 131 *j* exceptionally brass, obviously the remains of some article of European ware). The mode of fixing is the same in them all; the blade is inserted into a groove in the point of the head, and further an iron nail is as a rule hammered through the walls of the groove, thus piercing the foot of the blade.

Some further remarks may be made regarding the separate pieces:

Figs. 131 *a* and *b*; bone toggles of the same form, flat (partly concave) on the one side, convex on the other. On the convex side are the openings of the curved hole for the line. — Fig. 131 *d*; the body is flat and thin. The bone-blade tied fast with sinew-thread through the nail hole. The holes for the line are short and straight, separated only by a thin wall. On the upper side there are line grooves under (behind) each of them. Basal socket between two short and thick basal barbs. Not typical. — Figs. 131 *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, nearly of the same type, showing small differences with regard to the line-holes: *e*, the line-holes are bored right through from the one side to the other, separated only by a thin wall or partition. On the one (under) side a countersinking, on the other line-grooves under each hole. *f* has two holes separated by a broader wall, which widens upward, so that the openings lie near together in the countersinking, but further apart on the other side of the body. *g*, the inner passage of the hole is here strongly bent, the openings



Fig. 132. Harpoon head with wooden sheath for the point. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

lying close together on the upper side of the head, none on the other side. *h*, the two holes are here bored as in *e* and *f*, but both lie in the longitudinal line of the body (between point and socket). On the under side a counter-sinking, on the other a short, shallow line-groove behind (below) each of the holes. — *e*, *f*, *g* and *h*, all have a band of iron nailed across from the one edge to the other just above the basal socket, to strengthen the bone, which naturally must have a very thin wall here and be inclined to split. Fig. 131 *i* has, in addition, an iron band, which lies longways from the socket upwards and is attached by two rivets, a sinew-thread being wound round the whole of the butt end. The line-hole is on one side and strongly bent. There is a barb on the front part. — Fig. 131 *j* has an almost quadrilateral body in section. The under side is nearly flat and has a midridge, which divides into two lines and runs out into the two separate basal barbs. The belly (upper side) is convex and not so broad as the other side, rather narrowing towards the base. The line-holes are bilateral (straight and in the same plane as the blade).

Fig. 131 *k* is a smaller toggle head of the kind used in the seal hunting on the ice (*nipparteq*) at the breathing hole of the seal. The uppermost part of the harpoon line is fixed as in the figure, not only in this kind of harpoon toggle, but in all cases. Every harpoon head is always attached in such a loop, the end being bent through the line-hole (or holes) and fastened a little way down on the line.

Fig. 132 is a specially large harpoon head from the "dead house" at Nualik. It was found with the wooden guard or cap attached which is seen on the point of the blade, probably a unique find from Greenland. In the West Eskimo districts outside Greenland the use of sheaths (of skin or wood) for the harpoon heads is very common¹. The guard found here is a small wooden knob, oval in section and pointed at the top. The blade is of iron, wedged into a deep groove by means of smaller pieces of iron on each side (iron blades are almost always fixed in this way). Further, there is a transverse iron nail through the blade and groove. The body is composed of three bone pieces, two of them covering the whole upper side of the head, very skilfully fitted and inset within the margin of the depression. A little further down we find the two openings of the curved line-hole. Lowest down on the same side is seen an oblong, four-sided plate of copper nailed fast near the edges of the body to keep the inset bone cover in its place and strengthen the shaft socket. The whole body is flattened, but so that the upper side is flat, the under side convex.

Fig. 133 *a* is a toggle head of bone, with flat under side and convex upper side; the line-holes are almost lateral in their position. The shaft socket as usual in a convex hollow in the base. — Fig. 133 *c*; towards the basal barb there are four small holes, used for a lashing round this part of the body. — Figs. 133 *e* and *f* have blades of bone with bevelled, sharp edges and finely smoothed sides. — Fig. 133 *g* has an iron point and iron bands both below round the lower part to strengthen the shaft socket and higher up lengthwise between the blade and the line-holes. There is an indication, that the head has once been provided with lateral barbs towards the point.

Fig. 134 *a* shows a toggle head used in the sealing at the breathing hole in the ice (*nipparteq*) and 134 *c* a toggle head for the two-men seal hunting on thick ice (*ittuartin*), the latter seen from above, which is the reason why the bevelling of the iron-edge is indistinct in the illustration. These are interesting parallels to my illustrations of two quite similar harpoon heads

¹) Boas (1888) pp. 489—490; (1907) p. 399, fig. 196 (from Iglulik).

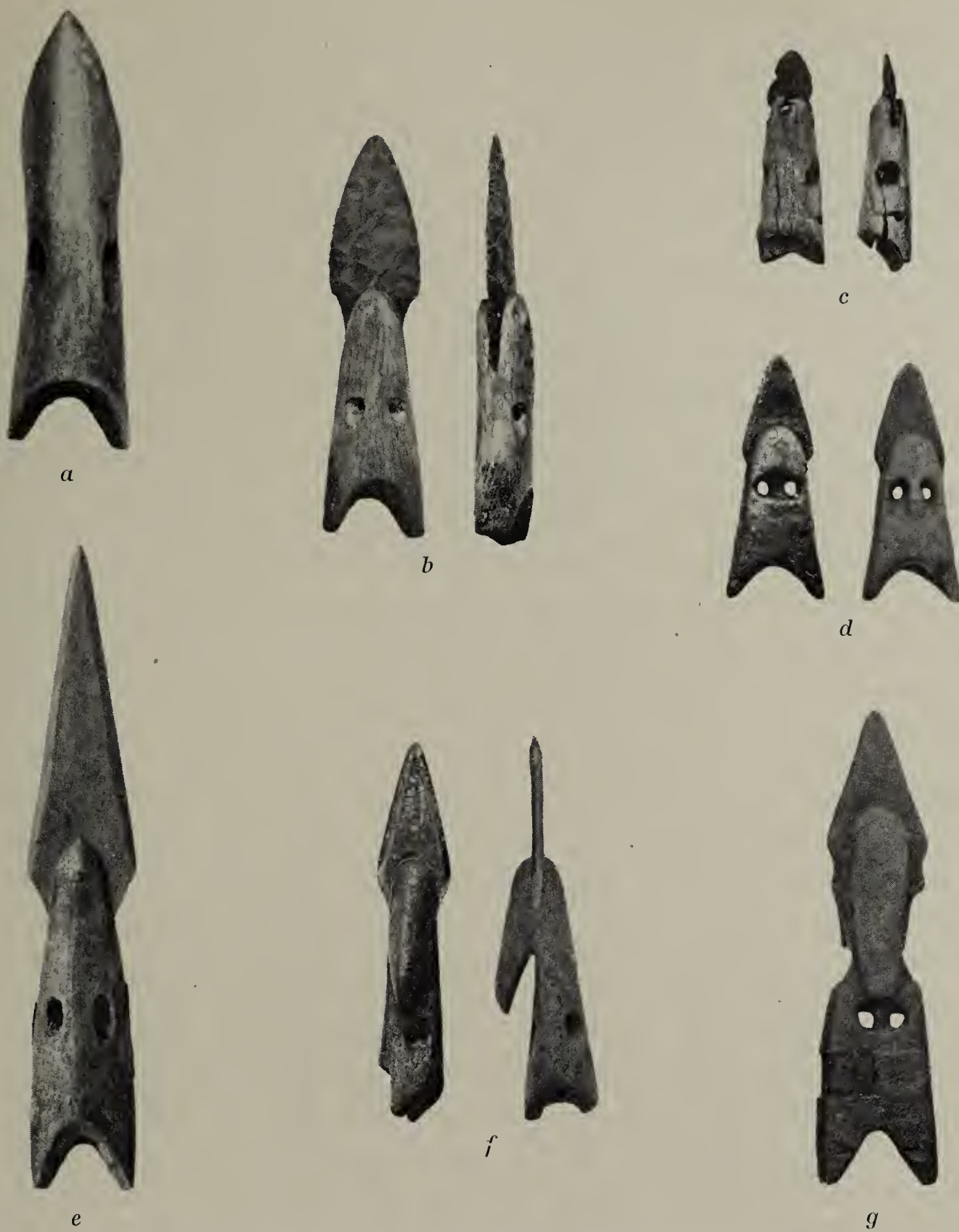


Fig. 133. Harpoon heads (Greenland Administration coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.



Fig. 134. Harpoon heads (J. Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

in the description of Amdrup's northern discoveries. They confirm my supposition, that we are able from the forms of the harpoon points to draw conclusions as to the nature of the hunting methods among the earlier inhabitants of north-east Greenland¹). Fig. 134*a* is a variety of the *nipparteq* sealing harpoons (cf. 131*k*), of quite the same form and size as the toggle head which Amdrup found at Skærgaards Peninsula, where this hunting method must therefore have been practised at one time. — Fig. 134*b* was found in a refuse heap outside an old house; it is remarkable for the iron blade being placed at right angles to the direction of the line-hole, and the openings of the line-hole lying laterally. The basal barbs have been made by an oblique section of the base, so that they lie in the same plane as the under side. It is doubtless an ancient variety of toggle head; the unilateral barb towards the point furnishes us no criterion for any certain period.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE HARPOON HEADS. The Ammassalik type of harpoon head with basal barbs facing each other and without marginal barbs (figs. 131*c*, 135*c*) is not limited to this district, but it is noteworthy, that there is no other district, so far as we know, where this type has become predominant to such an extent over the other types as here. The same type has been found in West Greenland as high up as Upernavik (72° N. lat.)²), where it appears as a characteristic variety of the more or less flat toggle heads of West Greenland. Outside Greenland I am most inclined to compare the Ammassalik harpoon head without marginal barbs with that known from Cumberland Sound in Baffins Land³). But the second, rarer type from Ammassalik, with flat back and convex belly, and bipartite basal barbs situated in the plane of the back (figs. 131*j*, 135*a, b*), has more in common with old-time heads from Southampton Island⁴).

The majority of the West Greenland heads have some essential features in common with the type from Ammassalik mentioned first. They are characterized by their curved line-hole with the openings close together, and their concave base, simple or bipartite; they always have basal barbs, often, further, marginal barbs towards the point, the last barbs separated from the body by rhomboidal or semisquare incisions, quite like the heads in figs. 131*e, f, g* and 135*d* from Ammassalik⁵).

¹) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 352—353, figs. 6 and 7, and pp. 359—360.

²) Mason (1900) figs. 28, 34 and 43 to 46.

³) Mason (1900) p. 264, figs. 58 and 60 (cf. Pl. 7); Boas (1901) p. 14, fig. 4*a* and (1888) p. 473, fig. 392.

⁴) Boas (1901) p. 67, figs. 78*b, c, d*. Cf. (1888) p. 491, fig. 523. Swenander (1906) p. 41.

⁵) Mason (1900) figs. 35—37. — There is a surprising agreement between this Ammassalik type and three iron-pointed harpoon heads from Cape York(?), which are in the Stockholm Riksmuseum, presented by A. E. Nordenskiöld in the year 1883. As Nordenskiöld in the same year also sent the Museum a collection of 21 heads from East Greenland, I can hardly help thinking that the three heads in reality originate from the east coast of Greenland, perhaps Ammassalik, and that they have been by mistake mixed with his collection from Cape York during the journey or after his return home.

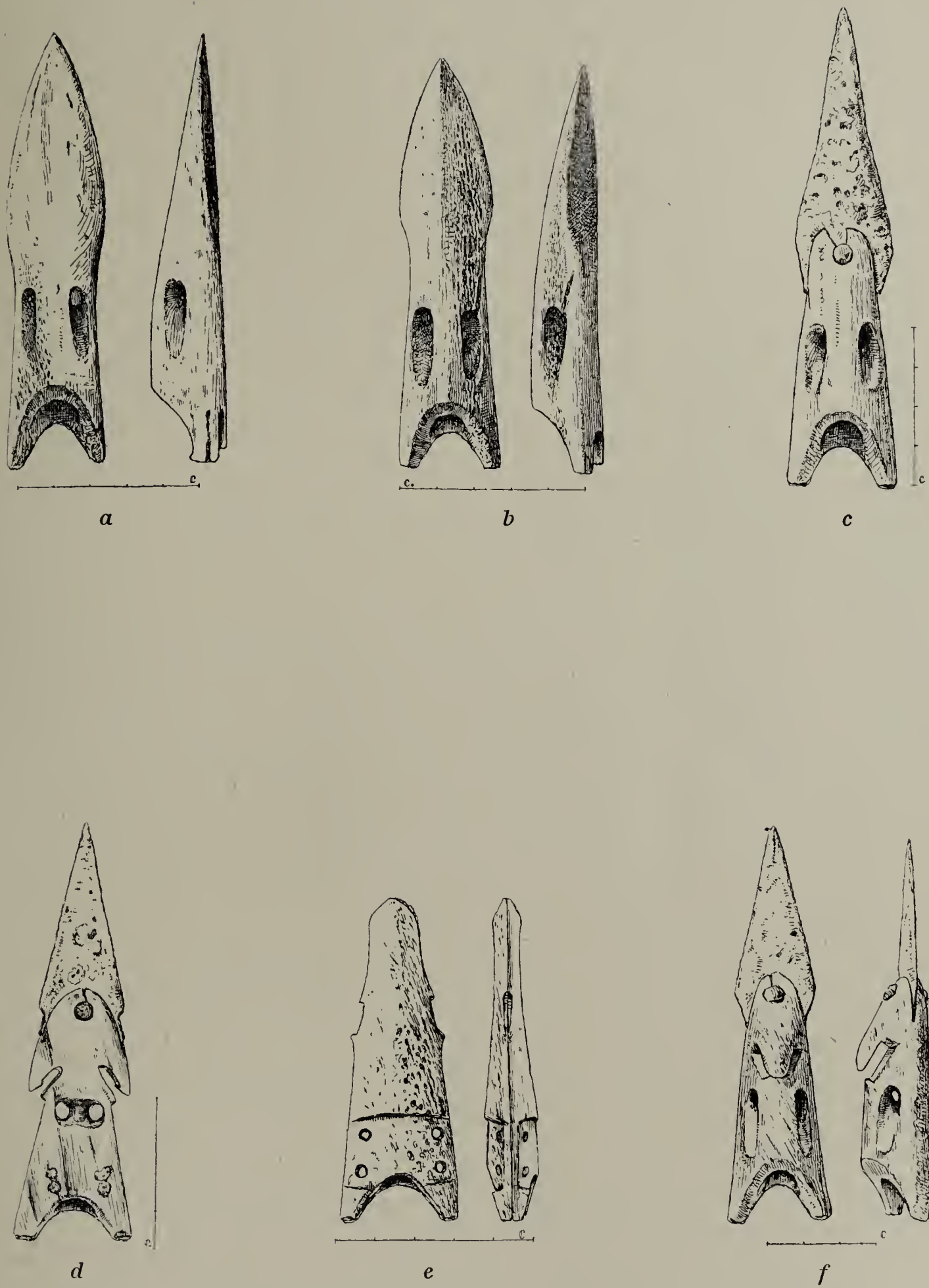


Fig. 135. Harpoon heads from Nualik (Amdrup coll.).

On the whole the common Ammassalik harpoon head gives the impression of being a simplified and recent type. The harpoon heads belong to the weapons, the Eskimo wear down most quickly and lose most readily. When we consider the trade in bone and iron which the Ammassalikers have carried on with the south for many generations, it is only natural, that such an adaptable ware as the harpoon head should undergo changes under the influence of the material and new forms introduced from the south.

The old-time whaling harpoon head is known from West Greenland¹⁾ and the small forms of this type for the seal hunting are known from almost all Eskimo regions and even outside these being the most widely spread type. We find it from North-east Greenland (Amdrup coll. no. 5, cf. p. 425) over Smith Sound²⁾ and Hudson Bay (Aivilik)³⁾ to Alaska⁴⁾ and down along the northern coasts of the Pacific, on the Asiatic side to Kamtschatka⁵⁾. But from Ammassalik we have only a mere reminiscence of this type (fig. 136, cf. p. 427). The hunting of large whales has long ceased to exist here and there is no distinct whaling harpoon head in the collections from this place either of the true, large size or of the miniature used in the seal hunting.

Likewise the broad and flat harpoon head which has two basal barbs terminating in blunt edges and a row of decorative notches (at least three) in the basal edge, so common from Smith Sound and Central Eskimo regions, is unknown at Ammassalik. The Smith Sound Eskimo call this head *tokaq*, the Central Eskimo on Baffin Land call it *tokang* or *naulang*, and they use it for hunting white whales and other cetaceans whose skin is soft. The West Greenlander uses the name *tookaq* for the head of their common sealing harpoon. The pointed form with its base bevelled so as to form one fairly sharp barb (the small head of the whaling harpoon type) is called *ssako* among the Smith Sound Eskimo, according to Kroeber, and it is used for hunting seals and walrus. Parry and Boas give the name as

¹⁾ A whaling harpoon head from West Greenland may be seen illustrated in "Meddelelser om Grønland" XXVIII, figs. 101 and 102, where it unfortunately is misnamed "head piece of an adze" (in agreement with the inventory list of the Pfaff collection). Shortly after the publication of my description, during a visit to the British Museum, I remarked that the two bone pieces were identical in form with a whaling harpoon head there from West Greenland. The error, which dates back to the long stay in Greenland of the collector Dr. Pfaff, shows the uncertainty of the natives' own determinations of obsolete weapons.

²⁾ Kroeber (1899) p. 279, fig. 13.

³⁾ Boas (1901) p. 79, figs. 108 *a—e*.

⁴⁾ Murdoch (1892) pp. 218 et seq.; Mason (1900) p. 278, fig. 74.

⁵⁾ Seen in Vienna Hofmuseum; cf. works of Bogoras, Jochelson, Swanton etc. (Jesup North Pacific Expedition).

siatko among the Central Eskimo¹). This type has probably in North-east Greenland assumed the extremely flat form which we know from the heads found by Amdrup at Cape Tobin and which I mentioned on p. 425 in connection with the Ammassalik type. If the latter has not been derived directly from this North-east Greenland form, both forms at any rate are nearly related to each other. The Ammassalik designation of a common harpoon head is *sawikättaq* (with inserted blade) or *ulurna*q (bone all in one piece), the former perhaps derived from *sawik* 'man's knife' the latter from *ulo* 'woman's knife'; *tookaaq* which means 'a small *tookaq*' is a hinged toggle head used on the salmon spear, and *sakke* (or *cakke*, the same word as *ssako*) means: 1, 'the harpoon head plus the loose shaft of bone,' and 2, 'an *ulo*, a woman's knife.'

In discussing the *ittuarteq* harpoon head in my description of the North-east Greenland portion of the Amdrup collection I have referred to some hinged toggles found in Pfaff's collection from West Greenland in the Stockholm Riksmuseum; according to the inventory list of Pfaff they were intended for sealing or salmon spearing on the ice²). The whole form of the weapons, however, makes this explanation improbable. It is curious to find a bone implement of precisely the same construction, a towing or drag toggle, which is also stated to be in the Stockholm Riksmuseum, namely in A. E. Nordenskiöld's collection from Alaska, (the Vega Expedition)³). In the transverse hole, which is found close to the basal end of the shank (just as in the similar toggle heads from North-west Greenland), there is a loop of sealskin thong, the other end of which is tied in a knot round a small wooden block (handle). Precise information of the use is wanting, but it seems to me there can be no doubt, that this implement must belong to the same type as the drag lines illustrated by Nelson⁴)



Fig. 136. Old-time harpoon-head type carved in wood (Thalbitzer priv. coll.). 1½.

¹) Kroeber (1899) pp. 280—281, fig. 14. Parry (1824) p. 507; Boas (1888) pp. 473—474, 490. *ssako* is an assimilated form derived from *siatko*. In the big fjords of northern West Greenland *sakko* means 'a small harpoon for hunting seals on the ice.' Besides this, the same word has got a more general meaning along the whole west coast as: ¹) (in plural) the sealing weapons on the kaiak (harpoon, float etc.), ²) hunting weapon, killing or warlike weapon, ³) tool (Kleinschmidt, Ordbog p. 310).

²) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 355 and 500—501, figs. 79—81.

³) Inv. Nordenskiöld (1878—1881).

⁴) Nelson (1899) p. 172, Pl. LXVI.

and Murdoch¹⁾ for hauling dead seals or other heavy weight over the snow or ice. The hinged toggle has thus obtained here quite a different use from that we know in East Greenland, but the construction of the head is also of quite a different form. The East Greenland harpoon toggle turns round an axis within the walls of a groove made in the uppermost part of the shank, whereas the head of the other type has itself on the under side a deep groove, which fits over the end of the shank and thus turns on the ends of the axis instead of on the middle of this²⁾.

THE BLADDER DART, fig. 105 (*attikkat*, West Greenland *alligaaq*), which has its place on the fore part of the kaiak deck is used for attacking small seals, or it may be birds or salmon. It is thrown by means of a narrow throwing stick. Its characteristic adjunct is a small bladder (*nakeetwaa*), made from the crop of a sea-gull, which is placed on the hindmost part of the shaft, where it is lashed on the top of a thin bone holder or peg with tube-like interior through which the bladder is blown up. In the Amdrup collection there is such a bone holder or tube from Nualik, 9.4 cm. long (fig. 125). The foot of this cylindrical piece of bone has a blade-shaped expansion with oblique bevelling and through this part there are two holes for fixing it on to the wooden shaft of the dart. The upper, thicker part of the holder contains a bent tube with a terminal and a lateral opening, and only the latter remains outside when the bladder is bound about the upper end of the holder. When the bladder is blown up through the opening on the side of the tube, this opening is closed by means of a small wooden stopper. The bladder does not hang quite free on the holder, but is loosely girded by a single or double loop (of whalebone or quill strips), which keeps it in place on the shaft (fig. 105).

The throwing of the weapon is made by means of the throwing stick, the narrow hind end of which is provided with a globular bone hook which pushes against another similar peg on the shaft end. The details of this contrivance are alike for the bladder dart and bird dart (see under the throwing sticks p. 442).

If the head after striking remains hanging in the animal, the bladder keeps the butt end of the shaft above the surface and shows the hunter, where he can reach his prey.

¹⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 257, fig. 257.

²⁾ From this I may correct a mistake in O. Mason's *Aboriginal American Harpoons* (1900). His fig. 23 (p. 238) "hinged toggle head" does not belong to G. Holm's collection and cannot be of East Greenland origin, but is probably from West Greenland and of the same type as that I have illustrated from Pfaff's collection. It is thus not as he describes (p. 237), the head of a hinged lance, but is presumably the toggle part of a drag line.

BIRD DARTS AND FISH SPEARS. (Holm coll.).



Fig. 137.
Bird darts. $\frac{1}{10}$.

Fig. 138.
Foreshafts of salmon-
spears. $\frac{1}{6}$.

Fig. 139.
Salmon spears. $\frac{1}{10}$.

Fig. 140.
Sea-scorpion
spears.
 $a \frac{1}{10}$, $b \frac{1}{12}$.

This weapon (the Ammassalik type of it) has a special foreshaft of wood, of the characteristic form seen in fig. 124. In the broad end surface is a socket, in which the arrow-like bone head of the weapon is fixed. This head is provided with a short unilateral barb. In recent specimens iron heads of European make are used instead of the bone head.

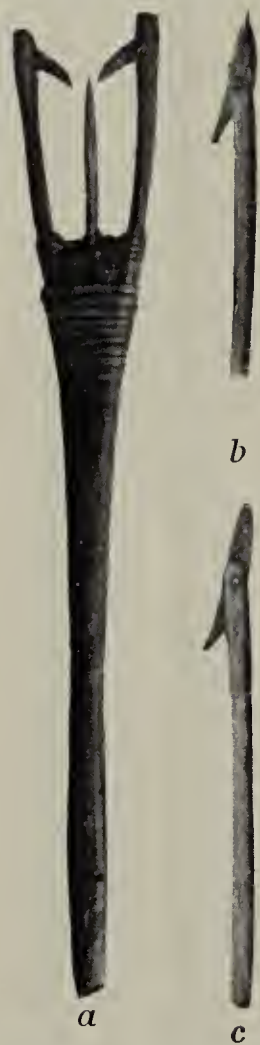


Fig. 141. Barbed heads of salmon spears.

(Holm coll.).

a $\frac{1}{8}$, *b*, *c* $\frac{1}{6}$.

The bladder dart is seen in an old painting of an Eskimo family from West Greenland, painted in Bergen in 1654 (it is now in the National Museum of Copenhagen¹). The man stands with the weapon in the right hand. The point of the bone head of this dart is carved into a peculiar form, a type of arrow head often found in relicts of the earlier culture on the west coast. The point consists of two parts, the one as if grown out of the other, having each the form of a conical (or partially squared) head with four distinct basal barbs; in a groove in the topmost part is inserted a blade of stone or bone with two barbs. From the base of the loose shaft a tightened line runs down along the wooden shaft to the place where the small bladder is fixed.

THE BIRD DART (*nukkin* or *nuiän*), figs. 137 *a*, *b*, *c* (cf. p. 47) is used from the kaiak in the hunting of swimming birds. Like the bladder dart it has its place on the fore-deck of the kaiak (along the left or port side) and like this is thrown by means of a throwing stick (special to this weapon, see fig. 147 *b*).

Technical names: *erqartaataa* the bone head; *qupiniweekitaa* the fore-shaft; *cooa* upper portion of the shaft; *kakineraat* the mid part immediately above the lateral bone prongs; *aaiän* lateral barbed bone points or prongs; *qaqiwa* the mid part immediately under the *aaiän*; *neritaa* the butt end ('its tooth?') *qaqiwisaa* bone peg on the end of the shaft.

Almost all the extant specimens in the collections from East Greenland are of a recent make, in so far as they are provided with a long, barbed iron head (fig. 122) of European manufacture, instead of the older bone head. Such bone heads are well-known from West Greenland perhaps with exception of the northernmost part of the coast, where the bird dart seems to have fallen out of use partially or, at Smith Sound, even not to have been used²). The bone heads are as a rule cut from one piece and have lateral barbs on the front end or a blade (of bone or stone?) inserted in a groove. So far as I know, our collections from Greenland do not contain any

¹) Reproduced in Bahnson (1900) p. 232, fig. 104.

²) Kroeber (1899) p. 283. Schultz-Lorentzen (1904) pp. 309 and 313.

bird darts with marked blunt heads, such as are known among the West Eskimo¹). But Hans Egede mentions a contrivance which serves the same purpose and is also known in Alaska, namely, 2 or 3 blunt heads (*nuiän* 'its heads' from *nuik*) which are placed on the end of the foreshaft²). The intention in throwing these darts is more to stun the bird or to keep it unwounded on the lateral prongs of the shaft than to wound it; it is desirable as far as possible to avoid ruining the skin, as it has to be used for the bird skin frocks³). — Amdrup found what is possibly the bone head of a bird dart on Dunholm in the north, with unilateral barb and groove for a blade⁴).

Fig. 142 shows one of the three lateral prongs (*aaiän* 'its prongs', from sing. *aaq*) which are so characteristic of this weapon. They are placed in a circle round the shaft, just a little behind the middle, each in its own plane, and serve as a kind of reserve points, in case the point of the head misses the bird. The butt ends of these prongs are fixed in holes on the shaft side and in addition to this they are united, through holes higher up, by means of whippings which keep them in place. The Ammassalikers have this way of fastening the prongs of the bird dart in common with the southern West Greenlanders, whereas the central West Greenlanders secure the three prongs on the shaft by means of two set of whippings, one at the foot end (which is not mortised, only lashed on the shaft) and the other higher up⁵). The prongs are always provided with two or three barbs facing the shaft. Only the prongs which have been found at various places in the northernmost parts of East Greenland (by Koldewey, Ryder, Nathorst and Amdrup)⁶) deviate in this respect by having a single barb on the outer edge besides two or three on the inner. Everywhere else points of this kind have only unilateral barbs⁷).

According to Johan Petersen a narrow thong with two bone beads on it lay along the wooden shaft of the old-time bird darts

¹) Nelson (1899) p. 152, Pl. LIX, Lyon (1824) p. 326 and Pl. between pp. 16—17 (Man of Savage Island).

²) H. Egede (1741) p. 56: "The bird darts are provided with two or three blunt bones on the end, in order simply to kill the bird and not to damage the flesh." Solberg (1907) p. 68.

³) Murdoch mentions two kinds of bird darts from Point Barrow (1892, pp. 20—213), one of them having a double fork instead of a single point for its head. Lyon knows the same type from Iglulik (1824, p. 326).

⁴) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 366—370. Fig. 8 and Pl. XVI, 17.

⁵) Schultz-Lorentzen (1904) p. 313. Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 507—508, figs. 83 and 84.

⁶) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 372—373. Fig. 16.

⁷) An exception, however, is illustrated by Nelson in a "prong or spur for attachment to the side of the shaft of a bird-spear" from St. Lawrence Island in Bering Strait, which has bilateral barbs. Nelson (1899) fig. 42⁶ (cf. p. 149).

of Ammassalik; these made a whistling or hissing sound as the weapon flew through the air. As the noise resembled that made by the bird, the animal would stretch out its neck and was thus hit with more certainty. This device has now died out.

At Ammassalik the bird dart is also used occasionally in bear hunting, of course not as an attacking weapon, but to give the thrower a right to share in the booty. For, according to custom, each one who has touched a bear (with weapon or hand) may claim the right.



Fig. 142.
Lateral prong
of bird dart.
Nualik. (Am-
drup coll.).

THE FISHING SPEARS (pp. 53—54) are of different types for the salmon (figs. 138—139) and the sea-scorpions (fig. 140). But in them all the upper part of the wooden shaft ends in a conical or flattened expansion, on which the prongs or bone heads, by means of which the fish are caught, are fixed.

Figs. 138*a* and *b* show two different methods of attaching the hinged toggle heads (*tookaaq*), which are used when the salmon are caught through a hole in the ice. In this fishing some means of enticing the fish is first used in the form of a piece of soapstone on which small carved ivory dangles are suspended by means of split feather quills (*aqaleetaq*, figs. 172*a*, 173, 177). This is sunk down in the water at the end of a line. When the fisher sees, that the salmon is playing at the bait, he spears it with the bone fork. In the first illustration (138*a*, cf. 141*b*) the two toggle heads have quite the same form as those used in the seal hunting with the *ittuartin* harpoons, even provided with small iron blades at the points, only somewhat smaller. The conical swelling of the wooden shaft is split at the end into two short cylindrical arms, each ending in a diminutive bone foreshaft. The bone shanks, which bear the toggle heads, are fixed in sockets in the surface of these arms. The shanks are attached almost like the loose shaft of the harpoons, namely, loose in the socket, and further, they are connected with the wooden shaft by means of a thin rawhide strap through a transverse hole in their butt. In fig. 138*b* (cf. figs. 139*a*, 141*c*) the toggle heads are not formed like harpoon heads, but simply as flat, elongated pieces of bone which turn about an axis in a groove in the upper end of the shank. The conical swelling of the wooden shaft is not split, but



Fig. 143.
Barbed head of
salmon spear.
Nualik. (Am-
drup coll.).

each shank is inserted into a separate socket on the flat end. Fig. 139*a* shows a specimen with split foreshaft.

Figs. 139*b* and 141*a* show the second type of salmon spear, a kind of barbed leister (*kakippaak*). Instead of having toggles at the ends its two shanks have broad ends with barbs bending inwards (*qiseetaak*) and between them a more slender prong with pointed end. This last is fixed in a socket or pit in the foreshaft, whilst the two outermost and longer prongs are only lashed to the sides of the conical swelling of the shaft.

This weapon is used, when the salmon enter the rivers or at the mouths of these in the summer. It is a great day at the tenting-ground, when the salmon are first reported. The cry goes round from tent to tent and all the men hasten down to the river with their spears, springing out at once on to the rows of stones which project up over the water (salmon dykes, cf. p. 407). There is light the whole night long at this time of year and the fishing is continued night after night.

The sea-scorpion spear (*känneen* or *siättiwin*) is a true, barbed leister, with two or three prongs on which the barbs bend inwards, inserted into a groove in the triangular expansion of the foreshaft, the fixing being secured by a lashing of sinew cord or rawhide line (figs. 140 and 143). One of the two spears illustrated has prongs of bone, the other of iron. — This weapon is also used sometimes in catching salmon. But it has often obtained a special importance as an instrument for dragging up the seaweed at ebb-tide at places where the screw-ice has made an opening down to the water. In times of famine, when there is a lack of marine animals, the seaweed affords a bare living in place of meat and fish and it is said on many occasions to have saved a settlement from perishing of hunger.



Fig. 144.
Throwing
stick of feather
harpoon.
(Holm coll.).
 $\frac{1}{8}$?

THROWING STICKS (*ajätcin*, pp. 46—47; figs. 144 to 149, cf. figs. 48 and 49) are used in casting the kaiak weapons: the harpoons, lances, bird darts and bladder darts. The lances are also thrown, however, without using the throwing stick, by the hand alone. As a rule the weapon is thrown with the right hand, but left-handed persons are not rare. Johan Petersen knew four men at Ammassalik, who used the left hand in throwing the harpoon and thus had this lying on the left side of the kaiak.

For each kind of weapon there is a special throwing stick with varying modes of attachment. Fig. 145 shows two throwing sticks

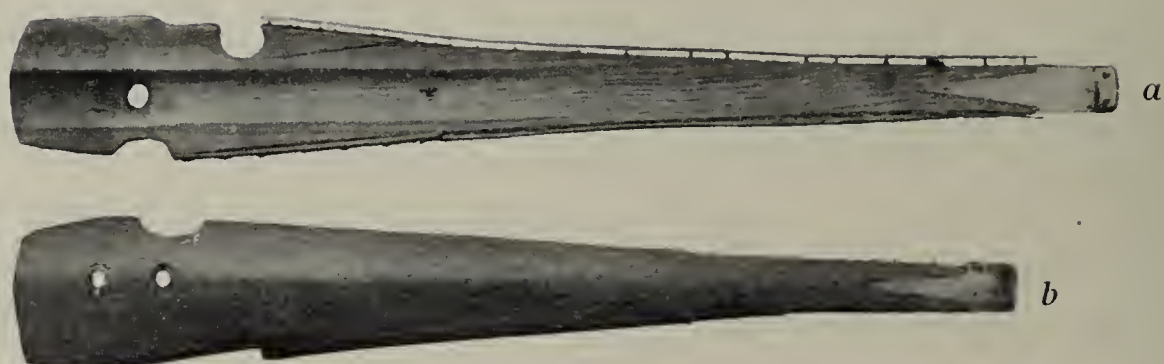


Fig. 145. Throwing sticks of feather harpoon. Nualik.
(Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{6}$.



Fig. 146. Throwing sticks of knob harpoon. Nualik.
(Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{6}$.



Fig. 147. Throwing sticks of knob harpoon or lance (*a*) and bird dart (*b*).
(Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{6}$.

for feather harpoons, found by Amdrup at the "dead house" (Nualik). *a* is seen from the (upper or inner) side towards the harpoon shaft when lifted for throwing; the shaft sinks a little into the median groove, which is deepest at the front end of the throwing stick (to the left in the illustration), but becomes shallow towards the middle and disappears at the hind end. In the groove is a hole for the bone peg on the wooden shaft. The second throwing stick (*b*), which is shown from the under side (back), has two holes. The throwing sticks of feather harpoons usually have two holes fitting two bone pegs on the harpoon shaft. Fig. 144 is the throwing stick which belongs to the feather harpoon for a child illustrated in fig. 104; it also has two holes.

The back (narrow) end of these throwing sticks for feather harpoons has a contrivance, which is characteristic of the Ammassalik type, and is even something special in the Eskimo world. Instead of the two small, round bone pegs, which meet each other at the butt end of the West Greenland throwing stick, one (*qilik*) on this, the other (*qaquiseq*) on the wooden shaft¹⁾, the Ammassalik feather harpoon has a square bevelled surface at the end of the shaft, concealed

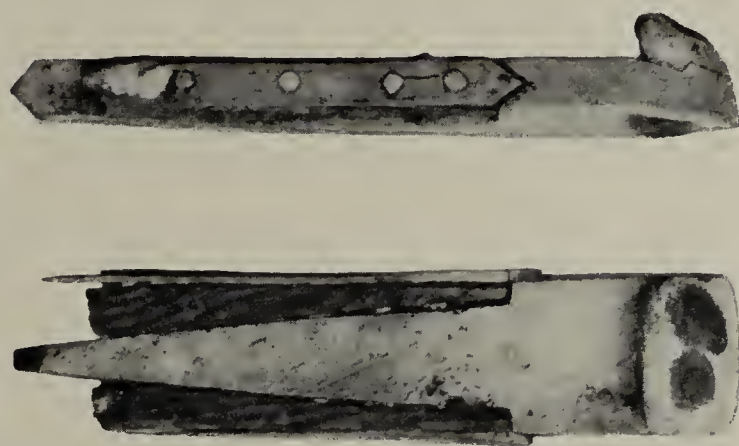


Fig. 148. Hind part of a throwing stick of feather harpoon. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{3}{4}$.

among the bone feathers, fitting a congruent plane on the throwing stick, namely the square front side of a forward verging barb, which sits upon the back end of the throwing stick. This barb forms the outer part of a kind of bone hook which is wedged into a triangular cut in the stick. As can be seen from fig. 148, this bone hook is formed of two pieces, the larger main piece in shape like a triangular wedge, flat above and slightly concave on the under side, and the barb piece, a small block of bone in form like a longitudinal section of a cylinder, fixed by iron nails on the smooth upper side of the main piece, along the hind edge of it. As the top part of the block verges a little forward a hook is produced, the inward (down-

¹⁾ O. Fabricius (1810) pp 138—139: "At the end of the shaft among these feathers is the uppermost end-bone, which is called *kakkogegsa* i. e. 'something to gnaw in,' because the hook of the throwing stick is constantly gnawing and wriggling in it. It is made either of reindeer horn, seal tooth, white whale tooth or other piece of ivory; it is a small, round bone hollow at the end, which is fixed in the end of the shaft and serves the purpose of allowing the end-hook of the throwing stick to have free movement in it."

wards) sloping plane of which forms a acute angle with the upper side of the main piece. By means of this contrivance the long harpoon shaft does not overbalance and drop off when the hunter has placed it in position, that is, resting only with the butt end on the throwing stick; the hook holds the end of the shaft down against the latter and it is only when the weapon is lifted in throwing and pushed forward, that it is let free.

Fig. 146 shows two throwing sticks for the knob harpoon, likewise found by Amdrup at Nualik. The upper, which has perhaps

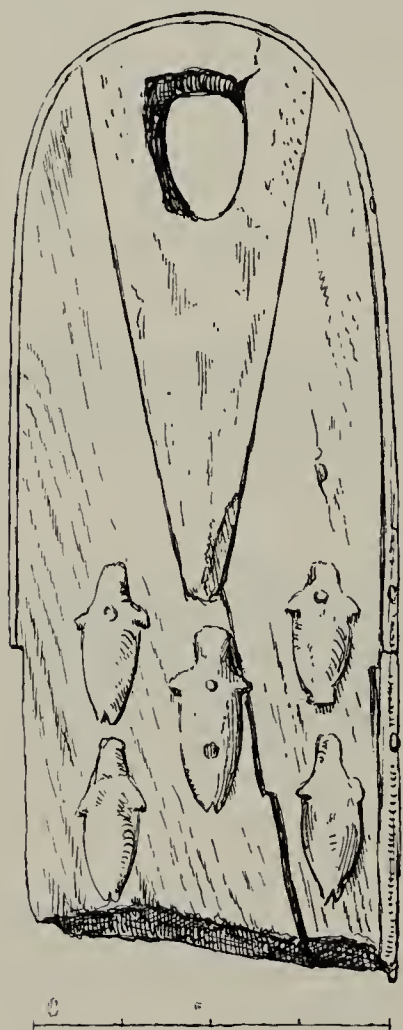


Fig. 149. Throwing stick (fragment) with relief ornaments of seals. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

belonged to a smaller harpoon, is defective. It has had a triangular bone end, similar to the other, wedged into a broad cut in the back end of the stick. This kind of throwing stick is attached close behind the middle of the wooden shaft of the knob harpoon — as shown in figs. 103 *a, b, c* — and has two holes, one in front and the other behind (in the bone triangle), fitting to the bone pegs on the under side of the shaft. The first is small and circular, the other larger and oval (cf. fig. 149). — The throwing stick of the lance is made on the same principle.

The throwing sticks of the bladder dart and bird dart, like those of the feather harpoon, are attached on the butt end of the wooden shaft (figs. 105 and 137), but there is no hole in the throwing stick and no peg on the shaft which rests loosely in the groove; and in contradistinction to the feather harpoon the Ammassalik throwing sticks for bladder and bird darts, like those of West Greenland, have a globular bone peg (*qilia*) meeting another (*qaqiwisaa*) of the same form on the shaft end, the one on the throwing stick being to push forward the other on the butt of the shaft (the arrangement is seen distinctly in fig. 105). — It is clear, on the whole, that the driving power in throwing the shaft is concentrated in the back end of the throwing stick, i. e. in the bone peg (bird dart and bladder dart) or the hook (feather harpoon), or the edge of the hindmost hole (knob harpoon and lance). The front hole, into which the peg fits, is only to give a better direction or sight with the weapon.

Along the edges of the throwing sticks or a part of the edges

there is a bone covering, fixed with bone or wooden nails. The intention is to protect the edges of the wood¹).

A special interest is attached to the holes or notches for the forefinger (*arpaa*) and the thumb (*tikkiwia* or *terta*). Fig. 145 has notches in both edges in the front part of the throwing stick. The deepest notch (in the right edge) is for the forefinger, the other for the thumb. In fig. 146, the throwing stick for the knob harpoon, only a shallow notch is seen for the thumb. Johan Petersen's collection, however, contains two interesting, old-time throwing sticks for the knob harpoon and bird dart from Ammassalik (figs. 147*a* and *b*), from which it may be concluded, that the notch for the forefinger has developed in comparatively recent times, and within Greenland, from the original hole. His own commentary is elucidative: "In the right edge there is an extension and in this a hole for the forefinger (*arpaa*); on the throwing sticks of the old-time bird darts and harpoons such a hole occurred not rarely." — This feature agrees with what we know of the throwing sticks of the Central and West Eskimo²). I have also found it in old throwing sticks from Northwest Greenland (Pfaff's collection in the Stockholm Riksmuseum). And O. Fabricius mentions, that the throwing stick for the feather harpoon had on the right side a hole for the forefinger, but that others have only a round incision in the edge³).

The Ammassalik throwing stick of the harpoon and bird dart is fastened on the kaiak by means of a short strap (*kalippia*) which ends in a bone button (fig. 144 and 147*b*; cf. fig. 339) and is fastened on the back of the throwing stick, in front or over its middle; this strap and the button is stuck in under one of the cross-straps on the deck of the kaiak. — In West Greenland, however, either the harpoon shaft itself (like the shaft of the bird dart) has straps at two places (outside of the part corresponding to the place of the throwing stick) and is thus tied to the kaiak at two places; or it does not have straps itself, and in this case there is a strap fixed in the deck of the kaiak to the right of the man-hole, a little in front and out near the gunwale, which is tightened over the harpoon and fixed under a cross-strap.

¹) In two of the throwing sticks described by F. Krause 'from Greenland, it is stated, that "on both sides of the grip are thin bone pieces somewhat tapering which secure a firmer grip" (Sling Contrivances etc. 1905, p. 629). This is probably a misunderstanding. What are seen in his illustration (Pl. III, 30*b* and 32*a*) are the nails, which have remained in the edge after the bone covering has dropped off.

²) F. Krause (1805) p. 627.

³) O. Fabricius (1810) p. 140.

The ornamental bone relief, with which the Ammassalikers have decorated the back of their throwing sticks since ancient times, will be discussed later. This feature is also peculiar to them.

On the whole the types of throwing sticks are common to both East and West Greenland. The small differences in the notches and straps are not of great importance.

The feather harpoon and consequently the type of throwing stick belonging to it is limited to Greenland, especially the southern parts of the coasts. Ryder found two miniature feathers of a harpoon of this type in Scoresby Sound¹).

Ryder's discovery of a larger (defective) throwing stick in Scoresby Sound is very interesting. Although its form is somewhat divergent from the type hitherto known, in which the edges are almost straight, it is however essentially of the same type as the old-time Greenland throwing sticks (with hole for the forefinger). The difference consists in the stick narrowing rapidly from the middle backwards; this feature brings it to resemble in striking degree the type of throwing stick illustrated by Boas from the north-west coast of Hudson Bay (Aivilik Eskimo)²). It also agrees in the main with one figured by Ellis from Hudson Strait³). It is interesting to notice that the driving apparatus in this Hudson Bay throwing stick is an upright bone peg in the hind end of the groove, which is in agreement with the fact, that it is stated to be a throwing stick for the bladder dart (the same arrangement we know from the throwing stick for the bird dart). The throwing stick found by Ryder at Scoresby Sound is thus probably not a throwing stick for a harpoon, as indicated by him, but one for a bird dart or bladder dart⁴).

It is only Greenlanders who have throwing sticks for the harpoons and lances, thus for the larger kaiak weapons⁵). Outside Greenland the throwing stick is only used for the bird and bladder darts. The type from Hudson Bay, broad in front, narrow and slender behind, forms a characteristic transition between the Alaska types, which are slender throughout, and the broad throwing sticks of the Greenlanders. — The more westerly types from Alaska have a common feature, which is not found east of Hudson Bay, perhaps not east of the Mackenzie River, namely, the neck-like narrowing of the front part of the throwing stick. It is round this part of the throwing stick that the hand grips and it is especially in regard to this part that we find the numerous variations along the arctic coast from the one district to the other and in specially great number in the Bering Strait. Perhaps F. Krause⁶) is right in his suggestion, that the reason for these frequent, small changes in the arrangement is to be found in the arctic cold, which makes the fingers numb — in using the throwing stick the mitten must be taken off, as the forefinger otherwise could not be inserted in the hole and the throwing stick could not be held with a firm grip — consequently, the

¹) Ryder (1895) p. 314.

²) Boas (1901) p. 80, fig. 110, and (1907) p. 396, fig. 191.

³) Ellis (1750) Pl. VI.

⁴) The dotted lines marked by Ryder are consequently wrong. They should show a bone peg and not a hole in the median groove. Ryder (1895) fig. 17 *a*.

⁵) Murdoch (1892) p. 217.

⁶) Krause (1904) p. 628.

hunter is always trying to improve upon this part in order to obtain a firm hold on the weapon with the greatest possible ease.

O. Mason¹⁾ describes the Greenland types of throwing sticks in the following words: "There is no hook, as in all the other types, to fit the end of the harpoon shaft, but in its stead are two holes one in the front end of the shaft groove — — — the other at the distal end of the shaft groove. — — — This last mentioned hole is not cylindrical like the one in front, but is so constructed as to allow the shaft-peg to slide off easily. These holes exactly fit two ivory pegs projecting from the harpoon shaft. — — — This type of throwing-stick is radically different from all others in its adjustment to the pegs on the heavy harpoon. In all other examples in the world the hook or spur is on the stick and not on the weapon."

This, however, only applies to the throwing sticks of the Greenland knob harpoon and lance and of the West Greenland feather harpoon. The other Greenland throwing sticks for bird dart and for the Ammassalik feather harpoon are provided with hook or spur in the distal end.

The device of the throwing-stick, says O. Mason, is the substitute for the bow or the sling, to be used on the kaiak, from which it would be difficult to launch an arrow from a bow. He emphasizes the accuracy in the shooting. "Perhaps no other savage device comes so near in this respect to a gun barrel or the groove of a bow-gun." Further, he praises it for the firm grip it gives and the longer time it allows the hunter to use the power of his arms in driving the weapon forward²⁾.

G. Friederici also mentions the throwing stick, but esteems its throwing power and accuracy less than those of the bow. He considers it as the more primitive weapon, which we only find in general among people of a low level, or as a relict by the side of the bow among the more civilized. The bow signified an advance by comparison with the throwing stick³⁾. — I wonder whether this point of view is not opposed to the information archæology gives regarding the occurrence of the bow, but the non-occurrence of the throwing stick, in the earlier periods!

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE LARGER WEAPONS. New and old features are found side by side in the Greenland hunting weapons, special to them or common with the Eskimo weapons further west.

The feather harpoon (West Greenland *ernannaq*, East Gr. *innannaq*) which is characterized by the feather-like bone weights at the butt end of the shaft and the bone device between them used in throwing with the stick, is restricted to Greenland and there even unknown in the northernmost regions. It is evident that albeit it belongs to a general type of the Eskimo harpoon this is a specialized form which has originated in South Greenland. — The knob harpoon (West Greenland *unaaq*, East Gr. *saarqin*) is different from the feather harpoon in having a cylindrical bone weight at the end instead of the two bone feathers and another arrangement for the throwing stick; in the main it is only a more original form of the same kind of weapon.

¹⁾ Mason, Throwing sticks in the National Museum (1890) p. 281 and (1890) p. 243.

²⁾ Mason (1890) pp. 279—280. Handbook of Amer. Indians (1910) p. 746.

³⁾ Friederici, Die Wirkung des Indianerbogens (Globus 1907) p. 327.

Both of these harpoons partially correspond with the *unang* of Baffin Land and the *oonak* (i. e. *unaaq*) of Iglulik and Winter Island (Melville Peninsula) but these weapons are only used in sealing on the winter ice (*nipparteq*) not on the kaiak. The knob of bone (or ivory) at the butt is mentioned by Boas on the *unang* of the Baffinlanders¹). The double-running thong which connects the loose shaft with the main shaft, is common to all kinds of harpoons and lances among the eastern Eskimo (including the central Eskimo on Melville Peninsula) whereas the same weapons in Alaska are only provided with single-running connecting thongs. If we base our comparison of the forms in question not on the names, but on their function in the life of the hunting Eskimo, we shall find that the kaiak harpoons of the Greenlanders are more in agreement with the larger harpoon weapons used from the kaiak by the central and western Eskimo. Such are the *tikagung* from Baffin Land, for hunting seals and walrus from the kaiak, used in connection with a loose toggle head of the *tokang* type; the *qatelik* of the Eskimo of Iglulik and Melville Peninsula, used with the *siatko* head; and the *unarpak* 'the great *unaaq*' of the northernmost Alaska Eskimo at Point Barrow used with a toggle head named *tuka* (i. e. *tookaq*)²). These weapons which are essentially alike are no doubt the western equivalents of the Greenland kaiak harpoons. They are the only ones used in connection with the large sealskin floats and they are everywhere put to the use of taking the large seals, walrus and white whale in hunting from the kaiak.

The Greenland kaiak harpoons not only resemble the *unarpak*, or walrus harpoon, of the Point Barrow Eskimo in Alaska, but also the same Eskimo's "retrieving seal harpoon" almost of the same type, which is confined, according to Murdoch, to the coast from Point Barrow to Bering Strait. The seals are caught here in open holes or leads of water from the edge of the solid ice. The seal is first shot and then is secured by means of the retrieving harpoon, which is slung with the hand (without throwing stick); the end of the harpoon line is held in the left hand³). The differences between the Alaska and Greenland weapon are: — 1, the former is cast with the hand, the latter with a throwing stick of a peculiar type; — 2, the loose shaft in the former is very short and has only a single line-hole; — 3, the foreshaft at Point Barrow is shaped like a heavy cylinder which is lashed to the wooden shaft whereas in Greenland it is only a bone cap which is fixed by mortising and nailing on the top surface of the main shaft; — 4, instead of the bone knob or feathers of the Greenland harpoon shaft the Alaskan shaft is provided with a long, pointed bone pick secured to the butt end with lashings.

¹) Boas (1888) p. 471. Parry (1824) p. 507. Lyon does not mention at all the *oonak* in his enumeration of the weapons of those regions: (1824) pp. 325—327.

²) Boas (1888) pp. 489—492; Parry (1824) p. 508; Murdoch (1892) pp. 219 and 224.

³) Murdoch (1892) pp. 223—231, figs. 214, 224 and 225. Cf. Nelson (1899) Plates LIV and LV.

At Point Barrow the "retrieving harpoon" is called *nauliga*; this name corresponds to the Greenland word *nauligaq* (from *naulippoq* 'to harpoon a marine animal'), which means there 'a boy's harpoon, a miniature harpoon for throwing on land (as boys do for practice).' In this weapon and designation of the Greenland boys we have obviously an old tradition or a reminiscence of a form of the weapon which has become obsolete. In the life of the adult Greenlanders, however, the original weapon has assumed a more extensive role, to be thrown with the throwing stick from the kaiak, and connected with the sealing float. The meaning of its West Greenland name *unaaq* is not quite fixed. Commonly it means 'a knob harpoon,' but according to Kleinschmidt's dictionary (p. 395) the designation is used in some districts for 'a short harpoon shaft, only 4 feet long and without throwing stick.'

The Greenland knob harpoon has also some resemblance with the thrusting harpoon from Point Barrow, which is used for the capture of seals on the ice as they come up for air to their breathing holes¹⁾. This ice sealing harpoon from Alaska is in reality only a variety of the unarpak and retrieving harpoon, but with a longer "loose shaft" (which is named in Alaska *igimû*, W. Greenland *igimaq*, E. Greenland *eemaa*). In the Greenland *nip-parteq* harpoon for sealing on the ice, the "loose shaft" has been laid aside but the weapon is otherwise quite like the Alaskan. The Greenland kaiak harpoon thus seems to be nearly related to the ice sealing harpoon, as both have been derived from West Eskimo forms, which are less differentiated from the common, original type in Alaska than they became later in Greenland.

Kaiak harpoons of a type similar to that of the Greenland harpoons are also used on the western coast of Alaska (Norton Sound) for taking the larger seals, walrus and white whale. We find here, according to W. Nelson's descriptions, large harpoons showing the same main characteristics as the Greenland weapons: the detachable iron-pointed toggle head with a basal barb, the loose shaft of bone, the bone foreshaft, the pointed bone weight (a bone pick) at the butt end, and the harpoon line which connects the loose head with the inflated sealskin float, which is placed on the float-board just behind the man-hole. It is not quite clear, however, from Nelson's description, if this latter contrivance in Alaska is combined with the large harpoon of the type just mentioned, or only with the smaller spears of another type which are used for hunting the same kinds of animals. The large sealskin float is in use, he says, from Kotzebue Sound to Bristol Bay (West Alaska about 57°—67° N. lat.). Throwing sticks are not used with these weapons, but they are, on the other hand, in general use for casting the lightest kind of spears used by the Alaskan Eskimo for the capture of the small seal. This kind of spear has a detachable barbed head with a pointed butt end, set directly into the foreshaft, which when detached remains connected only by the sealskin line to the shaft; as the line unwinds, the shaft is drawn crosswise after the retreating seal and serves as a drag³⁾. The shaft of this spear often has bird feathers on the butt end where they are fixed in slits (three in a circle round the shaft, or in two sets at different distances from the end).

¹⁾ Murdoch l. c. p. 233—235, figs. 227 and 229.

²⁾ Nelson (1899) pp. 138—139. Notice especially his description of fig. 6 on Pl. LV, *a* (harpoon from Norton Sound) and figs. 7—8 *ibid.*, fig. 10 on Pl. LIV.

³⁾ *Id. ibid.* p. 136—137.

From the intervening regions between Alaska and Greenland Parry describes three kinds of harpoons, namely, from the regions north of Hudson Bay: — 1, the *oonak* (probably the same word as Greenland *unaaq*) used for killing the small seal; — 2, the *akleak* or *akleega* (Greenland *aLLigaq*) used for the large seal; — and 3, *kattelik* (which would be Greenland *qaatilik*, but not known there as name for any weapon) evidently derived from *qaateq* 'the bone foreshaft of a Greenland harpoon,' also in general 'a ferule, bone ring,' thus meaning a weapon which has a bone foreshaft of a certain form. I saw some of these weapons in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford originating from Parry's and Lyon's expedition in 1824¹). The *qaatelik* is nearly the same as the Greenland kaiak harpoon but for the wooden shaft being heavier and the butt end provided with a tapering bone (a bone pick) instead of the bone knob or bone feathers of the Greenland weapons. The *qaateq* (foreshaft) of the *qaatelik* is a short bone cylinder with a flat top extension (the whole approximately mushroom-shaped) in which there is a socket for the insertion of the loose shaft; as to form and length this foreshaft thus holds an intermediate position between the Alaskan and Greenland foreshaft types. The loose toggle head which according to Parry is of the same type for the *oonak* and the *qatelik*, is called a *siatko*; it has a blade of iron inserted in a slit, as it seems, placed in the same plane as that of the body barb, at right angles to the direction of the line-holes²). The *qaatelik* of the Central Eskimo is used in combination with the large sealskin float (Parry *howwula* = Greenland *awataq*) like the Alaskan large seal and walrus harpoon.

The Greenlanders seem to have combined two kinds of harpoon weapons in their kaiak harpoons, in that they use them for taking both small and large seal, walrus, white whale and narwhal, whereas the central and more western Eskimo have kept the various kinds of weapons apart for the different uses. Thus it has come that the Greenlanders have added two devices to their kaiak harpoon (*unaaq*) from other kinds of throwing weapons: the large sealskin float from the kind of harpoon which originally was only used for hunting the large sea animals, and the throwing stick from the bird spear and the bladder dart (*aLLigaq*) which elsewhere are the only weapons to be cast in this manner. On the other hand the Greenlanders have got two specialized forms of kaiak harpoon: knob and feather harpoons. The combination and specialisation of these forms which are peculiar to Greenland, but on the other hand common to the greater part of the Greenland population, must have been carried out in Greenland itself after the immigration of their forefathers from the more western and central regions.

The Eskimo kaiak harpoon may, I think, be regarded as having arisen from a form nearly related to the bladder dart, if not simply by a specialisation of this weapon. The bladder dart is the most common Eskimo throw-

¹) Parry (1824) pp. 507—508, and Pl. between pp. 550—541, figs. 13, 18 to 21. Lyon (1824) pp. 325—326.

²) Cf. here p. 433 and Murdoch (1892) p. 222.

ing weapon with head and attached bladder (Alaska *aqligak*, Labrador *akligak*, Baffins Land *agdliak*¹⁾, West Greenland *aLLigaq*, East Greenland *attigaq*). Of course when the Greenlanders throw the knob harpoon with the throwing stick, just as the bladder dart is thrown, this is only a recent analogy from the smaller throwing darts, which are everywhere thrown with the throwing stick when used in the *kaiak*. But it seems reasonable to seek for a close relationship between the two kinds of throwing weapons to which the characteristic bladder is attached and which are, or originally were, provided with detachable barbed heads. As a matter of fact, the introduction of this arrangement is not more difficult to understand than that of the loose barbed head in the Alaska sea-otter harpoon, which is undoubtedly only a variety of the bladder dart. It is noteworthy that the bladder dart used in the central regions has a loose toggle head at the end of its bone foreshaft. In the *agdliak* from the regions north of Hudson Bay (Melville Peninsula and Igdlulik) illustrated by Parry and Lyon²⁾ we find a loose bone foreshaft and loose toggle head agreeing with the same devices in the harpoon weapons we know both from Bering Strait and Davis Strait. From Smith Sound in North Greenland Kroeber has shown a bladder dart with a loose shaft, movable like that of the *kaiak* harpoon and *kaiak* lance³⁾. Murdoch reproduces a dart head from Point Barrow in Alaska, which he considers as related to the *aLLigaq* weapon⁴⁾. It unites in one piece of bone the loose shaft and the barbed head of the harpoon. It has bilateral barbs in the front part, two line holes in the butt end and tapering basal end, evidently intended to fit into a socket. — The word *aLLigaq* itself probably means 'provided with barbs,' cf. Kleinschmidt, *Grønlandsk Ordbog* (1871) p. 18 (*agdligak*).

The arrangement with the loose bladder, which is attached to the loose head by the long line, is merely a further extension of the idea with the loose head attached by a line to the shaft, such as we find realized, for example, in the Alaskan sea-otter harpoon and in the smaller sealing spears. The bladder harpoon with loose barbed head, used in the hunting of small seal, may thus well be the archetype of the large *kaiak* harpoon. Where this development has taken place, we do not know, but we find essentially the same two types of weapons both in Alaska, in central regions and in Greenland.

In the endeavour constantly to find better methods of freeing the bone head of the weapon from the shaft, after the animal has been hit, and to prevent its escape through the water, the primitive hunter has gradually transformed his arrow and his dart. For his ingenuity there were only small steps to make from those light arrow-like darts, where the wooden shaft floats and acts as a drag, to the bladder dart⁵⁾ where the shaft is kept afloat by an attached

¹⁾ Murdoch (1892) pp. 212 (fig. 197) and 214—215; Erdman, *Eskimoisches Wörterbuch* (Labrador) p. 18; Boas (1888) p. 493.

²⁾ Parry (1824) pp. 550—551, fig. 18. Lyon (1824) p. 325. Cf. Boas (1888) p. 494, fig. 428.

³⁾ Kroeber (1899) fig. 3.

⁴⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 214, fig. 201 and p. 212, fig. 197. The larger spear reproduced by Nelson from Norton Sound (1899, Pl. LVa, fig. 1) seems to be a bladder dart of a similar kind.

⁵⁾ This point of view has already been set forth by Rink (1886) p. 140.

bladder, and from this to the large harpoon with a loose, barbed head and a loose sealskin float; the last was several times larger than the fixed bladder of the bladder dart and could therefore not be thrown with the weapon, but obtained a special place on the kaiak, from which it was thrown out on to the surface of the water with the unwinding coil. These features we find side by side on the Alaskan coast. From the central regions (Baffin Land) we get the significant information, that the bladder dart (*agdliaq*) is used for hunting small seals in the way that "the loose head (*naulang*) is tied to the shaft, which acts as a drag"¹⁾. In Greenland the use of the light seal spear, with the shaft used as a drag, is not known. But the bladder dart which was in the central regions provided with a loose harpoon head and had two line holes in the loose shaft (i. e. double-running connecting line, a more elastic connection) is found in Greenland in what seems to be a reduced type without toggle head or connecting line. Thus, the original resemblance of this weapon with the large harpoon is lost here, and the dissimilarity has increased by the introduction of new devices.

Both in Greenland and Baffin Land the counterpoise has been moved from the foreshaft (which was large and heavy in the Alaskan harpoons) to the butt end of the shaft; the Greenland knob harpoon and feather harpoon can therefore be cast with the throwing stick. —

The Greenland kaiak lance agrees exactly with the Central Eskimo's described by Boas²⁾. The Alaskan Eskimo have two kinds of lances. The primitive lance in Alaska (whale lance)³⁾ is a thrusting weapon, which consists of a long wooden shaft with a broad flint head inserted in a slit at the end, but without any loose shaft. This type has occurred everywhere. Alongside it there has developed among the East Eskimo a specialized type, in which essential features were copied from the harpoon weapon and adapted to the kaiak hunting. The head of bone, stone or iron has among them become fixed in a loose shaft of bone, which quite resembles the loose shaft of the harpoon, with two line holes a little above the base. The wooden shaft of the Greenland lance is heavier than the harpoon's and has no bone weight at the butt end, but a specialized form of it can be cast like the harpoon with the throwing stick and bears lateral bone pegs for this purpose. Also the foreshaft, a flat cap of bone on the upper shaft end, is an analogy with the harpoon.

¹⁾ Boas (1888) pp. 493—494.

²⁾ Id. *ibid.* p. 496, fig. 432.

³⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 240, fig. 238. Nelson (1889) pp. 145—146, Pl. LVa, 3—4.

This form of foreshaft does not in reality differ much from the short foreshaft of the *qatilik* of the Central Eskimo. Like the Alaskan lances, the Greenland lances of the *tikaagut* type have a bone peg inserted on the shaft for a finger-rest a little behind the middle of the shaft¹⁾. In contrast to the Greenland lances the Alaskan have an ivory pick-axe at the butt end, lashed to the wooden shaft with sealskin thong; but the previously mentioned primitive lance does not have this feature, neither in Alaska nor elsewhere.

Various characteristic features are connected with the two Alaskan types of lances²⁾. Stone blades were retained until recent years in the primitive whale lance, for religious reasons, it being forbidden to cut up whales and walrus with iron. The whole form of the whale lance is for the same reason an archaic phenomenon in the Eskimo culture we know. (The type of harpoon head seen in the whaling harpoon is also to be regarded as primitive; it is the dominant type in the Bering Strait and in North-east Greenland)³⁾.

The points used on the Alaskan lances of the secondary type are detachable, and every hunter in Alaska carries a small bag made from sealskin, containing eight or ten additional points. Slate is most frequently used, and occasionally flint or bone (rarely iron) points are seen. "These lances are used when the seal or walrus has been disabled, so that it cannot keep out of reach of its pursuers, when the hunter paddles up close alongside and strikes the animal, driving the detachable head in in its entire length. The head remains in the animal, and the hunter immediately fits another point into the shaft and repeats the blow, thus inserting as many of the barbed heads (loose shafts with inserted stone blades) as possible, until the animal is killed or the supply of points exhausted. Every hunter has his private mark cut on these points, so that, when the animal is secured, each is enabled to reclaim his own"⁴⁾. This last feature reminds us, that the Alaskan Eskimo are divided totemistically into clans, like several of the North Pacific coastal tribes, but all trace of this character has disappeared among the East Eskimo. — What are referred to in the above passage as heads and as points are (it appears from the illustrations⁵⁾ the same as the "loose bone shaft" of the Greenland lances and it is clear, that they are not connected with the wooden shaft by a sealskin line. They are absolutely loose, i. e. fixed into a socket at the end of the shaft but not more firmly than that they leave the socket, when the hunter withdraws the weapon after the point has pierced the animal. It is evident, that this was a wasteful method, which could only persist in regions where there was a very plentiful supply of bone and stone for the weapons. It is natural, that the Eskimo were obliged to find another arrangement, in order to avoid this expensive use of material on coasts where it was necessary to be saving. It is not known, whether this custom of carrying reserve heads for the primitive (now obsolete) lances has been known in Greenland.

¹⁾ Nelson (1899) Pl. LV *b*, figs. 1 and 2.

²⁾ Id. *ibid.* pp. 145—147. Murdoch (1892) pp. 239 et seq.

³⁾ Thalbitzer (1909) p. 359.

⁴⁾ Nelson (1899) pp. 146—147.

⁵⁾ Id. *ibid.* Pl. LVII *a*.

The use of the hinged toggle in sealing is special to Greenland¹⁾. It is an arrangement which may have been transferred by analogy from the salmon spear to the sealing weapon and the invention is probably due to a native in Greenland, since we find no trace of it west of the Davis Strait. The idea might readily arise, as the salmon in the northern parts of the coast appear at the mouths of the rivers just at the period when the seals begin to creep up on to the ice to sun themselves²⁾. The *ittuartin* harpoon head with the long basal barb is indeed only a slightly larger form of the salmon toggle.

The Greenland fishing spears belong to the most original of the Eskimo weapons. We find almost unchanged the same two types — the barbed two-pronged fork and the three-pronged fork³⁾ — through the Central Eskimo regions to the southern coasts of Alaska⁴⁾ (where however they are now rare), and the name of the last is everywhere the same as in Greenland (Greenland *kakippaak*, Labrador *kakkivak*, Baffin Land *kakivang*⁵⁾, Iglulik and Winter Island *kakiwai*⁶⁾, Alaska *kakibua*⁷⁾), though it must be remarked, that the hinged toggle heads, used instead of barbs, are not found among the Eskimo outside Greenland. On the other hand, salmon spears with toggle heads are used far beyond the Eskimo boundaries. In addition to among the Indian tribes referred to by G. Holm p. 54 (foot-note 2), the use of double-headed toggle harpoons is mentioned, for example, among the Chilkotin Indians in Western Canada, and among the Indians of Sacramento Valley in California⁸⁾. It is possible, consequently, that the occurrence of the hinged toggle on the salmon spear in East Greenland is to be explained as the last relict of an old tradition from the west, which has been lost among the intervening Eskimo tribes.

¹⁾ Mason (1900) pp. 237—238.

²⁾ A passage in Bendix Thostrup's diary from North-east Greenland (in *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, Vol. 21, København 1912, p. 191) has suggested this remark. Thostrup gives the following sketch of the coming of summer at the coasts in the neighbourhood of Dove Bay, into which a river opens from Sælsø: "On the ice of the sea off the mouth of the river the seals have collected in large numbers; — these animals are very clever salmon fishers. A few days previously there were no seals at this place, now there are many sunning themselves along the cracks in the ice. It must in former times have been of great importance for the Eskimo, that the salmon thus attract quantities of seals together off the large rivers." — Salmon caught by means of seal-hunting weapons in *Tugtulik fjord* are mentioned by G. Holm, in this volume p. 111.

³⁾ Described already by Hans Egede (1741) p. 60. Cf. O. Fabricius (1812) p. 266.

⁴⁾ Nelson (1899) pp. 174—176, Pl. LXVII; Murdoch (1892) fig. 278.

⁵⁾ Boas (1888) p. 512, fig. 453.

⁶⁾ Parry (1824) p. 509; Lyons (1824) p. 326.

⁷⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 286.

⁸⁾ Mason (1900) pp. 222 and 232.

Roald Amundsen brought home four single-pronged salmon forks or fish spears from the Central Eskimo on King Williams Land, each with a loose bone head provided with as many as five unilateral barbs (length of spear 2.14 m.). They are stated to have been used for spearing salmon from the kaiak¹). The bone head is movable, attached to the wooden shaft by means of a thong through a single hole in the lowermost part of the bone shaft (at right angles to the plane of the barbs), thus quite like the loose shaft of a kaiak harpoon. Further, the following characteristic: at the base the loose shaft has a socket, into which a bone tenon on the end of the wooden shaft fits (the reverse condition to what we find in the Greenland harpoon, where the loose shaft ends in a tenon fitting down into a socket on the top surface of the foreshaft). — Along with these fish spears Amundsen also found quantities of the three-forked salmon spear (*kakivak*).

In connection with this reference to the weapons of the Central Eskimo on King Williams Land I may also mention some seal harpoons brought home by Amundsen from the same regions²). Whilst we find here the harpoon head, the loose shaft, the bone foreshaft and the basal pick in full agreement with the common kaiak harpoon, we miss the leather strap which elsewhere connects the loose shaft with the foreshaft. In other words, the loose shaft is simply inserted (sufficiently firmly to hold) into the conical socket on the end of the cylindrical, wedge-shaped foreshaft.

STILETTOS (hand lances, cf. pp. 47—48) are of two types. The longer (*ayiwileet*) is said to be especially for killing the narwhal, when it has been overtaken and wounded. The one shown in fig. 151a is of wood, 93 cm. long, provided at one end with a bone point, at the other with a bear's tooth. The shorter (*pana*) is used against the wounded seal, when it still shows signs of life after being hauled to the side of the kaiak. The death-blow in the heart is then given with this weapon. The one shown in fig. 150, which was found by Amdrup at the "dead house," is entirely of bone all in one piece. The other (fig. 151b) consists of a wooden shaft with a long row of carved rings to give a firm grip, a bone shank inserted at the end and an iron blade fixed in a groove. The Ammasalikers call this last weapon a *pana* (which otherwise in the Eskimo language means the broad man's knife).



Fig. 150.
Stiletto made
of bone.
Nualik. (Am-
drup coll.).

THE WOUND-TRIMMER (*majitteen*, figs. 152—153, cf. p. 48) is a specialized bone instrument, which I only know from the Ammasalik district. In addition to the specimens brought home by Holm, Amdrup found such an instrument at the "dead house" (fig. 153). It is used for cutting into the wound of the dead seal, if the har-

¹) Christiania Ethnographical Museum. Inventory R. A. 192.

²) Christiania Ethnographical Museum, Inv. Nos. 16021—16031 b).



Fig. 151. Two stiletto-like harpoon shafts. (Holm coll.). $a \frac{1}{8}$, $b \frac{1}{5}$.

poon toggle hangs fast in the wound and cannot be pulled out at once, to loosen the toggle or cut the flesh round about it. It is further used in pushing back the internal parts of the animal, e. g. the gut, before the wound is closed with the wound-plug (see section on these).

SEALING FLOATS (pp. 47—48). Fig. 154 shows the single bladder-float (*puttaqin*), which the East and West Greenlanders have in common, lying by the side of the harpoon shaft on the kaiak deck, behind the man-hole. The same type better blown up is seen lying on the kaiak in figs. 87 and 101. From its place behind the man-hole the float is connected with the harpoon line (ca. 6 m. long) by means of a short and fairly heavy thong inserted into the head end; the ends of the two lines meet close in front of the man-hole and are fastened by a bone eye or toggle. The short thong (*qaarsernawiäkkitaat*, in West Greenland *kug-sugaa*) is drawn through some few bone beads or buttons, which serve to keep the thong dry, lifting it a little above the deck; further, they serve also as ornaments. The har-

poon line itself lies coiled up on the kaiak stand; from there the other end again runs down upon the deck to the right of the kaiak stand and is fastened in the double-eyed bone clasp which is seen buttoned to a lateral peg on the harpoon shaft (cf. pp. 409, 413, 415). From this peg the line continues along the shaft up to the toggle head at the end of the loose shaft of the harpoon. — The bladder is held fast to the deck, the belly upwards, by means of two wooden plugs (*paa^wηuaak*) one at either side, which are pushed under a cross-strap on the kaiak deck. One of these plugs is seen in fig. 154, hanging by the side of the bladder in a strap. Another, somewhat different in type, is seen



Fig. 152. Wound trimmers. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

in fig. 156 *a*. — In West Greenland two pieces of reindeer antler might be used for these plugs, but as a rule they are of wood¹⁾. To get this device to work accurately and rapidly, their pointed ends should lie close together under the first pair of cross-straps behind the man-hole.

Fig. 161 shows the double bladder float (*i^wttigeen*) which is special for East Greenland²⁾, consisting of two blown-up sealskins. The two bladders are connected with each other in the middle and by straps at each head-end, both of which are tied to a common, wooden fork with a crooked handle (*qili^wttaa*, fig. 156 *b*). This serves the same use as the wooden plugs in the case of the single bladders, its forked end being shoved in under a cross-strap on the kaiak deck just behind the man-hole; the fork has prongs of unequal length. The double bladder is thus fixed only by a single wooden plug, which is very long and heavy.

The use of the double bladder is almost a matter of taste. It has the following advantages over the single bladder: 1, if a hole is made in the one, the other is still useful; 2, it can be rested on in the water without slipping to the side; 3, its bearing power in the water is twice as great as the single bladder's (it can keep two seals up, the other only one).

The bladder is a whole skin of a fjord seal, with the hair removed. The skin is flayed off (like the skin of the fox) by using the mouth as the natural



Fig. 153.
Wound trimmer. Nualik.
(Amdrup coll.). ¹/₃.

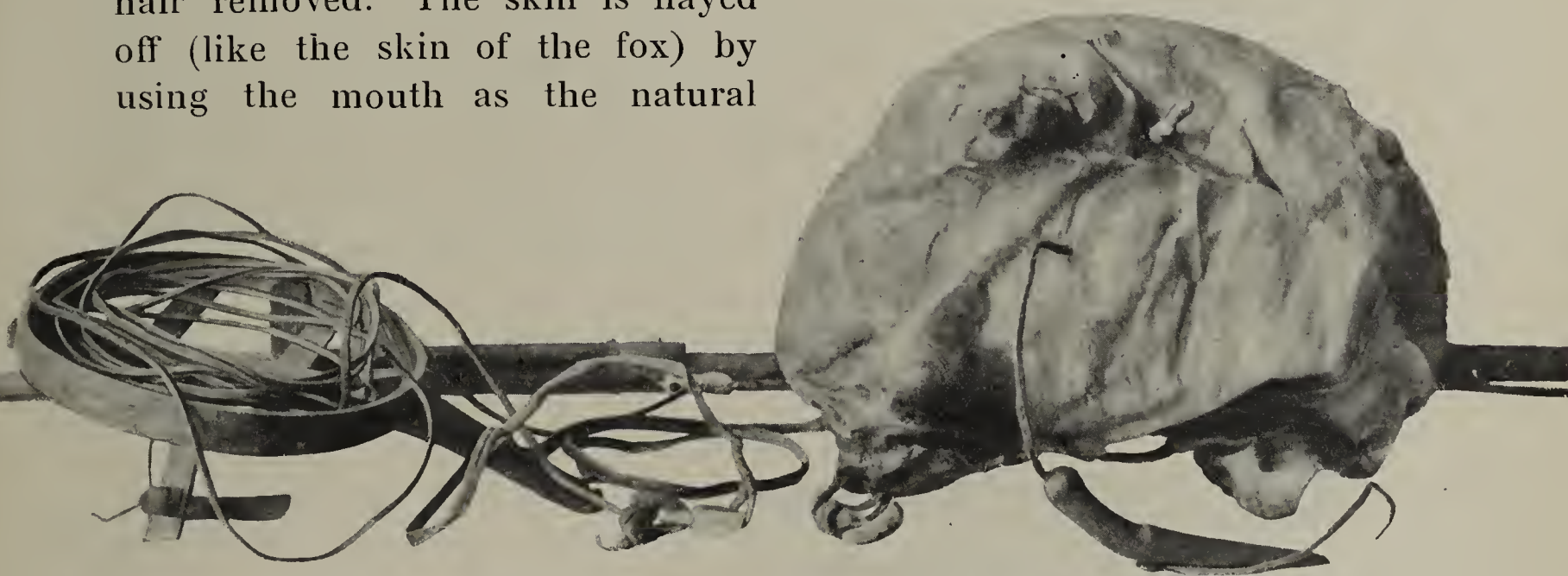


Fig. 154. Single sealing bladder and kaiak stand. (Holm coll.). ¹/₁₄(?).

opening, starting from which the whole skin is turned inside out (in West Greenland the sealskin is turned inside out in the same way,

¹⁾ Mason (1900) p. 242.

²⁾ Rink (1887) p. 9.

from the mouth, but the foxskin is cut round at the anus and turned inside out from there). Before the skin is turned back to the natural position the internal peg for the thong which holds the bladder through the mouth, is placed in position. The anus and openings of the hind-paws are closed by lacing them up with sinew threads (*aarcarnera*, *aarcernera*). The hole through which the bladder is blown up (*poorsarpia*) lies on the right side, a little behind the fore paw; this is the case in East Greenland. In West Greenland the hole goes through the point of the paw itself. The bladder is blown up by means of a short bone pipe with a groove round its head (fig. 165), over which the edge of the hole is firmly tied. When the bladder is blown up with air, the outer opening of the pipe is closed by a wooden plug. Round flat discs of wood or bone are used to patch up the wounds in the skin produced in harpooning the animal (fig. 167).

There is some difference (according to Johan Petersen) in the forms of the single bladder in the different parts of Greenland where the kaiak harpoons are used (at Smith Sound this implement is of recent date). In North-west Greenland the

bladder is made elongated when blown up; in Central and South Greenland it has an intermediate form; the Ammassalikers have a very round and doubled-up form, chiefly produced by means of a

short thong sewn in at two points between the neck and the hindpaws, so that it forces or draws the front and hind

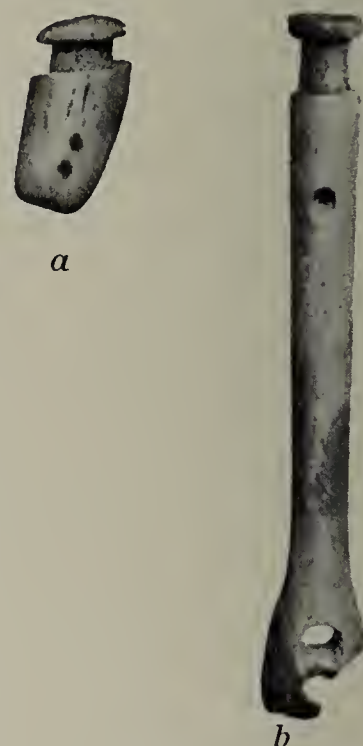


Fig. 155.

Bladder fasteners and blowing pipes (bone). *a* for a towing bladder (?). (Holm coll.). $\frac{2}{3}$. *b* for a bladder dart. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.) $\frac{2}{3}$.

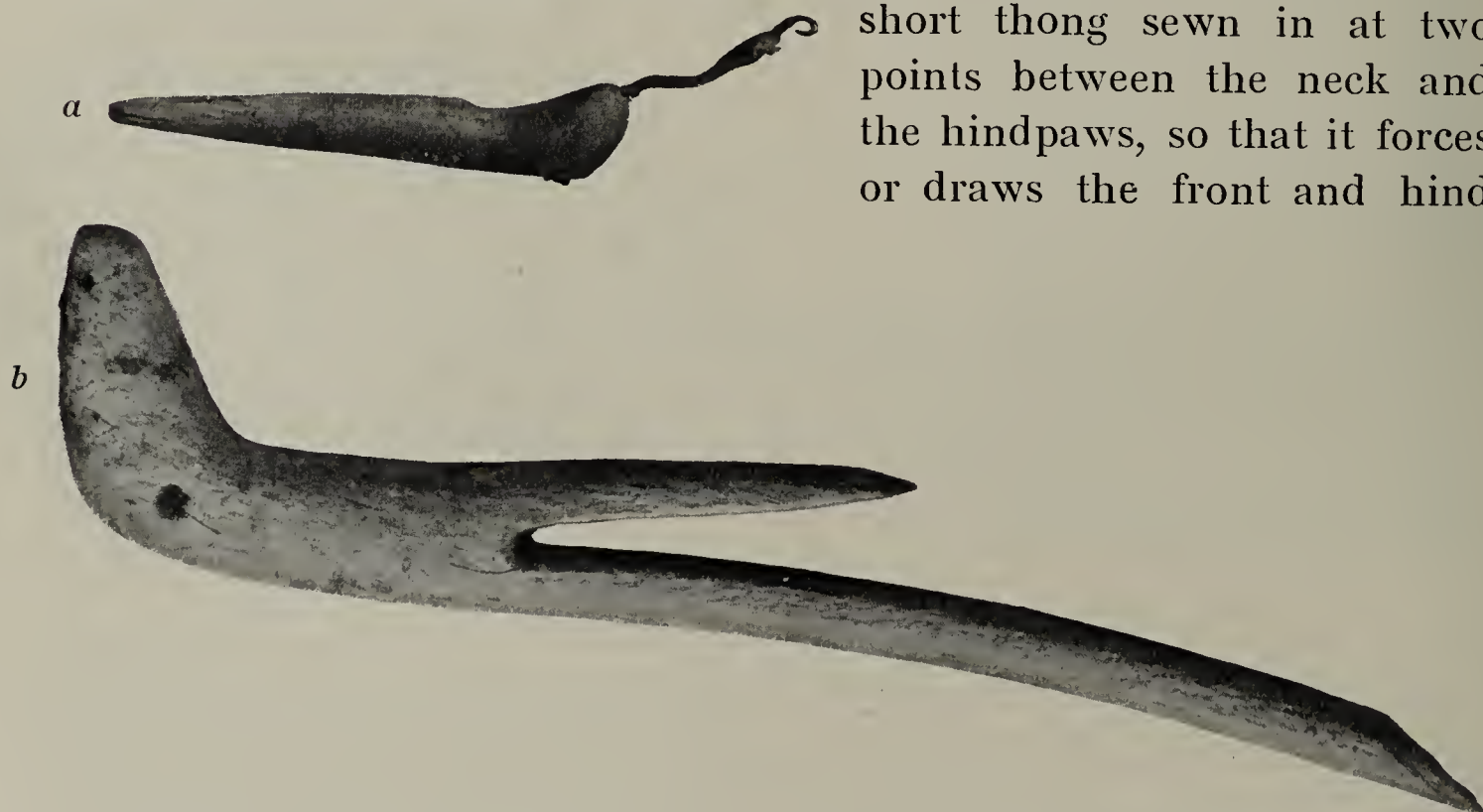


Fig. 156. Bladder fasteners (of wood) for sealskin floats, *a* for single float, *b* for double float. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

part of the skin together, when the bladder is filled with air (see fig. 154). This feature has wandered round from East Greenland to the southern part of the west coast and been adopted by the South Greenlanders.

Further, there are bladder floats of different kinds for different uses. The small float for towing thin or weakly seals has already been mentioned (p. 48)¹⁾. It is blown up through a short thick tube, which is permanently fixed in an opening in the head end of the bladder (fig. 155*a*). — Still smaller is the bladder, which is attached to the bladder dart. This is not fixed directly on to the shaft, but on to the end of the long, thin pipe itself, through which the bladder is blown up; at the other end of this pipe in a leaf-shaped widening are two holes for the line (figs. 125 and 155*b*, the latter defective below) by means of which this cylindrical piece of bone is lashed on the shaft of the dart (see fig. 105). The blow-hole is quite short; it is seen in the figure to open at the side of the cylindrical bone, a little below the groove round the rim. The other opening of the pipe is in the flat end-surface. — Lastly, I may just recall here the specially large bladder, which was used in earlier days in the whale hunting and which was “made strong by means of good amulets”²⁾. They were owned by but few men and still fewer understood the art of making them. They were made (in West Greenland, see Glahn)³⁾ from the skins of the bearded seal or Greenland seals; the hair was not stripped off. The head-end was made the back part of the bladder, so that the hind paws pointed forward while moving through the water. Through a small hole at the tail was inserted a rod almost as thick as the arm and a foot long. This was placed cross-wise in the bladder and the hole well bound round it. To blow it up a tube of wood or bone was inserted through an opening in one of the front paws (hindmost part of the bladder). — A whaling float of the type described here was found in Alaska by Murdoch⁴⁾.

Fig. 156 shows the two kinds of wooden pegs, which fasten the single (*a*) and the double bladder (*b*) to the kaiak deck, both found at the “dead house.” *b* (which has the longest prong broken at the end) may be regarded as a specialized type, derived from the smaller and more original type *a*. The head-like end of the latter is produced by a broad hollow, which forms a bed for the cross-strap on the deck under which the peg is placed; in the top of the head

¹⁾ It is illustrated in Vol. X of “Meddelelser om Grønland,” Pl. XIV.

³⁾ Glahn: Grønlændernes Skikke ved Hvalfiskeriet (1784) p. 278 et seq.

³⁾ Glahn (1771) pp. 256—258.

⁴⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 246, fig. 249.



Fig. 157. Wound plugs of bone. Nualik.
(Amdrup coll.). $\frac{2}{3}$.



Fig. 159. Wound plugs of bone. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

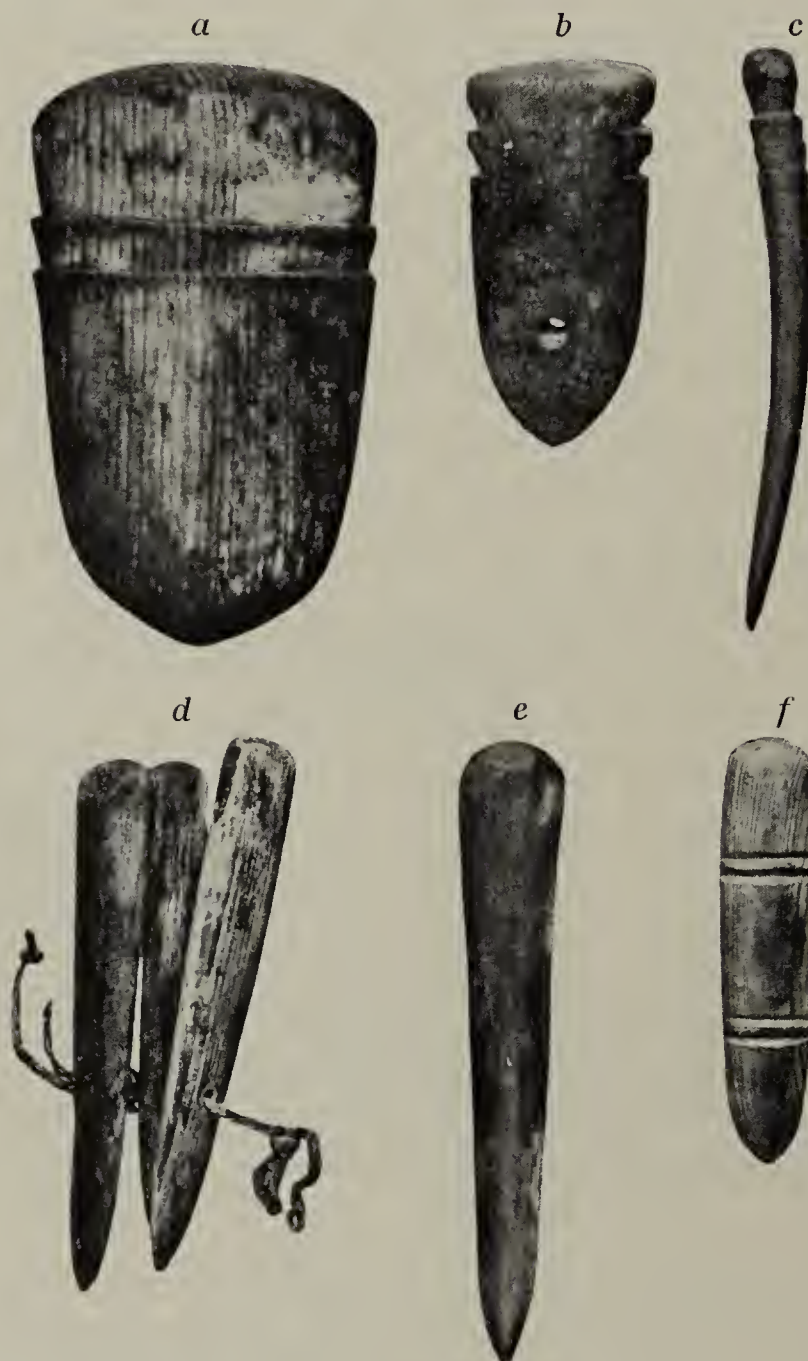


Fig. 158. Wound plugs of wood. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.



Fig. 160. Wound plugs of wood. (Petersen coll.).
 $\frac{1}{3}$.

is the thong connecting the peg with the bladder. In *b* the hole for the same thong is seen at the base of the head. The last is comparatively longer than in the smaller peg.

At Smith Sound and outside Greenland, in addition to bladder floats, the use is known of a wooden float or drag, consisting of a flat, square board, which is connected by a short thong with the float. It is mentioned from Smith Sound and Baffin Land²). It is perhaps a specialisation of a part of the kaiak stand described from South-West Alaska, which is thrown out in the same way as the sealing float (mentioned pp. 389–390) and recalls the method known from the same coast of using the harpoon, the wooden shaft floating on the water and thus acting as a drag while connected by the harpoon line with the loose toggle head sticking in the animal. This method is probably part of an old tradition, as O. Fabricius mentions for West Greenland, that “some daring hunters do not use bladders, but in their stead bind the harpoon line round the kaiak stand alone, which they throw into the water after the seal.”

THE WOUND-PLUGS (*naaterseet* p. 50) are used partly to stop the blood flowing from the wound of the animal, partly to enclose the air, when the seal is being blown up to float on the water behind the kaiak. According to the nature of the wound there are different kinds of wound-plugs, of wood or of bone, larger or smaller, carried by the hunter on his kaiak or on his wanderings out on the winter ice.

The larger wound-plugs (figs. 158, 160, 168) are made of wood in different shapes, usually flat and broad above with two or three grooves running round the uppermost part, narrowing below and pointed at the lower end. They are used for stopping the wounds made by the larger weapon points, especially the ordinary harpoon heads.

The small wound-plugs (figs. 157, 159, 169) are made of bone (bone of bear especially), 7 to 10 cm. in length; in form they resemble needles or bodkins, but are flatter, elliptical in section or flattened with a median midrib along the lower part of the lateral surfaces; they are characterized especially by the flat head at the top, produced by two notches or indentations in both edges near the upper end, and by the lanceolate form of the lower part³).

¹) Boås (1888) p. 492, fig. 426. Turner (1894) p. 250, fig. 69.

²) Kroeber (1899) p. 282, fig. 18; Boas (1901) p. 22.

³) In my description of the Amdrup collection from the northern districts I have mentioned what is probably a wound-plug as a bodkin (inv. Amdrup 31 in “Meddelelser om Grønland” XXVIII, p. 396, cf. fig. 19), but as it is almost of the same type as one of the wound-plugs here fig. 169 *b* it must undoubtedly be referred to this category.



Fig. 161. Double sealing bladder. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{10}$ (?).



Fig. 162. Drag-lines for killed seals. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.

Those which do not combine these characteristics, have at least one of them; fig. 157*a* is triangular in section. — These plugs are used in closing the narrow wounds caused by the toggle heads of the ice harpoon (*sämmia* and *ittuarteen*) or of the lance provided with iron-heads. The plug (the bone and wood one alike) is pushed like a pin through the edges of the wound, the skin of the edges being drawn together and stretched up the plug. After having been stuck through the folded-up edges of the wound, a thong is wound round the skin under the plug, so that the wound is tightly closed.



Fig. 163. Drag-line toggles. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.) ²/₃.

In South Greenland the small wound-plugs are not known, probably because there is no hunting on the ice. But both kinds of wound-plug are known from North-west Greenland, made of wood and of bone¹).

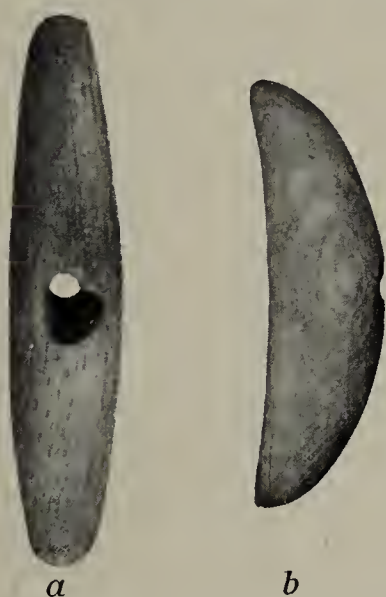


Fig. 164. Drag-line handles, Nualik. (Amdrup coll.) ²/₃.

Fig. 168*a* from the “dead house” is a wooden wound-plug of special interest, partly owing to the ornamented head, carved into the resemblance of a human face, partly because it was recognised by old people at Ammassalik as having belonged to a definite person, who had journeyed away northwards half a generation previously and never returned²). It has thus been the equivalent of a historic document, throwing light on the identity of the thirty bodies found in the “dead house” at Nualik.

A little further north Amdrup found a wound-plug of bone (Skærgaard Peninsula) and Ryder two of the same kind in Scoresby Sound³). The 2nd German North-Pole Expedition found in Franz Josephs Fjord, still further north, two plugs of wood (length 7 and 9 cm.) which probably have been wound-plugs⁴).

¹) Pfaff's collection in Stockholm Riksmuseum.

²) Amdrup (1909) p. 310.

³) Ryder (1895) pp. 319—320, fig. 18.

⁴) Seen in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

Both kinds of plug, of bone and of wood, are known from Baffin Land¹). Whether the Alaskan Eskimo use them is unknown.

TOWING STRAPS AND DRAG HANDLES (*qaqittisin*, *ikeen*, figs. 162, cf. p. 48) to tow the slaughtered seals through the water or to drag

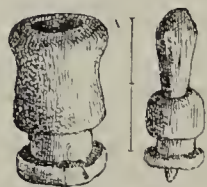


Fig. 165. Blowing pipes for sealing bladders. (Amdrup coll.).

them over the ice, consist of a pair of bone or wooden toggles, connected by a line of sealskin. The smaller toggle (the towing piece), which is of bone generally and often formed almost like a boot sole creaser (fig. 163*b*, *c*) or like a seal (fig. 163*d*, *e*), is stuck into the neck of the seal; the larger toggle or handle at the other end of the towline, which is a crescent-shaped piece of bone or wood (fig. 164) and finely ornamented as a rule, is fastened in under a strap on the kaiak deck or, if the seal has to be dragged over the ice, held in the hand.

The small bladder float (p. 457) which holds the seal up when being towed after the kaiak is attached to the seal by means of a short thong with a toggle, which is fixed into a cut between the navel and pelvis and also by means of a second attachment in the two forepaws which are tied together.

The East Greenlander tows his seal on a long line, which is toggled in front of the manhole under one of the middle cross-straps if it is a bearded seal, so that it is towed along the left side of the kaiak, but if it is a crested seal or fjord seal it is towed from a cross-strap aft and follows far behind the kaiak. — The West Greenlander tows his seal close to the manhole on the left side of the kaiak.



Fig. 166. Bone button for attachment of the bladder. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).



Fig. 167. Wooden patch for the bladder. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

The East Greenlander blows up his seal as much as possible before towing, so that the forepaws stretch out to the sides before being tied together over the breast. Thus, one bladder only is necessary. The West Greenlander does not blow up the seal so much and before he ties the forepaws together he cuts a piece of the breast skin from between the paws; on the other hand, he fixes several towing bladders to the seal. — The East Greenlander even blows up the seal he catches on the ice in winter, so that it may be more easily dragged over the ice the long distance home.

At the "dead house" Amdrup found ca. 30 pegs of the kinds mentioned. Of these 3 were whole teeth of the bear 8 to 9 cm. in length (fig. 163*a*), bored through by a curving hole from the middle to the one end-surface. Of the

¹) Boas (1888) pp. 479—480, figs. 400—402, and (1901) p. 21, figs. 17—18. Parry (1824) p. 510.



Fig. 168. Wound plugs of wood. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

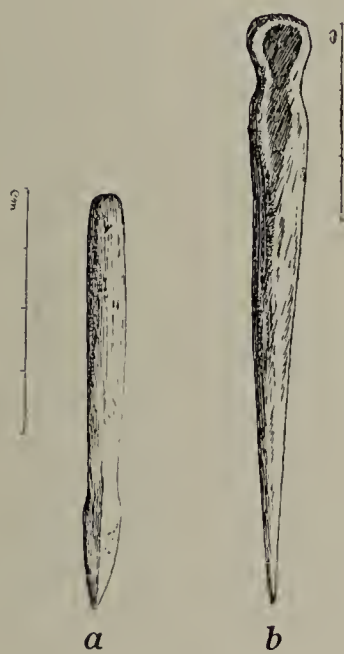


Fig. 169. Wound plug of bone. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).



Fig. 170. Bone pin for tying the fore-paws of the seal together. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).



Fig. 171. Drag-line hook. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

others 16 were of the same type as fig. 163 *b, c* (length 5 to 9 cm.), flat, almost sharp at the one end, thick, almost cylindrical at the other; in each there was a hole likewise opening out to the side and to the end-surface. Further, there were 4 of the flat type fig. 163 *d, e* (length 6.5 to 8 cm.), with the one end carved into a seal-tail ornament. Here the holes are transverse; on the one side is a single hole of the characteristic form used by the East Greenlander for the countersinking of a knot, an opening of key-hole form. There were also two wooden pegs of a symmetrical shape (fig. 164 *a* and *b*) with a perforation through the median plane. In addition, there were 5 bone hooks with the form shown in fig. 171 (length 5.5 to 10 cm.), each with a curved hole opening out on the side high up on the body and also on the head-surface. — Lastly, the pin figured in fig. 170, of a special form and for a special use. It is a piece of bone for the end of the thong, which binds the paws of the seal together and keeps them close to the body, so that they may not impede the speed when being towed through the water¹). The bone is stuck into the one paw, then the thong is wound round the seal and the other paw and jammed tight (according to explanation in Amdrup's inventory).

O. Fabricius²) has carefully described the details of the towing apparatus (*kaliutit*) among the West Greenlanders. It seemed possible to recognise some of them in the pegs found by Amdrup. Thus, the pegs represented in fig. 163 *d* and *e* would correspond with Fabricius' *mangivsiut*, which belongs to the "chin pieces," connected with a short strap and inserted between the skin and flesh in two incisions, the one under the chin of the seal, the other a little further back on the neck. Fig. 164 *a* and *b* might belong to the "navel piece," fig. 170 undoubtedly belongs to the "shoulder piece," which is meant to bind the forepaws of the seal close together. But it soon became clear to me that all these pieces are difficult to identify, as the whole towing arrangement at Ammassalik is obviously different from that of the west coast.

Towing straps and drag-handles are used everywhere, naturally, where seals are caught, and the forms known from Baffin Land³) resemble approximately those found in Greenland. The Alaskan are more influenced by ornamentation imitative of animals than the East Eskimo forms⁴).

THE SINKERS and FISHING LINES (*aqaleetät*, *aqatetorleetät*, figs. 172—173) are some characteristic stones often shaped like a fish, with small balls or grains of bone attached which are used to attract the fish towards the beach, or to the stone in the water or hole in the ice, where the hunter stands on the watch with his fishing spear (pp. 53—55). The small pieces of bone are often attached by means of

¹) Similar apparatus for whales in Alaska are described by Murdoch (1892) p. 247 (fig. 250).

²) Fabricius (1810) pp. 172—177.

³) Boas (1901) pp. 18—19, figs. 13 and 14.

⁴) Nelson (1899) pp. 172—173, Pl. LXVI. Murdoch (1892) p. 257, fig. 257.

short feather ribs or strips of whale-bone, which hold them out stiff from the stone and allow them to dangle (fig. 173*a*). That these sinkers are intended to go fairly deep down in the water is evident from the length of line on which they hang (cf. p. 438).

At the "dead house" Amdrup found two characteristic sinkers of this type, the one made of soapstone with a groove round about for the line. And in Johan Petersen's collection from Ammassalik there are two sinkers one of which is shaped like a fish or a seal (fig. 173*a*).

The form of these sinkers and dependent pieces of ivory fully agrees with corresponding apparatus from West Greenland and from the West Eskimo districts¹). But there is this difference, that everywhere else it is the custom to attach a single or a set of fish-hooks to the sinker, suspended from this on a line of whale-bone or feather-ribs. It is a fact, however, that the Ammassalik Eskimo do not know the use of fish-hooks; this was first made known by G. Holm²) and afterwards confirmed by Ryder³) and Johan Petersen. Their sinkers seem to be a rudimentary remnant of the original Eskimo fishing-apparatus. They take the allured fish (sea-scorpion) by means of a leister.

The sea-scorpions are only taken in such shallow water at Ammassalik, like the salmon, that it is possible to see the fish at the bottom. When they are caught through a hole in the ice, the hunter lies down and covers his head, so as to see the bottom better.

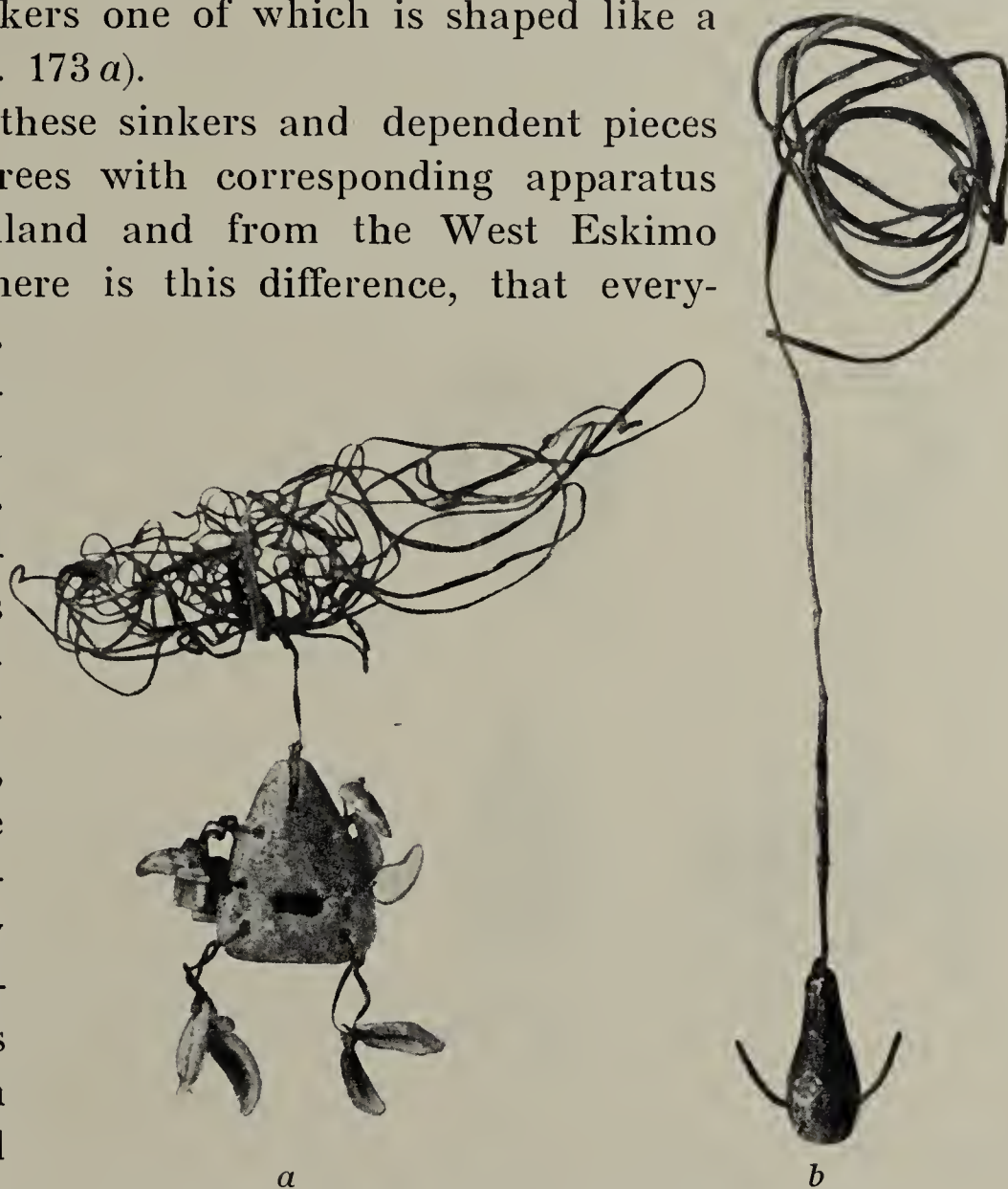


Fig. 172. Stone sinkers and decoys for fishing.
(Holm coll.). ¹/₄.

¹) O. Fabricius (1812) pp. 261—263. Boas (1901) fig. 30. Nelson (1899) Pl. LXVII and LXIX.

²) G. Holm in this work p. 55.

³) Ryder (1895) p. 139. Rink (1891) p. 10.

It has not been explained, why the use of fish-hooks has been given up at Ammassalik. According to Hanserak's diary fish-hooks were in use further south on the east coast, for example, at *Umanak*, some few days' journey south of the large fjord complex at Cape Dan. A man from there told him, that there were quantities of the Greenland halibut and sea-perch (*Sebastes*) there, which were caught on hooks through the ice. The lines were prepared by cutting up the skin of the fjord seal into strips and as hooks the narrow bones in the hind paw of the seal were used with an iron hook attached. After fishing they could return home with the sledge fully loaded with fish¹⁾.

Fishing with hooks is well-known in West Greenland and has often been described. John Davis mentioned already, that the natives in



Fig. 173. Stone sinkers and decoys for fishing. (Petersen coll.). ¹/₄.

West Greenland came and presented him with cod-fish²⁾. Olearius describes their hooks in detail: "They are not of iron, but of fish (i. e. seal) bone, which they know well how to shape with care; they call these hooks *karlusa*."³⁾ In Hans Egede's report a generation later, on the other hand, we find: "In fishing they prefer to use hooks of iron, sometimes also of bone." It can be understood that the frequent summer visits of Europeans (Dutch) on their whale fishing expeditions have brought a good deal of iron to the natives. (But they already knew the value of this in Davis' time as there was nothing in the ship they were so inclined to

steal as iron). Egede continues: "Their fishing lines are narrow and thin strips, cut from whalebone, with which kind of apparatus they can more readily catch fish than we with our hemp-lines"⁴⁾ — Glahn describes their sea-scorpion lines, on which they usually attach the web of the guillemot's foot or of other bird which has red legs, as bait. He distinguishes between two kinds, the longer lines used by those who fish in the kaiak, and the shorter used by those who fish on the ice (with hooks)⁵⁾. O. Fabricius gives as usual

¹⁾ Hanserak's *Dagbog* (1884—1885) MS. fasc. 2. Cf. S. Rink's edition (1900) p. 11.

²⁾ J. Davis, *Second Voyage* (1586) p. 395. (Hakluyt: *Principal Navigations* VII, 1904).

³⁾ Olearius (1656) p. 173.

⁴⁾ H. Egede (1729) p. 32. (1741) pp. 59—60.

⁵⁾ Glahn (1771) p. 129.

a minute description of the fishing apparatus; according to him the hook is called *karssursak*, but by the natives of the south coast *okomersak* "something taken in the mouth."¹⁾ He distinguishes between the sea-scorpion line, which is used from the kaiak or on the ice, the line used from the land with the help of a fishing-rod, and the deep-sea line, used in fishing for halibut, cod, Norway haddock and Greenland halibut.

Fig. 172 *b* shows a sinker with two iron hooks, for the sea-scorpion fishing. It is unknown, whether this belongs to an older type or has been introduced to Ammassalik from the south. In any case it is the same as the most primitive form for the ordinary sea-scorpion line and hook, used from the kaiak, known from South Greenland. Fabricius describes its use as follows:

"No bait is used on these lines, they are simply moved backwards and forwards constantly in the water, the fish, when they see the shining side of the stone, being attracted from the deeper water to seize it; the line must be kept near the bottom; when the fish approaches the stone with its mouth wide open, the fisherman jerks the hook, which is underneath and constantly in movement, up into the mouth or body."²⁾

FISHING SCOOPS AND DREDGES. — Fig. 174 shows a mussel dredge (*qatitaatun*) for collecting mussels (*Mytilus*) at the shore. It is a kind of basket or scoop of wood, tied to a long pole (here broken). — On the cruises with the women's boat in summer the natives like to settle at places in the fjords, where many mussels are to be found on the beach. There are many, especially the women, who regard mussels as a great delicacy.

Caplins (*ammassät*) are taken with a sort of large basket-work scoop or dip-net (*qaleertut*, *atcättaat*); one of these is seen in fig. 37 (cf. p. 54). At the end of June 1906 I arrived at the only place where the Ammassalikers carry on the caplin fishing, at the point Qingaaq in a large sub-fjord of the Ammassalik Fjord. Half a score of tents had been set up here. The caplins had appeared a few days previously and those taken were spread out over the rocks to dry in the sun and wind. As soon as they were well dried, the women proceeded to sew them up in pairs in long, broad bands. These bands of fish were rolled up (see fig. 222) and each family liked to have several

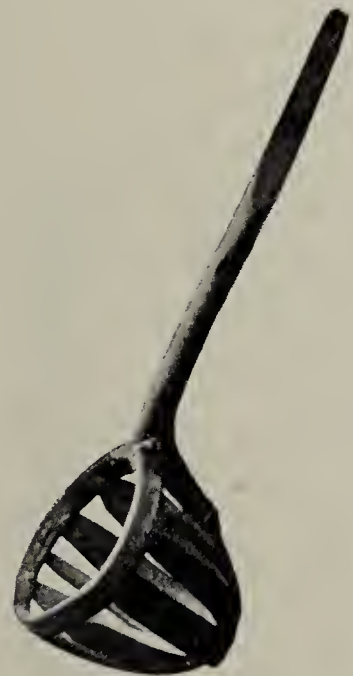


Fig. 174. Mussel scoop.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.

¹⁾ O. Fabricius (1812) pp. 261—263 and 256—257.

²⁾ Id. *ibid.* p. 263.

rolls of dried caplin, to keep against the hard times of winter. In sewing together the fish a special kind of bone-needle is used (*kaportaat*, fig. 234).

So far as known, this kind of dip-net fishing is not different from that practised on the west coast of Greenland and mentioned by the older authors, for example H. Egede: "They capture the caplin with a net tied together with reindeer sinews,"¹⁾ Paul Egede: "A 'Hov' (dip-net) is an instrument by means of which the Greenlanders capture the small fish which are called 'Lodder' [caplins]; it is composed of small pieces of wood, covered with a net, and has the form and shape of a papal hood."²⁾ Glahn: "Between half-ebb and half-flood (the best time for the caplins) it is possible with two or three dip-nets to get the boat $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ full; this is considered to be good

fishing" (Glahn criticizes here the exaggerated statement of Cranz, that "the Greenlanders with a net can scoop up whole boat-loads in a few hours")³⁾. O. Fabricius distinguishes between two kinds of fishing: the caplins are caught either from the boats (*umiaks*) or from the shore: "the bucket-scoop or dip-net is placed in front of the shoal (of fish), which thus of themselves swim into it — — —. This net is composed of meshes of braided sinew-threads and is attached to a shaft, which is longer when used from land (from the shore), but shorter

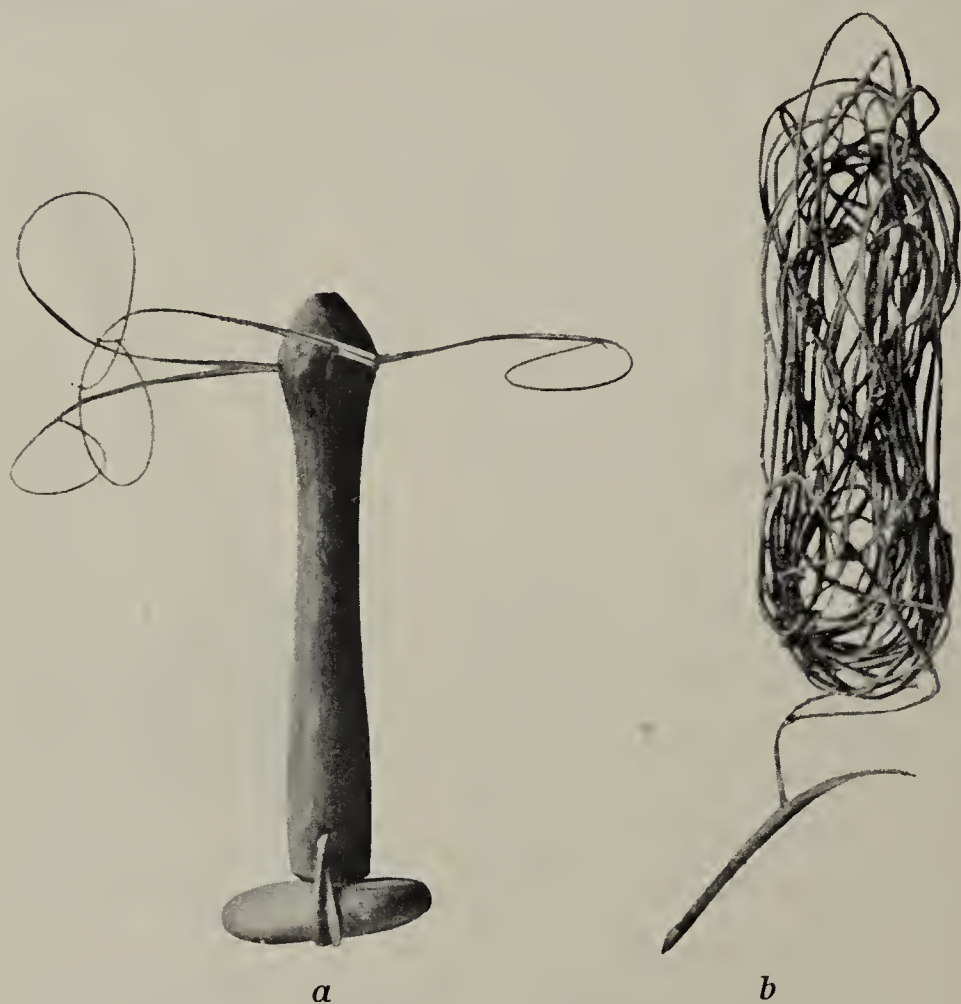


Fig. 175. Bird snares. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.

when used in the boat."⁴⁾ He gives the further information, that only the women take part in the fishing (this is in West Greenland) and that the women of the different families share the fish captured, but not before it is dried by being spread on the rocks, a work that must be taken part in by all; then the dried fish is packed into skin-bags, each person has his own bag; the owner of the boat does not obtain any special payment for its loan. — H. Rink outlines the caplin fishing in a similar manner; each district has its own, so-called "angmagsat places," to which the *umiaks* sail in the months of May and June and where young and old take part in this merry fishing and live in the superabundance of this time. The fish in the fresh condition

¹⁾ H. Egede (1729) p. 32.

²⁾ P. Egede (Journal) p. 28.

³⁾ H. Glahn (1771) p. 127.

⁴⁾ Fabricius (1812) p. 268.

is boiled. Large quantities are dried as a store for the winter¹⁾. — Within quite recent years the dip-net fishing in West Greenland has been described by Daniel Bruun²⁾.

Nets for catching birds (especially the little auk) are described from Cape York by Mylius Erichsen³⁾. They are unknown at Ammassalik.

A GULL SNARE (*nikkät*, cf. pp. 56 and 407) is shown in fig. 175 *a*. When it is rightly fitted up, all the thin ends of the loops (*napi-seetin*) are drawn right in to the wooden shaft, so that the loop surrounds the greatest possible space.

A piece of blubber is weighted fast under the stone. Another very small piece of blubber is stuck into the hole at the other end of the wooden stick. The gull first of all is allured by the

smaller piece, but when it has drawn quite near it discovers the larger piece at the bottom and slips its head through one of the loops. Another contrivance is seen in fig. 175 *b*. A bone spigot (12–14 cm. long), pointed at both ends, is fixed in a very long line, and is covered by a piece of blubber as bait. When the gull swallows the blubber, which floats on the water, it takes in the spigot

also, but this sticks crosswise in the neck and the gull is caught. The line is kept floating on the water by means of small wooden floats. Amdrup found such a float at the “dead house” (fig. 178).

Fabricius⁴⁾ mentions these snares for West Greenland, making them special for the capture of certain birds (the first-named mostly for the kittiwake and tern, the latter for the large gulls). Further, he mentions several other traps or snares for the capture of other birds, and these are presumably

also known to some extent in East Greenland. The following may serve as an example.

PTARMIGAN are taken at Ammassalik in the same manner, by means of a snare fastened to the end of a long pole (8 to 9 m. long). The long line loosens from the thin end of the pole as soon as the loop has got hold of the neck of the bird.

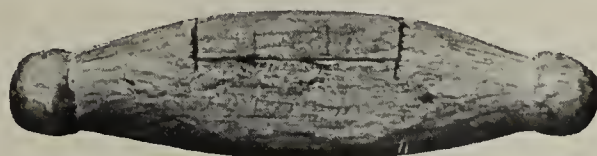


Fig. 176. Decoy whistle for ptarmigan. (Thalbitzer coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

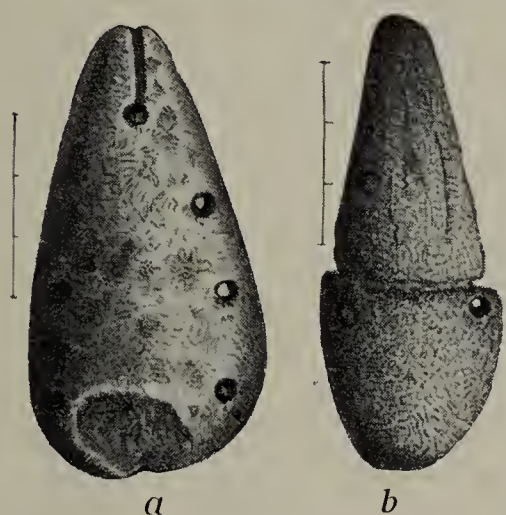


Fig. 177. Sinkers for fishing. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

¹⁾ Rink (1857) pp. 226–228.

²⁾ D. Bruun (1906) p. 66.

³⁾ Mylius Erichsen, Grønland (1906) pp. 306 and 325.

⁴⁾ Fabricius (1812) pp. 249–253, cf. 239–242.

Fabricius does not refer, however, to a small apparatus used by the Ammassalikers in connection with the bird snaring, THE DECOY WHISTLE (*aartisaain* or *qartert^waat*). It is an oblong wooden block with rounded edges (fig. 176, length 13.8 cm.), with two quite narrow blow-holes right through the middle, in which is fixed a



Fig. 178.
Bone float for
bird snare.
Nualik. (Am-
drup coll.).

membrane of gutskin. When blown through, it makes a whistling noise. The ptarmigan are attracted by this noise to answer and thus display where they are. Also seals are said to be decoyed by means of this whistle when hunted in the kaiak. — Similar decoy sounds, but mostly produced by the mouth, are known from West Greenland in hunting birds and seals¹).

SLINGS (*ittiaartaalin*) are not unknown either at Ammassalik. An oblong piece of skin is provided with a string at each end and the one string ends in a loop to fold over the middle finger. The stone is placed in the middle of the skin, where there is a small hole. The other end is held with the hand and is only let go when the stone is thrown. The slip-end of the string is called *sapaniaq*.

The use of slings is mentioned among the Eskimo both in and outside Greenland. In the southern parts of West Greenland already John Davis was received in 1585 with stones thrown by slings: "With slings they spare us not with stones of halfe a pound weight." The same experience was made by Cunningham in 1605: "There upon a sudden they began to throw stones with certaine Slings — yea they did sling so fiercely that we could scarce stand on the hatches." Later the natives returned, 63 men in all, crying *ilyout*, with stones in bags, which they slung vehemently against the ship from the cliffs²). Slings for warlike use are also mentioned in one of the old tales from West Greenland³). — Outside Greenland the use of slings is reported among the Resolution Island Eskimo by Ellis and among the Winter Island Eskimo by Parry⁴). The latter calls a sling *illew*, probably the same word as that given above (*ilyout*) and as the West Greenland *illoom* 'a sling.'

THE CROSS-BOW (p. 55) is a common plaything among boys at Ammassalik; with it they shoot ravens and small birds. The one figured in fig. 180a is unusually large (length of the cross-piece 1.31 m.); as a rule they are only 15—20 cm. long.

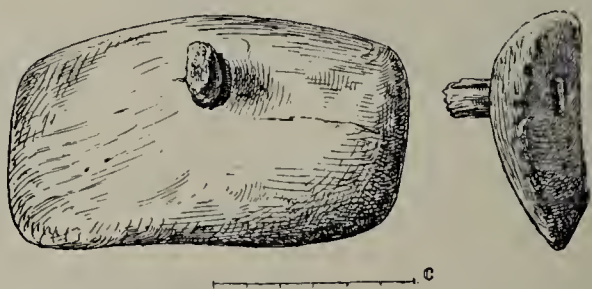


Fig. 179. Fox-trap cleanser. Nualik.
(Amdrup coll.).

¹) Fabricius (1812) pp. 246—247. Thalbitzer (1904) pp. 323—326. Cf. in this volume p. 401.

²) Davis (1586) p. 400, cf. p. 398. Cf. also in this volume p. 402. J. Hall [Cunningham's expedition] (1625) pp. 818 and 836.

³) Rink (1866) pp. 137—138 (the tale of *Namak*). Cf. d. 65 (*Aqissiaq*).

⁴) Ellis (1750) p. 140. Parry (1824) p. 567 (*illew*). Cf. K. I. V. Steenstrup (1889) pp. 16—17.

Technical names: *pitcaq* the bow (the whole weapon); *qaartua*, *qaartuinnaait* the wooden arm; *attinaa^wta*, *attinaa^wciartaa* the string; *naaluartaa* the arrow; *nusuttaa^wtaa* the small strap for letting the string loose. — The string is tied round the notched ends of the arm (cross-piece) of the bow. Another strap is stretched along the outer side of the arm, being drawn through a transverse perforation in the stock. When the bow is bent the string is sunk in a transverse groove in the distal part of the stock, at the same time pressing a small strap down under it. It is brought out of the groove by pulling and tightening this strap, whereby the arrow is shot off.

Amdrup found no specimen at the "dead house," where many other kinds of playthings were found. But in the southern parts of West Geenland cross-bows are well-known from earlier times. Both Fabricius and Glahn mention them¹⁾. It is a question, whether their occurrence goes far back in the early history of Greenland. They do not seem to occur on the American side; they are not mentioned in Culin's "Games of the North American Indians." I really think the existence of this form of a bow in South Greenland is to be explained in a similar way as that suggested by

H. Balfour with reference to the origin of the West African cross-bows²⁾. They may have been brought to Greenland in the 17th or 18th centuries by Dutch or Norwegian whalers, either as imitations of their whaling bows or directly introduced as playthings.

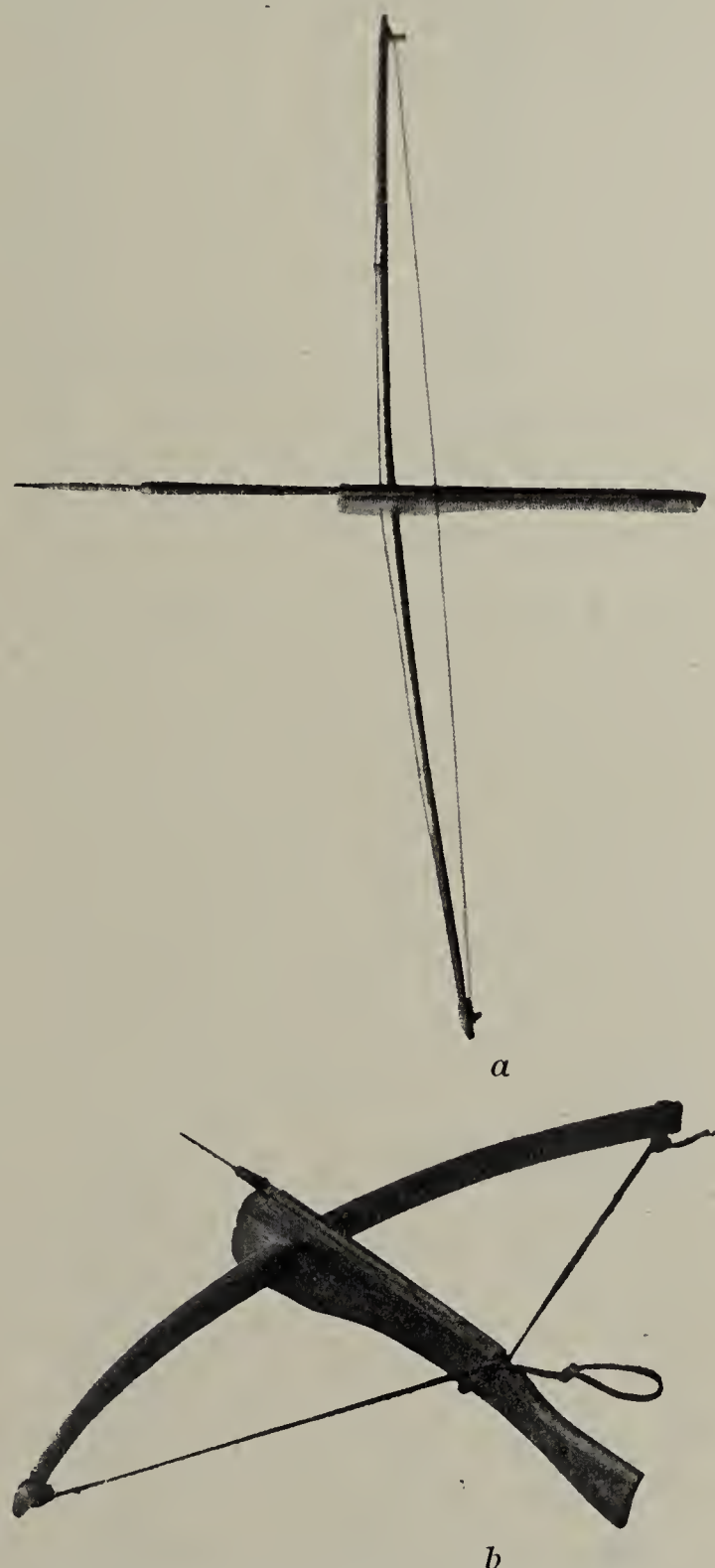


Fig. 180. Cross-bows. (Holm coll.).
a $1\frac{1}{15}$, *b* $1\frac{1}{4}$.

¹⁾ Fabricius (1818) p. 242. Glahn (1771) p. 230. Ryder (1895) p. 129.

²⁾ H. Balfour: The origin of West African cross-bows. Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution (1910) pp. 635—650.

Whereas the cross-bow, when used, is held in a horizontal position, the aboriginal bow was held vertically and was used for hunting reindeer and hares. Fabricius gives an exact description of the aboriginal bow in West Greenland, where it has been displaced long ago by the gun¹). As to its former use at Ammassalik, see pp. 56 and 406.

MEN'S WORK AND TOOLS.

MEN'S KNIVES (p. 40). — Figs. 181—183 and 204—206 show the types of knives, found by Holm at Ammassalik, the first with blades of iron or bone, the last with blades of stone (obsolete). Figs. 181 *a—d* are *kaiak knives* or *hunting knives* (*tarqarmeen*) with double-edged blades of bone or iron; they are used to kill the wounded seal (thus for the same purpose as the hand-lances described on p. 453), and to make cuts in the body preparatory to the attachment of the towing-lines. Like most of the other apparatus belonging to the *kaiak* they are finely ornamented. The haft of fig. 181 *a* is of wood with inlaid rings of bone, the lowest ring forming a ferrule round the socket in which the blade is mortised, the uppermost is like a cap, to which are attached two decorative skin-straps bearing ivory pearls; *b* has relief figures of ivory representing seals and human beings nailed on the sides of the wooden haft; *d* has small, round discs of ivory inlaid in the wood in regular lines. Only the haft of *c* is of bone in these specimens, ornamented like the bone of *a* and *d* with dots produced by small pits filled with a soot-like material; at the top it has two straps with pearls like *a*, whereas *d* has here a fixed piece of bone with pearl-like expansions. The latter has a blade of bone, ornamented with black dots. — Figs. 182 *a—f* are *working knives* (*pilaaⁱtät*) with pointed, one-edged iron blades, approximately of the same Eskimo type as that known from the west²). *a* and *c* show how they economise with the iron by riveting another piece on the blade when worn out too much. In most of them the haft is simply a bone with a socket in the end surface for the iron blade; *c* has small incisions on the edge of the shaft to give the hand a firmer hold. *a* has a wooden haft, with a bone cap at the top, *f* a mixed bone and wood haft with finger-rests. These knives are chiefly used for working in

¹) Fabricius (1818) pp. 235—239.

²) Murdoch (1892) p. 155, fig. 110.



Fig. 183. Excavating knife.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

Fig. 181. Hunting knives. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

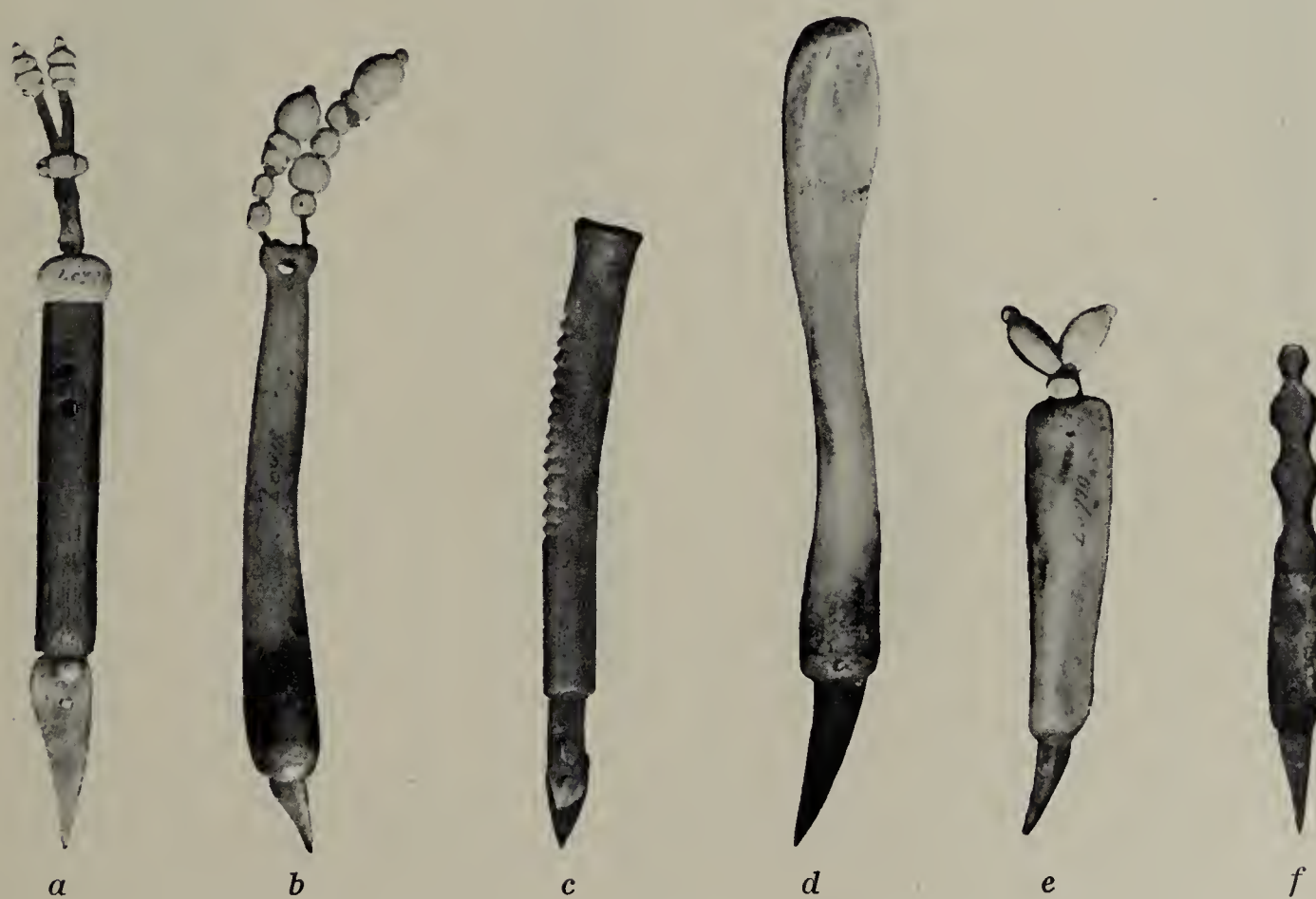


Fig. 182. Working knives. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.



Fig. 184. Working knives. (Greenl. Administration coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

wood and bone, but also to cut mouthfuls of meat or blubber when eating. — Fig. 183 is a knife with a curved iron blade (*pilaa'taq nee^wη^waatarter*) for hollowing out wooden plates or trays, the groove of the throwing stick and similar things. Similar graver's tools are not at all unknown among the Eskimo outside Greenland (specimens known from Baffin Land and further west)¹⁾.

At the "dead house" Amdrup found seven working knives (fig. 198) of the same type as Holm's with two-edged blades of hoop iron, inserted in a hollow bone or a wooden handle. In some few of the wooden hafts a series of rings or incisions is carved to give a firm grip. Most of those in the collections of the Greenland Administration are of the same type: either bones with inserted iron blade — fig. 184*f* has an iron blade of two pieces inserted into a wooden haft which has a carved seal-tail ornament at the end like the bone haft of *c* — or a wooden haft with one-edged bone blade fig. 184*a*. The hafts of *a* and *f* have a whipping of skin thong round the socket, containing the blade.

Sheaths (*pooän*, p. 51) of furskin for the hunting knives are used, when the hunters go out hunting on foot or on the sledge, on the ice or on land. As a rule, the sheath with the knife hangs in a sling round the neck under the skin frock. The ornamentation of the sheaths in Holm's collection (fig. 186) has been produced by sewing together dark and light streaks from different kinds of skin. In fig. 185 (J. Petersen's collection) we can see the heads of some bone wound-plugs, which have been stuck into holes in the sides of the sheath, to stop up the holes in the inflated seal. — The Eskimo outside Greenland also use skin sheaths for their working knives²⁾.

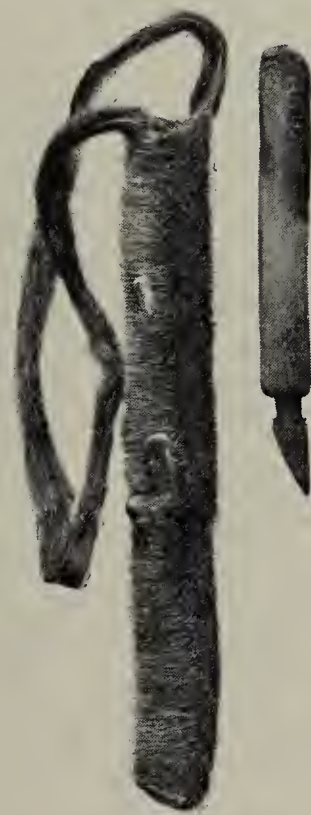


Fig. 185.

Furskin sheath and working knife. Three wound plugs are stuck in holes in the skin. (J. Petersen coll.). ¹/₅.

Murdoch describes four types of two-edged men's knives (hunting knives) with stone blades from Point Barrow in Alaska³⁾. The kaiak knives of the Ammassalikers correspond most closely to his third type with long, lanceolate and pointed blade, except that they are narrower; at Point Barrow this type is found both with stone

¹⁾ Boas (1901) p. 30, figs. 35*a* and *b*. Mason (1897) p. 742, figs. 1, 15, 17 etc.

²⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 158; Boas (1901) p. 87, fig. 126.

³⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 151. Cf. Mason (1897).

and iron blade¹). The short-bladed, single-edged working-knife, which is characteristic for Ammassalik, differs somewhat, on the other hand, from the West Eskimo types, the latter being as a rule so-called "crooked knives" with the blade inserted into a lateral groove at the end of the haft²). Further north on the east coast this type, provided with wooden haft or bone haft, has been found by the 2nd German North Pole Expedition³), by Ryder⁴) and by Amdrup⁵) (at Cape Tobin). On the other hand, a true "crooked knife" has not been found at Ammassalik, though the form of the small saws and shark's tooth knives may be derived from it. As in the Alaskan knife the blade of the Ammassalik knife as a rule has the bevel on

the one face only, but a special character of the latter is, in addition to the insertion in a terminal socket, the concave edge of the blade.

SHARK'S TOOTH KNIVES (fig. 187) for cutting hair have been mentioned on p. 32. Such knives seem also to have been known in West Greenland in earlier times, for Olearius mentions, that his Greenlanders had some knives, which they called *ekalugsaa*, that is they explained with this word, that the knives were made from sharks (presumably the teeth of sharks)⁶). The teeth are inserted into grooves along both edges, like the small iron blades in the primitive knives we know from northern West Greenland and Southampton Island (see p. 489).

THE SAWS (*pilätteen*, figs. 188 and 199) are described on p. 41. They are of two types, the one primitive, perhaps to some extent

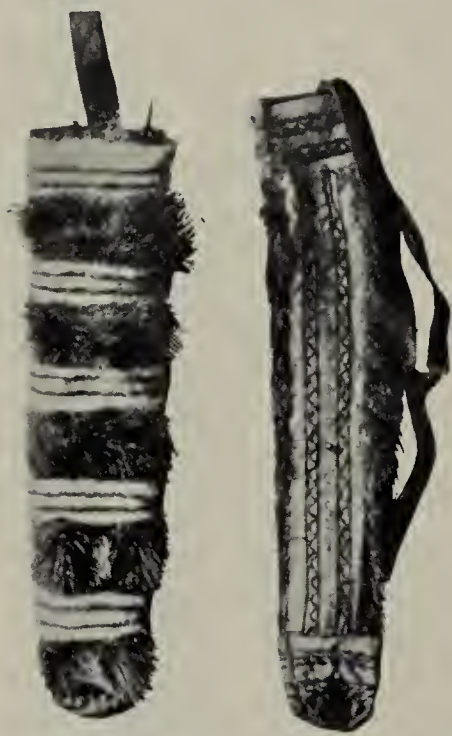


Fig. 186. Sheaths for hunting knives. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.

¹) Boas (1901) figs. 103 and 112. Nelson (1899) Pl. LXV. — The following information regarding the distribution of the Eskimo long knife, which is called *pana* in West Greenland and likewise in the East Greenland tale on *Kunuk* (see this Vol. p. 240) has been kindly given me by Commander G. Holm: "The Eskimo at Kotzebue Sound obtain these knives from Asia and sell them again to the more eastern Eskimo at Colville River (Simpson: The Western Eskimo p. 266); the North-west Indians use similar knives (Smithson. Report of Nat. Mus. 1888, p. 283). Similarly in California and south-west right to Oregon (Contributions to North American Ethnology III, pp. 52 and 79)." The name *pana* is also known in Alaska; see e. g. Murdoch (1892) p. 156, and Barnum (1901) p. 359: "*pának*, a variety of spear having a large blade."

²) Murdoch (1892) pp. 157—161; Nelson (1899) p. 85; Boas (1901—1907) pp. 87 and 365.

³) Koldewey (1874) p. 623.

⁴) Ryder (1895) p. 322, figs. 21 b, c.

⁵) Thalbitzer (1909), fig. 48, pp. 454—459.

⁶) Olearius (1656) p. 174. Illustration from southern East Greenland by Graah (1832) Pl. VII.

a continuation of a form of Eskimo origin (the crooked knife), and the other more complex, introduced from Europe (but found at Nualik). They are made of wood and hoop iron.

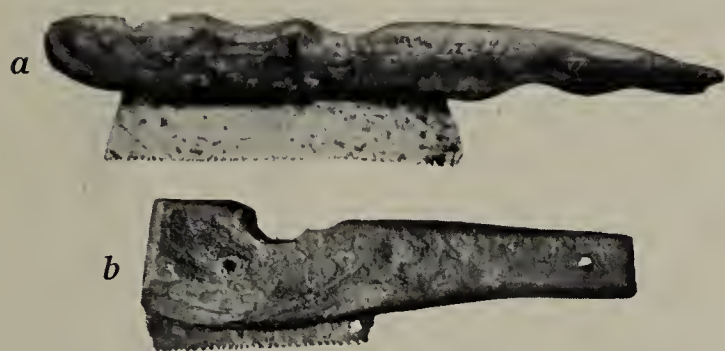
In earlier times, as is known, the Greenlanders used to split up large pieces of bone by means of a drill, a number of holes being bored first of all, after which the two parts could easily be separated from one another. There are examples of this in all collections from the northern East Greenland¹⁾. The same method is known from West Greenland. — With regard to the splitting of large pieces of wood, it may be presumed, that wedges of bone and celts of stone were used. Graah, for example, during his journey along the east coast observed at Ole Rømers Island (64° 58' N. lat.), that a large block of wood was being split into pieces by means of stone wedges (see p. 338 in this volume). According to Holm (p. 41) wedges were used to split wood whereas the saws were only used for splitting bone or ivory.

The stone knife with notched edge found by Holm (fig. 204*b*), which was fixed into a bone haft, might be taken as the prototype of the smaller type of saws. Saws of stone have been found among the North American Indians²⁾. From Alaska a saw is described which has the form of a large knife with saw teeth cut in the edge of the blade, made from a deer's scapula³⁾. Naturally, however, such saws have only been used for



Fig. 187.

Shark's tooth knives.
(Holm coll.). ¹/₆.

Fig. 188. Hand saws. (Holm coll.). ¹/₃.

the Greenlanders, and that Parry in 1821—23 found a saw at Iglulik made of a notched piece of iron⁴⁾. Kroeber also mentions the

¹⁾ Illustrations of bones split by drilling are seen, for example, in Ryder (1895) fig. 23; Stolpe (1906) Pl. III, fig. 9; Thalbitzer (1909) figs. 61, 76 and 77.

²⁾ W. Holmes in Handbook of American Indians (1910) under saws (pp. 481—482).

³⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 175, fig. 147.

⁴⁾ Id. *ibid.* pp. 174—175. Parry (1824) p. 536.

use of small saws in the shape of a knife among the Smith Sound Eskimo¹).

At Ammassalik, in addition to the primitive knife-shaped saw with iron blade, the more complex type was also found; it undoubtedly came from the Europeans, but had gained a footing even before their arrival. It is obvious, that the introduction of hoop iron for the blade of the saws meant a great technical advance. With the new type of this instrument, the compound elongated saw (fig. 199), the work of cutting up the large pieces of drift-wood, often whole trunks of trees which drift with the ice from the Siberian woods down to the coast of East Greenland, must have been made very much easier.

The same form of compound saws occurs among the Alaskan Eskimo, according to Nelson²).



Fig. 189.
Hammer.
(Holm coll.).
1/4.

HAMMERS (*ilageen*, figs. 189 and 200) with fixed iron-heads on the end of a wooden shaft, are also of foreign origin like the compound form of saw, though they have come to this region earlier than the Europeans. The hammer found by Holm, with the iron head firmly secured to the wooden handle, agrees with that found by Amdrup at the "dead house." In the latter the iron head is wedged into a groove in the side of the handle towards the end. The one part of the head is flat, triangular in section and sharpened so that this end forms a blunt edge like that on an adze; the other end is more nearly circular in section, terminating in a round surface with hammered out margin. According to Amdrup's inventory, it is said to have been used to make holes in iron (cf. Amdrup inv. no. 482).

At the "dead house" Amdrup also found a heavy iron pick or wedge (fig. 201), composed of two broad, flat pieces of iron riveted together by two iron nails. The edge at the lower end is ground from both sides. On the side of the upper piece there is a circular trade mark with half effaced letters, which I have in vain endeavoured to read.

Otherwise WEDGES of older type have not been found in active use in Greenland — except the stone wedges occasionally mentioned



Fig. 190. Drills
or whetting irons?
(Holm coll.). 1/4.

¹) Kroeber (1899) p. 285.

²) Nelson (1899) Pl. XXXVI.

by Graah on Ole Rømers Island (see under saws p. 477) — but it is probable, that similar instruments of bone or stone have been used earlier and will be found in the archæological material, by analogy with what we know from Alaska¹). Holm refers to wooden wedges among the Ammassalikers (in this volume p. 41) used for splitting bone by means of a series of drilled holes.

THE BOW-DRILLS (pp. 40—41) are almost the same everywhere among the Eskimo, both in the bow and the stick. Fig. 191 shows different bows (*d, e, f*) partly of bone, partly wood; *d* is ornam-

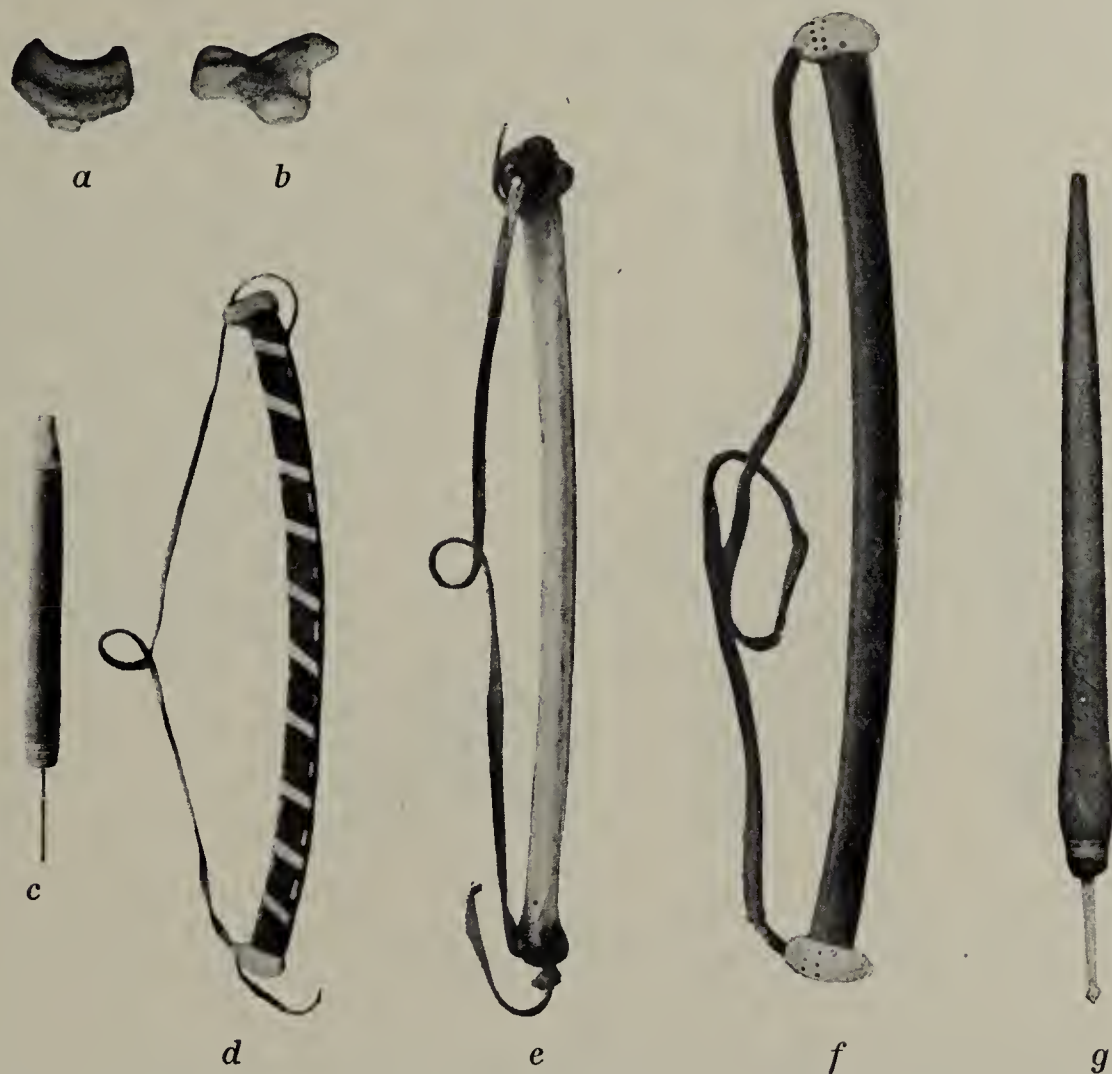


Fig. 191. Drilling apparatus. *a, b* mouth-pieces. $\frac{1}{4}$. *c* drill stick and drill bow. $\frac{1}{5}$. *e, f* drill bows. $\frac{1}{4}$. *g* drill stick with bone point. $\frac{1}{3}$. (Holm coll.).

ented with inlaid pieces of bone. In most of the borers found in Greenland there are iron points, wedged into the tip of the handle, which is cleft to receive the point and kept from splitting by a whipping of sinews. Fig. 191 *g* shows a drill stick with bone point fixed in a wooden haft. The bone piece is cylindrical, but ends below in a flat, head-like expansion. Drills with bone point are also known from Alaska²). *c* is a drill with iron point; the shaft is provided with a bone cap above and a bone ferrule below. The two,

¹) Nelson (1899) fig. 26 and Pl. XXXIX. Murdoch (1892) p. 288 (flint flakers).

²) Murdoch (1892) p. 179, fig. 157.

very finely worked wooden hafts (drills?) in fig. 190, which were likewise brought home by Holm from Ammassalik, have regular ring grooves either for ornament or as bed for the drill line. The one has a thin cylindrical iron point, the other a heavier point, square in section (cf. fig. 202), with blunt end. The form of the shafts of these sticks is extremely rare even at Ammassalik, but incisions carved in the shaft to keep the string in position are known from other Eskimo regions (Baffin Land and Alaska)¹. — At the “dead house” Amdrup found a bow-drill of wood 18.5 cm. long with a bone knob at each end, the one knob with a longitudinal hole, the other with a transverse hole, to fix the ends of the drill string. Further, he found various pieces of finely smoothed wooden sticks,

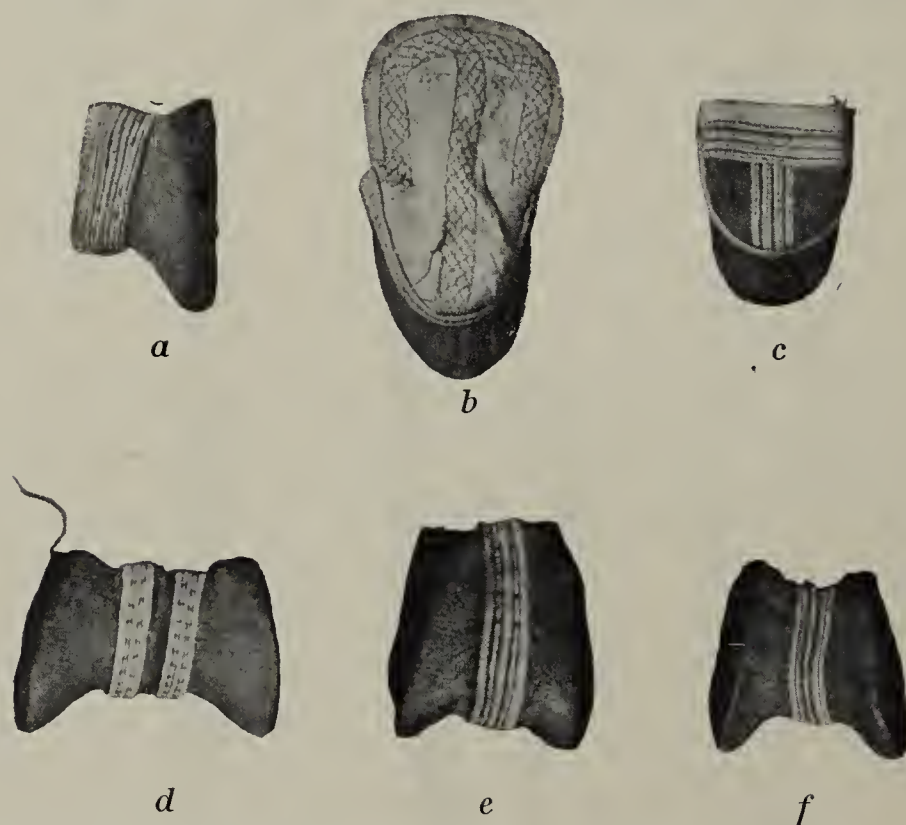


Fig. 192. Finger protectors made of skin. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

used for drilling, with iron points and with or without ferrules of bone round the sockets or slits, where the points are inserted. — At the mouth of Scoresby Sound Amdrup found a whole set of drilling tools: a fine bow of white bone or ivory (length 47 cm.), a wooden stick with iron point and three knuckle-bones for mouth-pieces².

For each bow-drill and stick there is a mouth-piece of bone, the knuckle-bone of a seal or other animal (fig. 191 *b*), or an imitation in wood of this (fig. 191 *a*). As a rule these parts have a hole through the one corner for a looped line to hang them up.

The usual method of using the drill (*putoorutin*, *ammarteen*) is to pass the string (*nimaawtaa*) once round the stick, place the upper end of the latter into a hollow in the under side of the knuckle-bone (*kimmia*), whilst the other side of the bone is held fast between the teeth of the workman. By pulling on the bow (*aa^wlättisaa*) in the horizontal plane to the left and to the right, with one hand on each end, the stick is made to rotate backwards and forwards in the hole (*puto*) to be bored; see fig. 70.

¹) Boas (1901) p. 28; see figs. 36 and 37 *b, c*. Murdoch (1892) fig. 159.

²) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 452—454, fig. 47.

In Alaska the Eskimo use hand strap-drills in addition to bow-drills, especially to bore large holes¹⁾. Among the East Eskimo I only know bow-drills for boring holes (but strap-drills in making fire). There is no definite proportion between the length of the bow and the stick, but the point (now of iron, formerly of stone or bone) of the latter is formed differently according as it is to be used for boring large or small holes (cf. p. 486).

FINGER AND KNEE PROTECTORS (p. 40), used by the men when working iron and wood, are only known from Ammassalik. The



Fig. 193.



Fig. 194.

Knee protectors made of wood. (Holm coll. and Thalbitzer coll.). ¹/₂.

finger protectors or thimbles (*tikkili pooän*) are boot-shaped bags of hard skin, which fit on to the end of the thumb. They are as a rule finely ornamented with embroidery. In fig. 192 we have two types, single and double, all with the opening upwards, *a* viewed from the side, *b* and *c* from the front. *b* is of a special form, the front part being prolonged upward like a white shield with black embroidery of fine sinew treads. The other side (back) has no embroidery, being the protecting side towards the edge of the knife.

The knee protectors are made of wood, like the knee-cap in shape. They are held in position by means of skin thongs round the leg. There are signs of wear on both the specimens illustrated here (figs. 193—194).

¹⁾ Nelson (1899) p. 81. Murdoch (1892) p. 180.

MANUFACTURE OF THONGS. THONG SMOOTHERS. — Special smoothing apparatus for straps or thongs (figs. 195—197) I have not found mentioned from any other Eskimo region outside Ammassalik. The apparatus (*nak^wkin*) consists of a bone, often the penis bone of a bearded seal (two specimens are shown in fig. 45), or of a longish, flat piece of wood with holes bored through it; it is used to soften the hard, strong thongs, which are made from the skin of the bearded seal. The thongs are drawn piece by piece through one

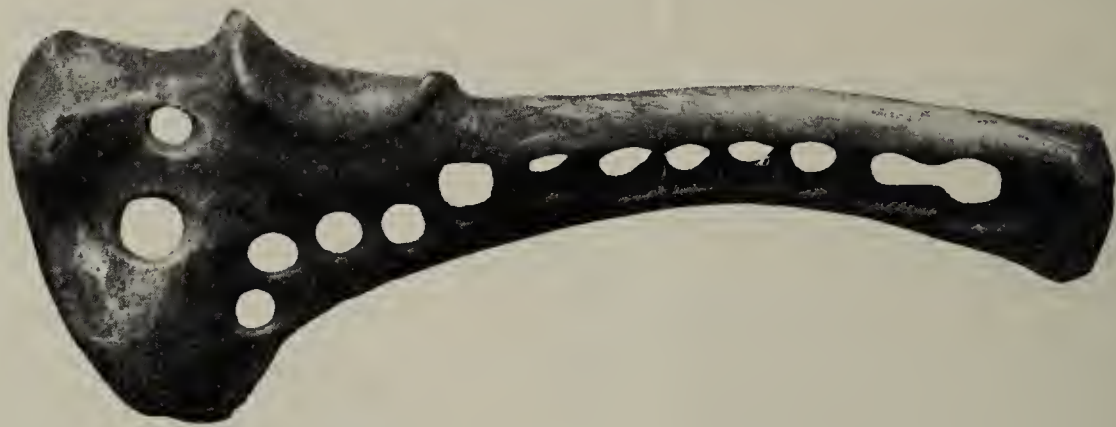


Fig. 195. Thong smoother made from a bone. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.



Fig. 196. Thong smoother made of wood. (Amdrup coll. from Nualik). $\frac{1}{3}$.

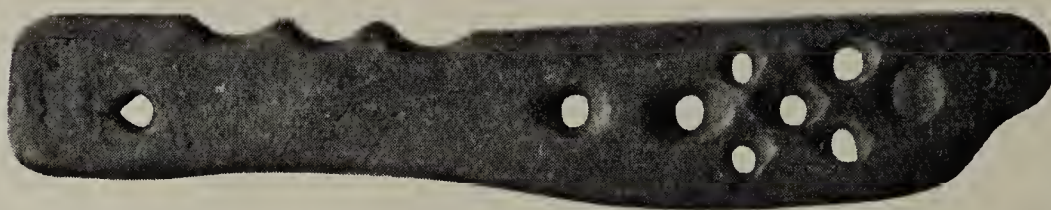


Fig. 197. Thong smoother made of wood. (J. Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

of the holes and the apparatus is rubbed quickly backwards and forwards over the piece, until the edges of the new thong are rounded and it becomes supple. There are specimens of this apparatus in all the collections and I myself have seen it in use at Ammassalik.

The Eskimo cut the thongs out of a seal skin very dexterously. With a small knife they cut a very long strip, quite narrow and in the form of a spiral, of exactly the same breadth throughout, then they tan it in urine and stretch it out afterwards in the open air between two posts or rocks, preferably in frosty air, and lastly soften

and smooth it by means of this apparatus. Such thongs are of great use to them, for harpoon lines, towing lines, sledge traces, whip lashes, lashings for their sledges, boats and tents and several other objects.

IRON IN IMPLEMENTS FROM THE "DEAD HOUSE" AT NUALIK. — Without being wholly necessary, iron has been obtainable and preferred for many implements or parts of implements. The material used was obtained as pieces of hoop iron, iron nails or awls, crescent-shaped ulo blades, long weapon heads (iron rods circular in section) for lance and bird dart, or other objects of European manufacture. In the Amdrup collection we find a file (used as a borer), two saws and a couple of wrenches (made into knife blades?). One of the two flat, heavy pieces composing the iron pick (fig. 201) bears on the one side the stamp of a trade mark. Most of these things must have reached up to this far-off place through journeys or trading connections in the years just preceding the arrival of the Europeans (cf. pp. 112—113 and 333—335).

A special pleasure has been taken in riveting parts of bone objects together with iron nails. See, for example, the harpoon head made of two pieces of bone of the bear, which has been set together by means of four rivets, fig. 135*e*. Alongside this is a harpoon head (fig. 135*d*), the lowermost part of which has been strengthened by a transverse iron band, riveted on with four nails; the band is wanting but the holes can be seen. Similar bands are found on many of the harpoon heads brought home by Holm from Ammassalik (figs. 131*e—h*). This is a relict of an old custom. At times and places, where the Eskimo did not have access to hoop iron, they were accustomed to strengthen the lowermost part of the harpoon head by means of sinew threads or a thong lashing; often the basal socket was even open on the side, the bone being broken, and the lashing was then led through two holes in the edges to replace the side wanting of the socket. The iron band is a substitute for the lashing. — In many of the harpoon heads iron is also used to strengthen the point itself, an iron blade being inserted in a slit in the fore end of the head in which it is always fixed by means of a transverse iron nail. The form of the iron blade is a copy of the blade part of the flat harpoon head, which was originally of bone all in one piece (figs. 135*c, d, f*, compared with *a* and *b*).

Iron rivets are also used on one of the whips (fig. 75*b*) for riveting the iron-pick, which is made of two pieces of hoop iron joined together, on several loose shafts of harpoons (fig. 119*a*) which are made up of two pieces of bone, on many harpoon heads and

TOOLS FROM NUALIK MADE IN PART OF IRON. (Amdrup coll.).



Fig. 198.
Working
knife (iron
blade).

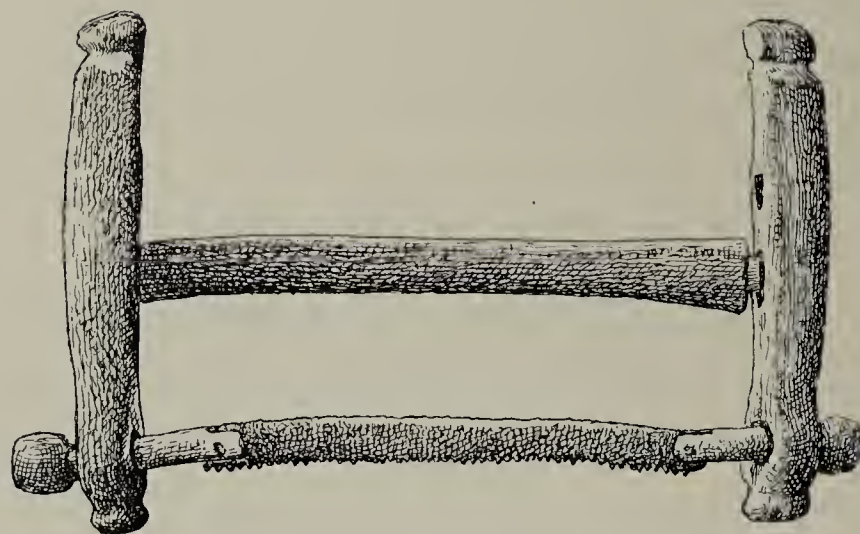


Fig. 199. Compound saw (iron blade).



Fig. 200. Hammer
(iron head).

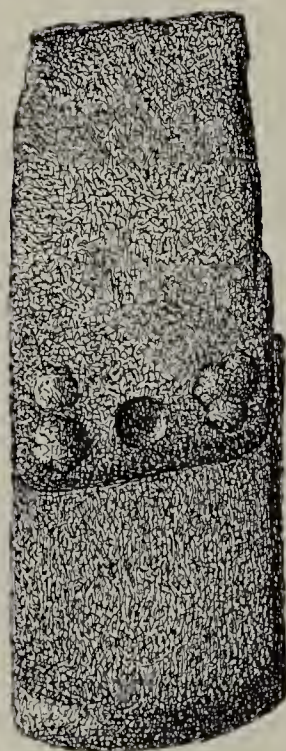


Fig. 201. Pick-axe
or wedge (all iron).



Fig. 202.
Drill stick
(iron point).

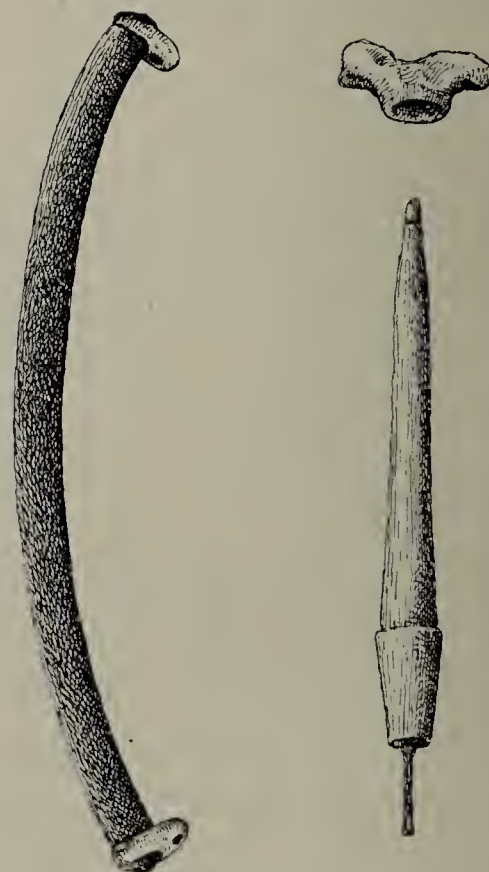


Fig. 203.
Drilling apparatus
complete (apart from
the missing string).

lance heads; for riveting the bone barb on the broad bone hook inserted in the hind end of the throwing stick of the feather harpoon in fig. 148 and on the repaired corner of the bone cap of the kaiak oar in fig. 89. In the last two cases, where parts of the same material, namely bone, were joined together, at least two or three of the rivets used are of copper (brass).

Further, almost all the borers and drills found have points of iron. Both in these and in the harpoon blades the iron piece is wedged into a slit or cleft, and as a rule small pieces of iron are afterwards wedged into the space between the iron and the wall of the slit to secure the fixing. The borer points are of very different thickness; the finest are said to be used to bore eyes in sewing needles.

Sewing needles of iron have not been found at Nualik. But according to the Ammassalikers it was clearly seen from the deeply excised back edge of one of the ulo blades, that iron splinters had been chipped from it to make needles (cf. pp. 35 and 509—510). In the same way it has been the custom to chip pieces from flat iron, when sewing needles were wanted; the iron was sometimes firmly wedged into a groove in a bone to get a better purchase, when chipping splinters from it (fig. 238).

The following is a list of the objects in the Amdrup collection from Nualik which are of iron or joined together with iron or copper rivets. Amdrup collection no. 207 iron pick of a whip handle (fig. 75*b*), no. 273 bone cap of kaiak oar (fig. 89), nos. 310—318, 326—327, 11 harpoon heads (rivets, band, blade of iron) (figs. 132, 135*c, d, f*), nos. 334—335, loose shafts of harpoon (fig. 119*a*), no. 342 knob (iron) of knob harpoon, no. 350 inserted head of loose shaft of lance (fig. 120), no. 351 head and shank (iron, European manufacture) of loose shaft of lance (fig. 121), no. 356 foreshaft of ice sealing harpoon with iron ferrule (fig. 123), no. 362 head of bird dart (fig. 122), no. 375 basal hook of throwing stick (fig. 148), nos. 456—462 seven knives with iron blades (fig. 198), no. 463 knife made from a wrench, nos. 464—465 two saws with iron blades (fig. 199), no. 466 pick or celt of iron (fig. 201), nos. 467—475 nine borers and drills (figs. 202—203), nos. 480—481 two iron borers, one made from a file, no. 482 hammer with iron head (fig. 200), nos. 483—485 three borers for eyes of sewing needles, no. 486 triangular piece of hoop iron, material for sewing needles (fig. 238), nos. 489—493 ulos with iron blades (figs. 227—228), nos. 656—658 a wrench, a knife blade and a wedge of iron.

Among the objects found by Amdrup north of Nualik there are only three which contain iron, namely from Cape Tobin (70° 24' N. lat.): no. 3 harpoon head with iron blade, no. 77 drill stick with iron point, and no. 79 crooked knife with iron blade (hoop iron has been used in all these)¹). Further south a knife blade of iron was found in a grave on Depot Island (66° 06' N. lat.).

¹) Illustrations of these three objects are given in my description of the northern finds (1909), pp. 347, 453, 455 (figs. 2, 47, 48).

It is worth remarking, that whilst rivets were fairly common in the objects from Nualik, not a single, true iron nail was used. All the fixings on the kaiak and sledge were made by means of wooden nails, similarly those on the sides and bottom of the men's boxes.

The natives have only had primitive means to work the iron, partly stones to hammer, bend or grind it, so far as these operations were possible, and partly the implements constructed by themselves to bore or beat holes in the iron by means of pieces of iron fixed on wood or bone. I may refer here to the information, which Amstrup received from the Eskimo at Ammassalik regarding the objects discovered. Nos. 480—481 are described as two instruments to bore holes in iron; they resemble the common drill sticks, except that both the wooden haft and iron point are heavier. The latter is wedged into a cleft or socket at the end of the haft and are square in section, so that the surface consists of four flat sides, separated by four sharp edges, which meet at the end of the point. These borers, one of which is figured in fig. 202, have been used to make large holes. On the other hand, nos. 483—484 (fig. 235) were explained as drills for making eyes in sewing needles. No. 432 (fig. 200), which looks like a hammer, was explained as an instrument for making holes in iron. The iron head, which is thick and broad at the one end, narrow and rod-like at the other, is wedged into a groove in the side of the wooden handle. The broad end seems to have had a sharp edge. Holding the handle, the broad end was placed on edge against the piece of iron and a hammer (stone?) was used to strike on the narrow end.

ON THE USE OF IRON IN FORMER TIMES IN GREENLAND. — There is evidence from high up on the coast of East Greenland, that the Eskimo have known the use of iron in their implements. As the iron found must be considered to have come there from foreign parts, the question is, how has it reached this coast? and how long has it been used? — These questions lead to a historical digression.

With regard to the West Greenlanders, O. Solberg has called attention to the fact, that the first discoverers in the 16th century (Frobisher and Davis)¹⁾ already found iron used by the natives on

¹⁾ Frobisher (1577) pp. 226—227: "They have some yron whereof they make arrow heads, knives, and other little instruments — — — three sorts of heads to those arrows: one sort of stone or yron, proportioned like to a heart" etc. — John Davis (1586) p. 398: "We had among them copper oare, black copper, and red copper." — It is well-known, further, that pieces of bell metal were found along the whole of the west coast of Greenland, originating from the ruins of the Icelandic churches of the middle ages in South Greenland. Through their journeys and bartering the Eskimo have distributed pieces of this useful material far beyond the place where they found it. Cf. Eberlin (1888) p. 18; K. I. V. Steenstrup in "Medd. om Grønland" Vol. IV, p. 122.

the coasts of Davis Strait. He urges indeed, that the Eskimo even at that time must have been dependent on the irregular arrival of iron through ships that had been lost, a consequence of the fact, that the Basque fishermen had extended their whale fishing since the end of the middle ages from the Bay of Biscay right up to the north-western regions of the Atlantic (Newfoundland and Labrador). Upon the whole, according to the same author, the fixed place that lost vessels and wooden wreckage obtained in the economy of the East Eskimo must have meant an early and unique change in the material culture of America's north-east coast¹). It seems to me very probable, that the first summer visits of the whale-fishers to Davis Strait may have influenced the stone-age culture of the Eskimo on these coasts. Solberg is undoubtedly right also, that the dawn of the West Greenland iron age lies even further back in time. The appetite of the natives for iron has probably been nourished earlier by contact with the Iceland-Norse colonists in the middle ages at the end of the 14th century. But in contrast to Solberg I doubt whether the Eskimo have been present in North Greenland before (at the earliest) the middle of the 13th century. The Icelandic colonists in South Greenland made hunting excursions every summer to the large fjords of West Greenland further north (Disko or Umanak Fjord?) and it was in 1266 (according to the Icelandic annals) that the *Skrælingjar* (Eskimo) were discovered living on this coast for the first time since Erik the Red's landing. The discovery is mentioned in connection with definite localities in North Greenland, but without reference to any chart²). It soon came to fighting between

¹) O. Solberg (1907) pp. 20—21.

²) It has been discussed where these places lay, which the Icelandic colonists visited from their southern settlements. I have endeavoured earlier to localize the different place names mentioned in the Icelandic reports (in an account of the principal historical data regarding the Greenland Eskimo, "Medd. om Grønland" Vol. XXXI, 1904, pp. 24—25) as follows: *Snæfjall* 'snowfell' i. e. a conspicuous mountain with snow always on its summit, may be Cape Svartenhuk (71° N. lat.) or Qaersorsuaq at Upernavik (72° N. lat.); *Hafsbótinn*, 'the bottom or innermost part of the bay of the sea' suits Melville Bay furthest north on the west coast, at the mouth of Smith Sound. *Króksfjarðarheiði* might be a bare plateau in a corner of the Umanak Fjord, possibly the point of the Nugsuak peninsula or a place even further south on Disko Island. *Greipar* 'finger-grip, the claws' might possibly be called after a coast with four or five projecting glaciers or clefts between steep hills or cliffs, such as, for example, I saw in the northern side of the Umanak Fjord opposite Ubekendt Eyland (a chart in "Medd. om Grønland" Vol. IV 2. ed. 1893, illustrates this coast distinctly with the 5 glaciers); in the sound between this island and the mainland there is good seal hunting. — I am reminded of my earlier attempt to determine the situation of these localities by F. Nansen's recent attempt in the same direction in "Nord i Taakeheimen" (1911) pp. 229—230 etc. Like him I have my doubts

them and of this there is quite a brief account in *Historia Norwegiae*, a work that must have been written by a clergyman in Norway almost about the same period¹). Regarding the *Skrælings* we find it related here: "They have no iron whatever and use whale-teeth for missiles and sharp stones for knives."

As the Eskimo have immigrated to the north-west corner of Greenland from the regions west of Hudson Bay, where there is an Eskimo tribe along the lower course of the Coppermine River which from ancient times has developed working in metal, we might imagine, that the partial replacing of bone and stone with iron by the Greenland Eskimo was only a continuation of the copper industry of their forefathers. Both weapon points and knife blades made from the natural copper, which is simply hammered out, are very common near the Coppermine River. The British Museum has an excellent collection of these pre-European copper objects from Coronation Gulf and so also the Christiania Museum. In the Gjøa collection (Amundsen) of the Christiania Museum I remarked 75 weapon points from the same regions (harpoons, lances and bow-arrows), 55 of which were provided with metal blades (mainly copper); 15 bow-arrows had bone points, 4 harpoon heads were of bone all in one piece, only one dart had a blade of stone. Nevertheless, it is doubtful, if there is any connection between the copper industry of the Central Eskimo, which does not seem to have spread to their neighbours to any extent, and the use by the North-west Greenlanders of the natural iron on their coasts. Both the material and the forms in question are very different at the two places.

In 1872 already Japetus Steenstrup described some Greenland knives, the cutting part of which consisted of a number of small iron plates, in size like a three-penny piece, which were fixed in a groove along the edge of a bone haft²). Such knives were found earlier by Ross (1819) at *Sowalik* in northernmost Greenland among the Smith Sound Eskimo, who made use of small pieces from the three large meteorites at Cape York in constructing their weapons. They beat these pieces out into small plates or discs, which they fixed in a row in a groove along the one side of a flat haft to form the cutting edge; this they probably found more serviceable than the

about O. Solberg's much more southerly localization of these names (Solberg 1907, pp. 85—90), which implies that the Eskimo inhabited Disko Bay already at the same time as the Icelanders settled in South Greenland.

¹) F. Jónsson (1901) pp. 605—606.

²) Japetus Steenstrup: Sur l'emploi du fer météorique par les Esquimaux de Grœnland (1872). — Cf. J. Lorenzen (1882) p. 157.

stone knife¹⁾. In 1879 K. I. V. Steenstrup found 9 pieces of basalt with round bullets and irregular parts of metallic iron in an old grave at *Ekaluit* in the Umanak Fjord. They lay together with knives similar to those brought home by Ross and with various stone instruments. The 9 pieces of basalt with the iron balls were obviously the material for the knives and it could be shown, that the material belonged to a typical Greenland rock, thus of tellurian origin²⁾. Nordenskiöld in 1870 and K. I. V. Steenstrup in 1871 had already shown, that natural iron occurred in the basalt at Blaafield (Uívfak) on Disko Island; Steenstrup's statement that the iron was of tellurian origin received further confirmation from his discovery of iron grains in the basalt at *Asuk* (first discovered in 1872, fully confirmed in 1880) and several other places on Disko³⁾.

There is thus no doubt, that the Eskimo in North Greenland have found natural iron in their own land and used it for certain apparatus. Solberg is of opinion, that this change to a new material, which displaced the stone and bone materials, can only be understood on the basis, that the Eskimo had learnt its value through European influence and he refers, as already mentioned, to a supposed connection, historically quite uncertain, with the Icelanders of the Middle Ages⁴⁾. I believe, that this explanation is quite unnecessary. It was not more remarkable, that the immigrating Eskimo found the natural iron in the meteorites at Cape York or in the basalt on Disko and made use of it, than that the Eskimo at the Coppermine River and Coronation Gulf before them discovered the natural copper there and made weapon points and knife blades from it. The small roundish discs, which the North Greenlanders beat out from the iron grains and fixed in the marginal groove of the bone haft, were for them merely a new kind of stone. They have without doubt brought the idea of using the new material for this kind of implement with them from the central regions, for this method of theirs, of using natural iron, is quite analogous to the method by which their forefathers on Southampton Island in Hudson Bay fixed a series of small round or oval flint blades on the cutting edge of their large knives for cutting up the blubber of whales(?) and in

¹⁾ Kroeber (1899) p. 285. One of the Cape York meteorites was conveyed by Peary in 1897 to the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

²⁾ K. I. V. Steenstrup (1882) pp. 115—122.

³⁾ Id. *ibid.* pp. 123—127. Cf. also A. G. Nathorst, *Jordens Historia* (1896) pp. 127—130 and J. Lorenzen (1882) (chemical investigation of the metallic iron from Greenland).

⁴⁾ Solberg (1907) p. 54.

smaller knives of the same type¹). — The Cape York Eskimo, according to Kroeber, have only used small fragments of the meteoric iron for the form of knife described and for the inserted points of harpoon heads. The same holds good doubtless for the West Greenlanders dwelling a little more to the south, who hammered out small lumps of natural iron into the form of flat blades; these small pieces of iron could only be utilised for quite small parts of implement. Larger metal blades for the *pana* and *ulo* could not be made in Greenland, until the Europeans brought iron to the country²).

The method of fixing the cutting edge of a blade laterally at the one end of the haft is only a copy of the well-known type of the "crooked knife" from the West Eskimo. In addition to this specialized form of blade, composed of several small pieces, various typical specimens have also been found in Greenland with the blade all of one piece, in which stone or European hoop iron has been used. On the other hand, no knife blade of the *pana* type made of iron or other metal is known from the older period of Greenland. Stone blades were used for this type in ancient times.

In East Greenland also it is probable, that the introduced metal (iron) has entered into the forms of the stone age without at once entirely changing the old forms or replacing the stone material (for this the iron was too scarce). The iron implements found north of Ammassalik, which are not numerous on the whole, are evidence of this.

Knives with iron blade were found in Scoresby Sound by Ryder and Amdrup, in Franz Josephs Fjord by Nathorst, on Little Pendulum Island by Koldewey, one specimen by each; a borer with iron point and a harpoon head with inserted iron blade at Cape Tobin by Amdrup³). Previous to these Clavering (and Sabine) had landed on this coast in 1823 and had met with the natives on Clavering Island at 74° N. lat., about 550 miles north of Ammassalik. Clavering's brief description of their weapons shows, that they already used iron for their weapon points at that time. "Their harpoons and darts lay at the side (of the kaiak); the hafts were of bone (and of wood?), the front ends were furnished with points of bone and some of them with points of iron, which looked as if it were of meteoric origin."⁴) The last statement regarding the origin of the iron was probably only suggested by Ross' discovery in 1818 that the Smith Sound Eskimo (the Arctic Highlanders) made use of meteoric iron. In the previous year (1822) the two Scotch whalers, Scoresby father and son, had charted the northern East

¹) Boas (1901—1907) pp. 384—385, fig. 178, cf. fig. 90.

²) It is worthy of note, that the discoverers of the Iglulik and Winter Island Eskimo found European iron in use among them, chiefly riveted as points to their spears and arrow heads. Parry (1824), pp. 504, 536. Lyon (1824) pp. 110, 123 etc.

³) These finds, with reference to my sources, are mentioned by me (1909) pp. 458—459 (cf. pp. 347 and 453).

⁴) Clavering's diary in Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal, 1830.

Greenland between 69° and 75°. At Cape Lister (70° 31' N. lat.) they also had found an arrow or dart of bone with an inserted point of iron; on referring to this, the author (W. Scoresby)¹⁾ adds: "It is difficult to say whether this iron was native, or whether it was carried on shore in the timbers of some wreck."

Hitherto, however, no evidence has been forthcoming of the occurrence of natural (Tellurian) iron on this side of Greenland. Until this is proved, we must assume, that the iron found in the weapons came from wreckage driven on land or even from Scoresby's or Clavering's (or earlier whalers') visit in at the coast. There is another possibility, namely, that it has come to this region with the immigrating Eskimo, north round Greenland or from the southern part of the coast via Ammassalik. The first of these alternatives is very improbable. The second has somewhat greater probability, but will be difficult to prove in each case.

At Ammassalik at any rate iron has been used and highly esteemed since the middle or beginning of the 18th century (cf. p. 343). It has probably been known as a rarity earlier, as it is referred to in some of the tales; copper or brass is also mentioned. Two of the tales (nos. 38—39) mention a fabulous animal with "iron tail," and the tale about "the Girl who went across the inland ice to the West coast" (no. 23)²⁾ ends in the following: "Over there I had copper needles, but here I have an iron pot."

The Ammassalikers have a peculiar name for iron *parpaligaq*, which means 'something that makes a noise.' It is probably one of the many words they have changed on religious grounds in the course of time, in order to avoid offending the spirits. On a death occurring, namely, it was forbidden to work in iron for some time, and an angakok must never touch iron (perhaps because the noise frightens the spirits). Elsewhere all Eskimo have a common word for iron, *sawik*³⁾, which means (1) 'iron as material,' (2) 'a man's knife with blade of iron.' This double meaning meets us in far-removed dialects and thus seems to lie deep in the history of the language. The question is: is 'knife' or 'iron' the original meaning

¹⁾ W. Scoresby (1823) p. 187.

²⁾ In this volume pp. 274—275 and 292—293.

³⁾ Although the *sawikätta* 'harpoon head' of the Ammassalikers seems to be derived from *sawik* 'a knife' — especially when we consider the verb *sawippaa* (in the Labrador lexicon *savikpa*) 'to fix the harpoon head (*sawik*) on the haft' — I am of opinion, that the resemblance may be accidental. It is more nearly related, namely, with the Alaskan dialect's *chavuk* 'harpoon of a large size,' Barnum (1901) p. 330, but this word is distinguished from the same dialect's *chawik* 'iron in general, also knife.' Only in the case that Barnum is wrong in keeping these two words separate, are we at liberty to see in the East Greenland *sawikätta* an old sign, that the harpoon head and the man's knife were originally one and the same piece.

of this word? In Greenland the root *sawik* is found in many names of places where iron occurs, e. g. Ross' *Sowalik*¹⁾, which is undoubtedly the same as *sawilik* 'containing iron.' K. I. V. Steenstrup is even of opinion, that we might use these Greenland names (*Sawik*, *Sawiorqat* etc.) as indications of the places where natural iron is to be found on this coast²⁾. It might thus seem, as if the material was the basal significance of this word — in fact iron, and not copper or brass, which is called *kannussak*, *kanyussak*, Labrador *kannujak*³⁾. *Sawik*, it seems, thus first signifies iron, then a knife with iron blade.

In addition to these two metals, the Eskimo have a name for lead or tin, *aqerLoq* 'soft (metal),' but they have no name for metal in general.

OLD-FASHIONED STONE IMPLEMENTS.

This chapter deals with weapon points, blades of knives, scrapers, borers and hammers made of stone, found in the possession of the natives or by the natives themselves in old refuse heaps outside the houses. Some of these implements are used for men's, some for women's work, and this is the reason why the present chapter is inserted between those dealing with the tools of men and of women.

When G. Holm returned from Ammassalik in 1885 he brought with him a small number of stone objects, most of them knife blades and weapon heads, obsolete implements from the recently ended stone age of the population here. And, who knows, even then perhaps an old-fashioned stone blade or hammer-stone may have been used here and there, when conditions required. Holm's description of these is found in this volume p. 40. Some of the figures in his previous paper⁴⁾ are reproduced here, namely, the stone objects I

¹⁾ Parry (1824) also gives the word from the Central Eskimo regions in this form *sōwik*; cf. the derivative *soweakpoqe* 'he cuts.'

²⁾ K. I. V. Steenstrup (1882) pp. 122—123. — This is correct in general; yet the name may have been given to a place for other reasons than the occurrence of iron, e. g. from the resemblance in the form of an island or cliff to a knife.

³⁾ Parry (1824) gives the following designations of metals from Winter Island and Iglulik: *kanooyak* 'copper;' *kakoblek* (*qaquwLek*?) 'brass' properly 'white metal' (?) *akillerook* 'lead (metal)' = Greenland *aqerLoq*; *kalloognuk* 'iron-stone;' *imroot* 'silver, tin.'

⁴⁾ "Meddelelser om Grønland" Vol. X.

have seen myself (belonging to the Holm collection) in the cases of the East Greenland section of our National Museum and which have been photographed there. I do not remember to have seen the rest of his finds of stone objects¹⁾. But in a small box in the same collection²⁾ I discovered six small wrought stones which have not been reproduced before (figs. 205 *a—g* and 206 *a* and *b*) and which I shall describe in detail below. In the following chapter, further, I shall also mention 2 women's knives (figs. 223 *a* and *b*) with stone-blades attached to the haft.

Amdrup found no small stone objects at Nualik, apart from a whetstone of the usual type (fig. 220). The "dead house" was not of old date and the inhabitants have had a fairly rich supply of iron in their tools, so that they did not need to fall back upon the primitive stone implements. The larger stone-utensils found in the house, the lamp and the pots of soapstone were too heavy to be taken in the boat³⁾. I may also note in this connection, that Kruuse, who was a member of the Amdrup Expedition, states that on the rocks near the settlement he found several minerals which had evidently been collected by the natives, among others some quartz druse crystals, a piece of jasper and another of agate lime-stone, pumice etc.⁴⁾. The interest the natives have taken in certain kinds of stones may be due to various, probably also religious reasons⁵⁾. — On Depot Island Amdrup found an interesting hammer-stone (fig. 215). Further north he also found a few stone objects, namely, 2 blades of women's knives (*ulos*) and a fragment of a man's knife(?) on the Skærgaard Peninsula, a fragment of an *ulo*-blade(?) on Sabine Island and the blade of a knife or drill and a toy-pot (or paint pot?) on Dunholm⁶⁾.

The few stone artifacts in Holm's collection were for a long time the only evidence, that the Ammassalik district had also known a period when stone tools were in use. But during his long stay as Danish official in this district Johan Petersen in the course of time received many chance contributions to the archæology of the islands and fjords up there, and among them a number of small

¹⁾ For inst. a hammer head (or chisel?) of stone figured by Holm (1888) Pl. XVIII. *h*. The same is true of a number of stones, said to be scrapers, in part only roughly wrought or not wrought, which belonged — according to oral communication kindly given me by Commodore Holm — to the Holm collection without being mentioned in the inventory list.

²⁾ One of the boxes illustrated here, fig. 289 (*a*, *b* or *d*?).

³⁾ Amdrup (1909) p. 304.

⁴⁾ Kruuse (1912) p. 185.

⁵⁾ Thostrup (1911) p. 197.

⁶⁾ These finds have been previously mentioned by me (1909) pp. 377—385; figs. 11—16.

stone implements. Part of these specimens are now found in the Greenland Administration's collection, the remainder belong to the Petersen collection in our National Museum.

These stone objects figured for the first time in this paper entirely corroborate our previous suspicion as to the existence of a fully developed stone age in this part of East Greenland. Among the specially interesting forms not known previously from Ammassalik are two celts for adzes (figs. 208*a* and *b*), the small arrow points (fig. 210), the so-called whale harpoon head (fig. 209), which however has more probably been the blade of a large double-edged knife, and other stone objects supposed with more or less probability to be knife-blades, creasers and various characteristic forms of small scrapers (figs. 205*c*, 206, 211). On the other hand, no borer point of stone is found in these East Greenland collections.

Regarding the material I shall only refer in general to the information given by O. Solberg in his interesting book on the stone artifacts of the Greenlanders, in which he points out that the material has been of great importance for the origin of new variations in the form. He mentions chalcedon, agate and jasper and different varieties of slate (*ammak* of the Greenlanders) as the most used minerals, whereas flint seems to be completely wanting¹). Besides these stones there is the soapstone or steatite (*ukkusissaq*) used for pots and lamps. It is found at several places in East Greenland, e. g. a little south of the Ammassalik district on Ole Rømer's Island (?) and near Umanak²). According to Holm the people from Ammassalik went southwards to Inigsalik and Pikiutdleik in order to obtain pot-stone (p. 26 of this volume).

In West Greenland soapstone is found at various places e. g. in the district of Godthaab (Baal's Revier). Dalager has a noteworthy remark on the soapstone working at this place in the 18th century: "In former times certain families in the Revier had their living from quarrying and working soapstone for pots and lamps which they traded over both to the north and to the south."³)

KNIVES AND WEAPON POINTS, CELTS AND SCRAPERS. — Though it is difficult in many cases to keep the stone-blades of these imple-

¹) Solberg (1907) pp. 22—24 and 74—77.

²) Graah (1832) p. 107. Nordenskiöld (1885) pp. 397 and 478. No true stone-quarry is mentioned here, but in Nares (1878) p. 189, on the other hand, Feilden speaks of a stone-quarry found on the west side of Robeson Channel in Grants Land near the northernmost limit of human beings: "A few miles south of Cape Beechy we found more circles of tent-stones and near at hand a small heap of rock-crystals and flakes showed where the artificers in stone had been making arrow or harpoon heads."

³) Dalager (1752) p. 20 (16).

ments distinct, they are in Greenland, on the other hand, often sufficiently specialized for that purpose. Of special importance in this direction is the fact, that the loose stone-blades are sometimes found firmly inserted in position in the haft of the implement. From the traces of use we may sometimes find out the character of the implement. The weapon heads as well as the men's knives are double-edged, and the lateral surfaces especially of the latter often have a median ridge, at least near the point, wherefrom they slope or arch evenly down to meet in the sharp edges. The weapon heads have arched surfaces with or without a median ridge and are of a symmetrical leaf or lancet shape with a pointed end. Sometimes they have a basal tang or narrow from the middle downwards, for attachment to the haft, but very often the arrow or harpoon heads consist of a flat, triangular stone with a straight base and with one or two transverse holes for rivets (fig. 210*l*). A basal tang is often found in the large double-edged blades (*pana*) in West Greenland, but large and small knife-blades occur with as well as without such basal tangs. Single-edged stone-knives are rare but not unknown (found both in Alaska¹⁾ and in Greenland).

The two celts found by Johan Petersen testify to the former use of stone adzes at Ammassalik. This fact agrees with the oral information he received from Ajukutooq, Avgo's son, who told him that his father had possessed an old adze found in a ruined house with a celt of stone which was tied to the handle. Such adzes were remembered by several others. The cutting edge of the celts were ground; the handles were of wood or bone (of whale).

As to the method of working stone implements Ajukutooq further related: the hard kinds of stone were hammered on with an other stone, the stones of softer material (slate etc.) were fashioned by grinding them on the smooth part of a rock or on a loose stone. Soapstone pots and lamps were wrought partly with implements of whalebone (namely adzes and a kind of chisel) and partly with stone tools. The former were handled in this manner: one held the implement while another hammered on it with a hammer stone. The more delicate part of the work (the smoothing etc.) was performed with stone implements.

Fig. 204*a* is a double edged stone-blade with a median ridge wedged into the end of a hollow bone; the sides of the haft are ornamented with black dots. *b* is a double-edged blade with serrated edges and has undoubtedly been used to saw bones and similar soft material. *c* is like *a* but the haft without ornamentation. In *d* the haft and blade belong to the same piece but the latter has fallen out; the side of the haft is broken and has therefore been whipped with sinew thread; at the end it has the seal-tail orna-

¹⁾ Murdoch (1892) pp. 153—154, fig. 107. Thalbitzer (1909) p. 440.



Fig. 204. Men's working knives with stone blades (Holm coll.). $\frac{2}{3}$ (e $\frac{1}{2}$).



Fig. 205. Various stone blades. (Holm coll.). $\frac{2}{3}$.



Fig. 206. Pygmy stone blades. (Holm coll.). $\frac{2}{3}$.

ment; the blade (of slate?) is polished. All these blades have faint marks of use on the edges.

Fig. 205*a* is a loose polished blade (of slate) with single edge and broad ridge, the shape resembling mostly that of an *ulo* or scraper. *b* is probably the blade of a man's knife with a curved median ridge and two smooth broad sides that meet in the sharp edges. — *c* is a rare kind of stone implement consisting of a somewhat flat and leaf-shaped blade with convex sides, the smooth middle part of which is furrowed towards the edges by converging facets, showing the chipping of the stone. The upper part is thin with a sharp edge, the lower thick with a blunt one. In its convex cutting edge this blade very much resembles the kind of stone implements in which Solberg finds the culmination of the Greenland stone art and which he compares with the well-known woman's knife (*ulo*)¹. He takes it for granted that the upper convex edge has been the cutting edge while the thick one has been inserted in the slit of a handle. It is in reality very probable that this view is correct and that this implement is an *ulo* of the type mentioned, a special sort of knife used in women's work. — Fig. *d* is the blade of a stone saw (like fig. 204*b*?), *e* the fragment of a knife-blade (or borer point?)², *f* (fragment) the end of an *ulo* blade? note the beautifully polished surface, *g* a convex-edged scraper? also with a polished surface, the sharp edge turned upwards (cf. Solberg, 1907, Pl. 1).

Figs. 206*a* and *b* are some diminutive stone-tools which probably like many others of the loose stones have only been kept in the box as some kind of amulets. They are reproduced with the sharp edges turned upwards. *a* has a convex surface with a depression caused by the chipping of the one corner, the other side is nearly flat(?); *b* is a slightly curved flake of a transparent stone (rock-crystal?) with three facets on the convex surface. In their arched and wrought upper side and the smooth, almost unwrought under side as also in their size, which is not much smaller than the smallest described by Solberg³, these stone objects resemble the convex-edged scrapers from West Greenland described by this author. He is of opinion that they have been inserted in hafts and used for making many of the smaller utensils of wood and bone required for household and hunting purposes in Greenland. My opinion is that they must in the main be considered as skin-scrapers (for narrow strips of skin) and as having been used for women's work. The form of fig. 206*a* is certainly that of a scraper⁴. Very characteristic for these two East Greenland specimens is their minute size though hardly unique among Greenland stone-tools. They belong to the pygmy implements of stone known from many lands and are assigned to times long passed (e. g. the Neolithic period) but as to the use of them, we have to be satisfied with conjectures.

Fig. 207 shows a man's knife with a wooden haft. The edges of the blade (slate?) are ground smooth.

Figs. 208*a* and *b* are probably two celts of hard stone to be inserted into bone-hafts of adzes. At Dunholm in the north near the mouth of Scoresby Sound, Amdrup found a large bone-head for such an adze, though without stone-blade. From West Greenland we have several specimens of

¹) Solberg (1907) pp. 43—44; figs. 25—28.

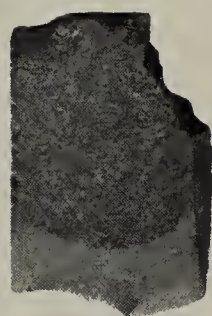
²) Id. *ibid.* Pl. 5, p. 47.

³) Id. *ibid.* Pl. 1, pp. 28—31.

⁴) Compare the stone-blades of the large scrapers from the West Eskimo islands in the Bering Strait described by Murdoch (1892) pp. 294—299; figs. 289—298.



Fig. 207.
Man's knife.
Petersen coll.). $\frac{2}{3}$.



a



b

Fig. 208.
Stone celts for adzes.
(Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.



Fig. 209.
Large stone blade
(fragment).
(Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.



a



b



c



d



e



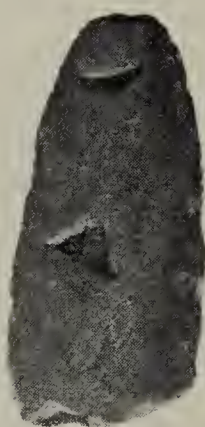
f



g



h



i



j



k



l

Fig. 210. Arrow heads and knives. (Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.



a



b

Fig. 211. Small stone implements. (Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

celts, also one sticking in the adze¹). It will be seen from the figure that on both sides the edges are beautifully ground, though partly broken in fig. *a*. The discovery of these celts near Ammassalik disprove the assertion, that the Ammassalikers do not know or at any rate did not know the use of adzes²).

Fig. 209, a fragment of a polished blade (of slate), can be reconstructed by continuing the right edge up to the median line of the figure and by filling up the left side, so that we have a symmetrical figure almost of the same shape as fig. 210*j* only double the size. Thus completed, the figure would show a high and broad blade with a large basal tang for insertion, shouldered off from the main part at right angles, leaving two barb-like shoulders on each side. The blade was considered by the collector to have belonged to a whale harpoon-head of bone in which it must have been inserted in a cleft at the tip. But from the shape it may as well have belonged to a large knife (of the *pana*-type)³).

Fig. 210*a* is a small point of a hard and clear, almost transparent stone. This as well as the following (*b, c, d, e*) have undoubtedly been used as arrow-heads. *f* has a characteristic rounded shape (not pointed), and if not an unfinished arrow-head must be considered to be the blade of a lance or a scraper. *g* and *h* on the other hand are of the knife-blade type. They seem to be of the same material as the preceding, formed by chipping from the median line to the edges and not polished. *i* is evidently made of softer material (slate) and has a nice polished surface. *j* and *k* are probably made of the same material as *i* with median ridge and basal tang and are undoubtedly arrow-heads. — Lastly, *l* is a harpoon blade of slate of a flat triangular shape and without basal tang, a common Eskimo type of inserted stone blade for harpoon heads. The constantly repeated feature, namely, the large, triangular facet from the centre to the basal line, made alike on both sides and perforated by two holes (or sometimes only one) for the nails, probably only occurs in the East Eskimo regions⁴). The same feature is even sometimes found in Greenland in inserted bone-blades, as for example in a harpoon head and in a detached bone-blade found by Amdrup near the Skærgaard Peninsula (Amdrup coll., nos. 6 and 8)⁵).

Figs. 211*a* and *b* show two characteristic stone implements slightly curved (especially *b*) with sloping working edges (turned upwards in the figure) and polished surface; *b* having besides a median ridge on the upper side. The latter consists only of a single flake of the same character as those known from northern places (Kekertak) in West Greenland⁶), and the connection with the remote stone art over there is hereby established. Regarding the shape and use, the implements figured may possibly be referred to one of the pygmy implements mentioned previously (fig. 206*b*), thus being a sort of skin scraper. One might feel disposed, however, to consider them as a kind of borer or bodkin⁷), especially *b*, whereas *a* has some resemblance to a boot sole creaser (*tigussaut*, cf. under fig. 214).

¹) Solberg (1907) Pl. 7 and 8; pp. 48—49. Thalbitzer (1909) fig. 46; pp. 446—452.

²) Ryder (1895) p. 138.

³) Cf. the stone-blades of this kind of knife described by Solberg (1907) Pl. 4; and similar types from Alaska. Murdoch (1892) pp. 151—152, figs. 99—100; and Nelson (1899) pp. 171—172; Pl. LXV, fig. 3 and Pl. XLVII.

⁴) Solberg (1907) Pl. 10. Boas (1888) p. 506, fig. 448 and (1907) p. 387, fig. 181*d*.

⁵) Thalbitzer (1909) p. 351, fig. 5; Pl. XV, figs. 6 and 8.

⁶) Solberg (1907) pp. 38—39; figs. 12 and 13.

⁷) Id. *ibid.* p. 46; Pl. 6, figs. 9, 12, 17—20 especially.

Figs. 212*a* and *b* (fragment) are two polished blades of slate belonging to the mixed category of knives and weapon points. Their shape corresponds fairly well to that of the blades in the following figures.

Fig. 213*a* is distinctly an arrow head of the typical form. The same though with less certainty is the case with *c*, its shape being similar to that of *a*. If the blades in figs. 212 and 213 have really been inserted in arrow heads they are highly worn and blunt at the point.

Fig. 214 is of interest as the first specimen of a stone age *tigussaut* or skin creaser known from East Greenland, of exactly the same type as that figured by Solberg from the northern West Greenland where this implement has often been found¹). We have here again the characteristic slug-shaped stone with convex upper side, flat and smooth under side, chipped, unground surface and slightly wrought edges. The front half of the one edge is concavely curved thus making a sharply bounded scraping edge. According to Solberg these stones must have been inserted into hafts. They may have been used partly for creasing skin (especially for boots) partly for making skin patterns and similar women's work.



Fig. 212.
Knife blades? (Greenl.
Administr. coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.



Fig. 213.
Arrow points. (Greenland
Administr. coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.



Fig. 214.
Skin creaser.
(Gr. Administr.
coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

HAMMER-STONES (cf. p. 40). Besides the above-mentioned celts of stone (fig. 208) some rounded natural stones have been found which may have been used for hammering in nails and wedges, splitting bones for extracting the marrow and similar kind of work. There are distinct marks of use on them. As far as we can see they have been held in the hand without a haft.

Fig. 215 shows a very beautifully formed stone of such a symmetrical shape that one would almost think it had been artificially formed. It was found at Depot Island between Ammassalik and Nualik on digging out an old house. The stone is dark brown and very hard, a greenstone diabase (determined by Dr. K. I. V. Steenstrup) with one almost flat and another more curved side; it has no traces of having been inserted in a haft, only distinct marks of cutting are visible. The same is the case with fig. 216*b*, which is somewhat

¹) Solberg (1907) pp. 35 and 42—43; Pl. 2, figs. 1—10; cf. p. 36, figs. 9—11.

flatter and of a less regular shape. Fig. 216 *a* approaches the cylindric form, and it is thicker at the base than at the top. The basal plane is rough owing to splintering. At the top there is a narrow transverse hole, which has induced the finder to consider the stone a sinker used in fishing. Fig. 217 shows a large stone of oblong form



Fig. 215. Stone hammer. Front and lateral view. Depot Isl. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

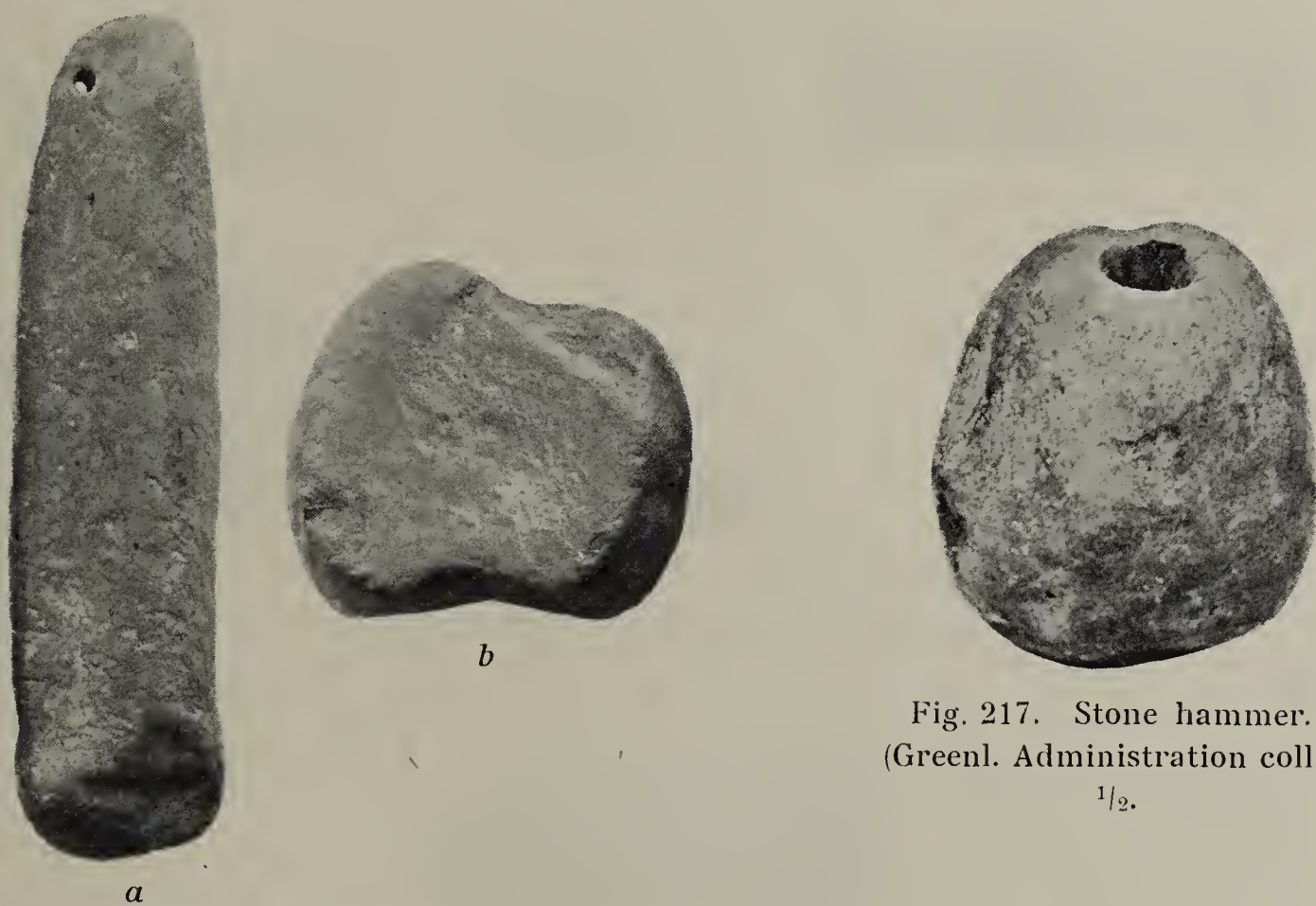


Fig. 216. Stone hammers. (Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

Fig. 217. Stone hammer.
(Greenl. Administration coll.).
 $\frac{1}{2}$.

like a melon. It has a hole through the median axis, possibly because it may have been used as the driving-stone of a buzz (of the same kind as in figs. 379—380).

A hammer-stone of exactly the same type as fig. 215, from Southampton Island in Hudson Bay, has previously been figured by Boas¹). Also from Alaska similar hammer-stones are known, both hafted and unhafted and especially used as crushers to obtain the marrow of large bones.

¹) Boas (1901—1907) p. 379, fig. 173. Murdoch (1892) pp. 93, 182. Nelson (1899) p. 75.

WHETSTONES of black or reddish brown slate (rarely jasper) are very common. They are always nearly of the same type i. e. a flat longish stone, in transverse section either triangular (figs. 219*d, e, f*, and 220), square (figs. 218*c*, 219*a, b, c*) or quite flat (fig. 218*b* with a hole



Fig. 218. Whetting stones. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

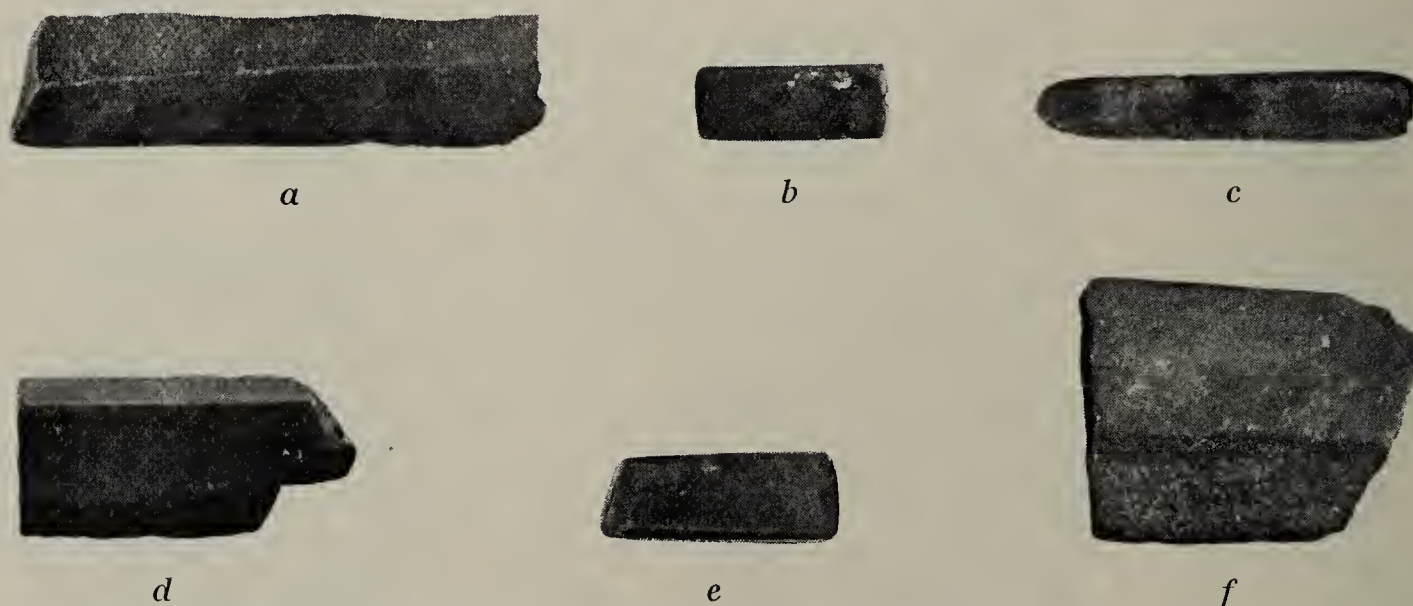


Fig. 219. Whetting stones. (Greenl Administration coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.



Fig. 220. Whetting stone. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

in which a skin-strap with a bone-peg as handle is fastened). Fig. 218*c*, brought home by Holm in 1885, is a more magnificent object, the stone being inserted in a wooden haft carved like a dog(?). The two drill-like implements in fig. 190 are (according to Johan Petersen) whetting irons for women's knives whereas men's knives are always sharpened on whetstones.

The whetstones I have seen figured from Alaska are longer and more slender than those from Greenland, and are all provided with a hole for a strap. They are made of jade or jasper¹).

WOMEN'S WORK AND TOOLS.

THE WOMEN'S DUTIES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE HOUSE (p. 60). — It devolves on the hunter's wife, if she has children and if not, on his mother, sister or other female relative, to divide up the meat of the seals or bears he kills. The distribution is made according to certain rules which need not be dealt with here. In winter the animals are skinned and cut up on the floor of the house. The blood is poured into a trough and often given to the dogs; the head and the heart belong to the hunter and his wife. It is always the women's duty to strip the skin from the small seals brought home by the hunter. The larger animals such as bears, walrus and narwhals are at Ammassalik skinned and cut up by the men and the meat is afterwards given over to the women for cooking and distribution. It is only after the hunter's wife has borne him a child, that their religion permits her to undertake the duties of cutting up the seals he kills and distributing the meat.

Except bear skins, the dressing of which in part is performed by the man, all the other skins are prepared by the women. Upon the women rests the complicated and difficult work of carrying the densely haired and fatty skins through all stages of scraping and tanning till they are sufficiently prepared to be used for clothes, boot soles, boat- and tent-covers, dogs' harness, whips, harpoon lines, bags, sheaths and finer needlework.

The daily life in the house requires considerable work in which the wife of the hunter is assisted by her fellow-wife, her husband's unmarried sister and other female relatives. Besides the work already mentioned the women are kept busy nursing the children, looking after the burning lamps and the cooking, drying wet clothes, rubbing and drying the men's and their own boots. When the man wants a new cover for his kaiak or umiak it is his women who sew it from the prepared seal skins and help him to tighten it round the frame of the boat. The women assist in the housebuilding in autumn and the tent-raising in spring; they row the women's boats and take part in the caplin scooping in summer in Qingaaqfjord. Here they raise the tents, while the detailed work of drying and

¹) Murdoch (1892) pp. 183—184, figs. 162—163.

preparing these small fishes for winter food is carried on and during this time the naked rocks near the shore are covered with thousands of fishes spread out to be dried. This being done the women sit down among the piles of fish, make a hole through each fish and string them together in long broad bands. Lastly, these are packed up into large rolls and carried home by boat to the winter settlement (see fig. 222).

In the autumn (in September) the women have to do a kind of harvesting work; together with the children they go up the grassy slopes or into the valleys to gather black crowberries (*pukukkät*) and edible herbs, especially a species of stone-crop (*tortewruat*) and angelica (*quaralik*) which are eaten raw or frozen in blubber for the winter. The first-named has a cabbage-like taste, the last is very aromatic. Also the roots can be eaten; those of the angelica contain a strong juice, which burns the tongue, before the importation of tobacco the only stimulus known. To get these herbs the women are often obliged to make day-long excursions by boat into the corners of the fjord where the slopes and valleys with a rich vegetation are found. On the way they also gather mussels at the places where these are known to occur. But the last resource during hard winter times are all the different kinds of sea-weed.

ON THE PREPARATION OF THE SKINS AND THEIR USE (cf. p. 34). — At Ammassalik seal skins are scraped and tanned in the following way: first the woman with her knife (*cakke*) cuts away the blubber from the skin which is placed on the scraping foot-stool (*qapiarpik*), a flat narrow board of wood with two short feet under the front part. With the same knife she then removes the thin layer of blubber, the so-called *mame*, lying like a slimy membrane innermost on the seal-skin; (the *mame* is eaten as a special dish). The skin is then washed and rubbed with water. This being done she scrapes the skin for the last time with a special kind of scraper (*kileet*) which is either a piece of bear's bone or more often a mussel (*kileetaq*); also pumice-stone may be used for this purpose (cf. p. 21). During the last scraping process the skin is generally placed on a quite flat cutting-board (*qeerpik*, fig. 226). Thus cleaned the skin is stretched with pegs on the earth or snow for drying (cf. fig. 86). Lastly it is put down into one of the large vessels filled with urine standing near the window platform and when all the fat has come out it is washed in sea-water, wrung and rubbed with the hands to make it soft and dried for the second time. It seems in the main to be dependent upon how long the skin remains in the urine whether in the end it becomes a black skin (*mattaa*q,



Fig. 221. Bear's skin stretched in a frame for drying. The frame leans against a protruding part of a rock. (W. Thalbitzer phot.)



Fig. 222. Woman about to sew dried caplins together in bands. A pile of rolled-up bands to the right. Back of a tent to the left. View from one of the tent-places at Qingaaq. (W. Thalbitzer phot.)

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erq^waliarter) or a white one (*unneq*). Both kinds are hairless, having been scraped on both sides, but in the first the grain has not been removed whereas in the latter it has been loosened by the urine¹). The hair of the skin is evidently removed in two different ways, to judge from the different names given me for the scraped skins, namely *mat^wtassimalin* 'skins stripped of the hair by means of a knife' and *mikatcimalin* 'skins the hairs of which have been removed by means of the teeth.' In order to make the white skin — which is preferred e. g. as boat-skin — water-tight, the men give the boats a coating of a kind of glaze made from boiled seal or narwhal blubber which has been kept throughout the winter in a skin bag till it has become thick and tough (*utisaalisaa*, oxidized blubber). If the boat is covered with black skin it must be given a careful coating with this liquid in order to tighten the seams.

The dressing of seal skins among the Central Eskimo (Iglulik) mainly agrees with that described above from East Greenland. The women first cleanse the skin with the *ooloo* (i. e. *ulu* or *ulo*), then they rub it with a blunt scraper called *siákkut* (probably the same as West Greenland *sakko*, East Gr. *cakki(n)?*), whereafter it is put into the urine vessel and left to steep a couple of days²). — Also from Alaska the tanning of the seal skins in urine is mentioned³).

In the preparation of bear skins the man takes part in the work. When the bear has been flayed, the skin is taken into the house where his wife places it on the scraping-stool and carefully removes the blubber with her knife. Afterwards the man carries it down to the beach or to a fissure in the ice, where it is washed out in salt water and rubbed in snow in order to completely get rid of the blood and the blubber. It is then hung over a bar, with the hairy side outwards, until dry, and in the following days the man repeats this proceeding. Lastly it is stretched on a frame of bars (tent-poles, paddles, oars etc.) specially made for the purpose, the wife fastening it with straps along the edge. The frame is placed against a rocky wall or boulder and here the skin hangs obliquely with the hairy side outwards for a week or two until the frost, wind and the sun have exercised their influence (fig. 221)⁴). Now-a-days all the bear skins are sold to the store of the Administration near Tåseesaaq, where the manager of the colony lives. There is a

¹) Similar descriptions of skin dressing in West Greenland are found in Glahn (1771) p. 252—254 (cf. 231); Saabye (1816) p. 114.

²) Parry (1824) p. 538.

³) Mason (1888—1889) p. 565. Hatt (1911) p. 148.

⁴) From Baffin Land is mentioned exactly the same method of stretching and drying seal and bear skins by tying them with straps to large frames (Boas, 1888, p. 523; Mason, *Aboriginal skin dressing* 1891, p. 565) as also from Alaska (Nelson, see *Handbook Amer. Indians* 1910, pp. 591—594).

great difference in the care taken by the natives in the preparation of their bear skins, the most beautiful are now obtained from the Sermilikfjord. About the year 1905 Singataaq and his son provided the best cleaned bear skins there. They belonged to one of the pagan orthodox families renowned for their economy and reliability.

Besides the white and black leather skins the Ammassalikers in former times sometimes made their skins red by means of a certain dye (used especially for the hair bands of the women). The colouring was made as follows. The skin to be dyed was shaped like a bag and filled with pieces of a reddish bark (*kileep panertiwa*). The bag was now chewed between the teeth until the bark in it had been crushed. It was then placed in the urine vat and after a few days the skin had become beautifully coloured.

The most common sorts of prepared seal skins are bearded seal (*anneq* "the largest"), crested seal (*neeniarteq* "the devourer"), Greenland seal (*naliinnaq*), ringed seal (*sakkaq* "the thin-haired") and harbour seal (*qittiliaq*). All of these names of seals were originally introduced as taboo-names special to the Ammassalik district, but have passed over into the common language and supplanted the original and common Eskimo names. Further, the young cubs of these seals (one or two years old), which also have their own special names — *nätsiaq* the cub of the ringed seal, *ilimeewa* its unborn young (embryo) — furnished valuable skins. The tanned skin of the bearded seal is used for kaiaks, umiaks, soles, harness and sewing rings, that of the crested seal for kaiaks and umiaks, as tent skin (the outer called *qatarqan*, the inner *itsän*) and as hangings in the hut, that of the Greenland seal for kaiaks, umiaks, hangings and pallets, the skin of the ringed seal for men's and women's trousers and with the hair turned outwards for men's kamiks (antiquated mode). The skin of the polar bear is used for men's trousers, the skin of dogs for stockings. The pattern on women's frocks and on knife sheaths is made by sewing together strips of skin of the ringed seal (spotted), the Greenland seal (black) and dog (white). Cf. p. 121.

The intestines (p. 31) of seals are prepared and made up as window-panes (*iyalaameeq*), gut-skin coats for the men, balls for the children etc. The intestines of the dog are cut into strips on the cutting-board and used as sewing thread.

Narwhal and bear sinews are separated out by means of the nails or teeth (or with a needle) and to make them pliable they are moistened in the mouth and afterwards rubbed against the cheek. The thread is now made of the sinews either by twisting together two or three fibres (*qi^wssät*), and this kind is mostly used for clothes, or by plaiting the twisted threads into stronger lines

(*pertaain*); the thinnest of these are used for sewing boot soles, the thickest for sewing the skins on *kaiaks* and *umiaks*.

Technical names (besides the ones already mentioned): *pikititcaq* or *uleewia* skin (West Greenland *ameq* skin, *amia* its skin); *aamaqaaq* blubber (West Gr. *orssoq*); *qapiartiyo* scraping it; *mat^wtättiyo* scraping it (on both sides); *mikättiyo* pulling the hairs out of it with the teeth; *paatertiyo* stretching it; *toolin* pegs for the fastening of the stretched skin; *uluttiyo* wringing it; *qitilisartiyo* softening it; *salittiyo* scraping or cutting the hair off (with a knife); *ilicertiyo* scratching pattern in it, cutting it out; *mersertiyo* sewing it; *innertiyo* stretching the (bear's) skin in a frame for drying; *inérpia* the frame; *uppalisaa* the bottom bar of the frame; *sanárqisaak* the two vertical side bars of the frame; *ertilisaak* the two sloping bars of the frame (along the head and shoulders of the skin); *inneetaai* the strings which stretch the skin in the frame.

WOMEN'S KNIVES (*cakkin*, p. 35). — The types now in use show great differences both in regard to hafts and blades. Firstly, the haft may either be made all in one piece of bone, low and broad (figs. 225 and 229) or high and narrow with a head-shaped dilatation above (fig. 228) or instead a transverse handle (figs. 223*a* and *b*) or, what is characteristic and commonest at Ammassalik, it may consist of three pieces, namely a hilt or head-haft of wood (*kimätteetaa*) with two arms of bone (*neeluän* 'its legs'); in the latter case the blade itself (*pilätteetumeeq*) is fastened into slits in the arms (figs. 225*a—f*, 227*a*). Secondly, the hafted blades, which are either of stone or iron (seldom bone), may be shovel-formed, i. e. concavo-convex like that in fig. 229 (rare in Greenland) or quite flat with straight surfaces. Thirdly, the scraping-edge may be either straight (figs. 223*c—d*, 229) or curved (crescent-shaped). It is highly probable, that these characteristics indicate original differences in the various sorts of scrapers.

From West Greenland O. Solberg has mentioned various kinds of stone-scrapers, assigned to different purposes. Examples from East Greenland of stone-blades inserted into bone (ivory) or wooden hafts are seen in figs. 223*a* and *b*; a bone-blade is seen in fig. 229, and iron-blades in the other specimens. The two knives in figs. 223*g* and 227*b* have quite modern shapes, the iron blade being actually of European manufacture. Amdrup found several knives of this kind with European blades at Nualik (the "dead house"); within the last 100 years they have obtained a wide distribution, not only in Greenland but also in northernmost Canada¹). A very beautiful and characteristic specimen of a two-armed ulo with inserted stone-blade was found in the north by Amdrup in a grave on the Skærgaard Peninsula²).

¹) Parry (1824) p. 504 (cf. fig. 27); Boas (1888) p. 518, fig. 461.

²) Amdrup (1909) p. 312. Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 378—379, fig. 13; and pp. 401—405, fig. 21.

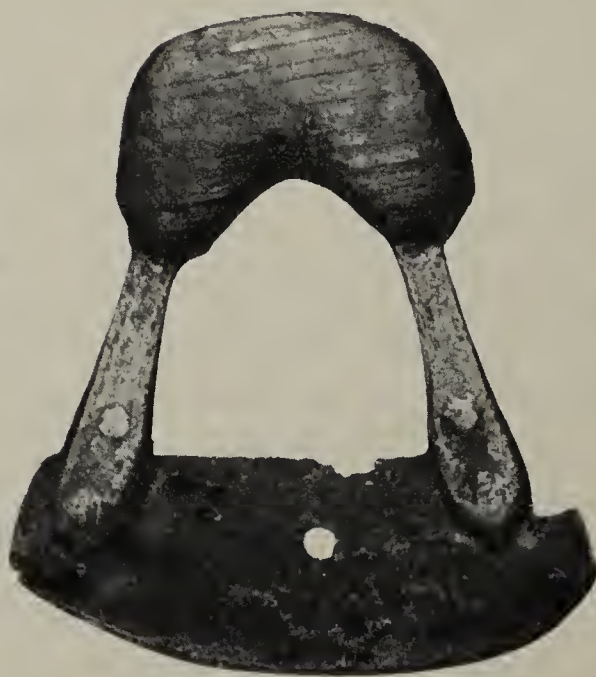
*a**b**c**d**e**f**g*

Fig. 223. Women's knives. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

Furthermore, he found at Dunholm a wooden haft of a similar type as the bone-haft in fig. 228¹⁾. The Dunholm haft represents in reality one of the main forms of the Eskimo scrapers, which is found as far west as Alaska, the haft being either of wood or ivory²⁾.

The majority (but not all) of the types are known from Greenland. Near Smith Sound in the north-western corner we still find the shovel-formed blade in a high, downwards broadening haft of wood with two congruent grooves for the fingers³⁾, this type being probably the prototype of the European-influenced *kamiut*-stick, which is used further south in the Danish districts for softening the kamik-skin, whereas the prototype itself is no longer known here.

Fig. 223*a* from Ammassalik has a head-haft (upper end of handle) made of wood, with two sockets on the under side for insertion of the two bone-



Fig. 224. Woman's knife.
(Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

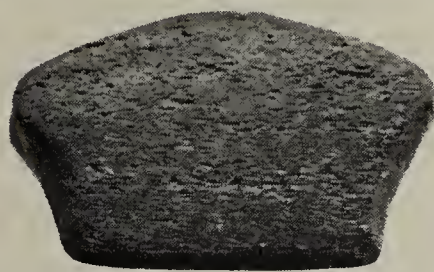


Fig. 225. Bone haft of a woman's scraper.
(Petersen coll.). $\frac{3}{4}$.



Fig. 226. Scraping board. (Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

arms and with a blade of slate; the edge is beautifully polished on both sides. *b* has a haft of wood all in one piece and is a transitional form between the low, broad and the more slender two-armed haft. The stone blade, which is inserted in a longitudinal groove in the edge of the haft, has a broken scraping edge, perhaps caused by use. *c* has a head end and arms of bone or ivory ornamented with black dots; the edge of the blade is almost quite straight. *d* has a very beautifully cut head-haft, on the one side of which a bead has been embedded in a pit (p. 35); the arms are of bone, the blade of iron. *e* is of wood, bone and iron, *f* is of the same materials. *g* has a haft consisting of a bear's tooth; the shank of the blade is inserted

¹⁾ Figured and mentioned in my description (1909) pp. 459—461; fig. 49.

²⁾ Boas (1907) p. 432, fig. 233. Mason (1889) Pl. LXXXIII, fig. 1. Hoffmann (1897) Pl. 35, fig. 8.

³⁾ Kroeber (1899) p. 287.

in a transverse hole in the tooth. The blade has originally been semi-circular or even convex but by chipping off the upper edges along the shank and the blade itself the present shape has been obtained. The chipped iron has undoubtedly been used for sewing needles (cf. p 485). The knife from Nualik of fig. 227 *b* has evidently undergone the same chipping, though the result has been different with regard to shape.

Fig. 224 has an iron-blade, the obliquely curved shape of the edges being probably due to wear. Fig. 225 is a beautiful specimen of the low, flat type, a bone-haft with a long groove on the under side, into which a blade (of stone or bone? cf. fig. 229) must have been inserted. North of the

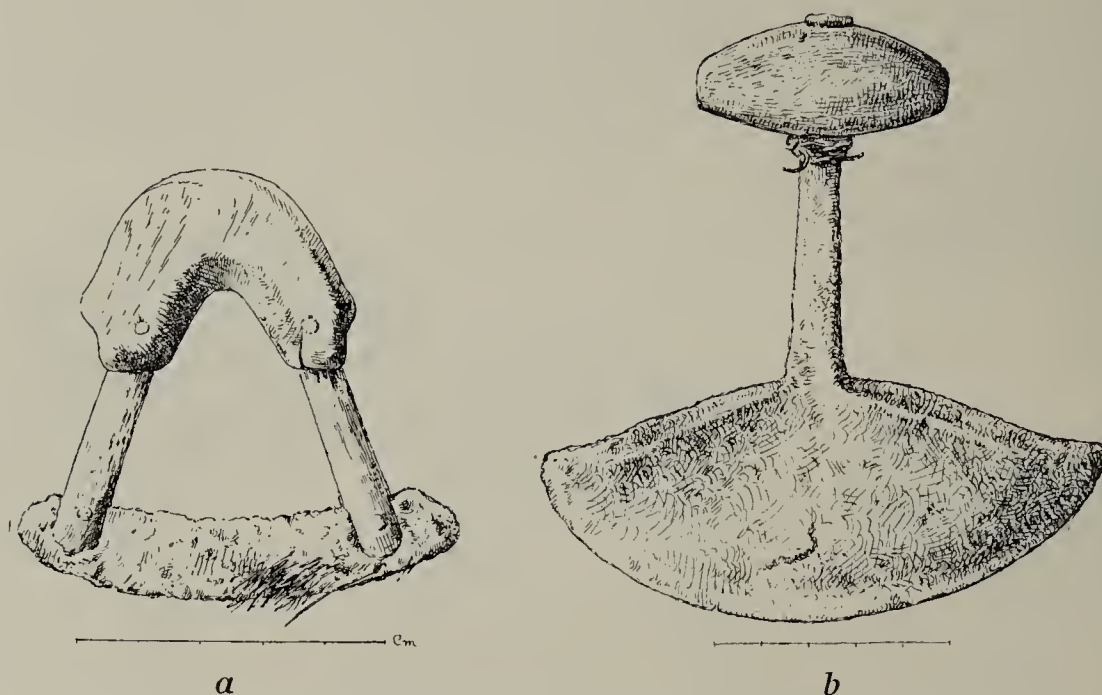


Fig. 227. Two women's knives from Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

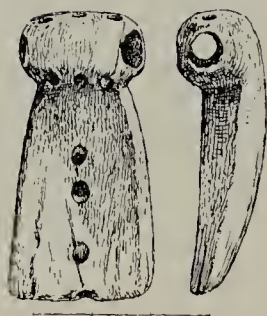


Fig. 228. Haft of ivory from Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

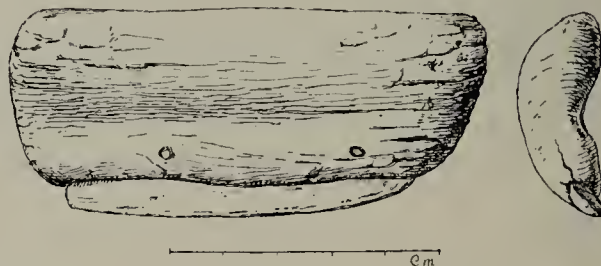


Fig. 229. Scraper of wood and bone from Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

Ammassalik district, at a place not exactly given, Amdrup found quite a similar haft (Amdrup coll. 134). Fig. 227 *a* and *b* from Nualik have distinct marks of use on them; on *a*, for example, are some hairs (of seal-skin?) still sticking in the rust or clotted blood. The same is the case with several of the women's knives Amdrup found near the same place. They all have iron blades, several of which are of European make like *b*. Nevertheless, this type very much resembles some of the ulos of stone (slate) found very far north on the east coast¹). It is a question whether the shape of the iron has been copied from the stone or the reverse. The latter is hardly probable. Fig. 228 is a defective haft of beautifully polished ivory with a number

¹) Solberg (1907) figs. 46—49, pp. 52—55. Stolpe (1906) Pl. 3, fig. 10. Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 460—461.

of perforations, as seen in the figure, probably for the attachment of a blade of another material. It is only mere conjecture when I refer it to the ulo hafts, where it mostly resembles the type *b* of fig. 227 and Amdrup's specimen from Dunholm; it has something of the same curved shape as the following specimen. Fig. 229 is a concavo-convex haft of wood with a sharp-edged bone-blade fastened by two wooden nails in a groove of the narrow basal end; the blade itself has the same concave shape as the haft and resembles the characteristic stone-scrapers mentioned on p. 497 (cf. p. 507). It is a scraper type of extreme interest. Note the straight edge of the blade, in contrast to the curved edges of the others.

At Ammassalik I obtained the names of two sorts of women's knives; the one with a simple haft and crescent-shaped blade was called *cakké* (or *sakké*) and corresponds to the West Greenland *ulo*, a name that is not used at Ammassalik but is the common Eskimo name for this implement as far as south-western Alaska¹). *cakke* is the same word as *sakko* in West Greenland (see pp. 433 and 505) but the meaning is different. The latter word undoubtedly is related to Parry's *seāk-koot* [*ciákkut*] from Iglulik²). The two-armed 'knife' with slightly curved or quite straight cutting edge was called *pilätteetumeer* at Ammassalik, which means a blade stuck in the haft of a *pilätteen* 'saw or instrument used for cutting up (body or skin) by repeated cuts.' This also proves, that the two types are fundamentally different although some of the characteristics may have been mixed in the present forms; the first may probably be traced back to the convex-edged stone-knife mentioned on p. 497 (fig. 205c) the last to a scraper (of bone or stone)³) with an approximately straight edge. In his often mentioned paper Solberg has started investigations on this point, but the question is not yet quite cleared up. Possibly the same forms of implements have not had the same names at the different places and have become mixed, e. g. in East Greenland. The two-armed haft-type has not been found outside Greenland; it is characteristic of the Greenland woman's knife. On the other hand, we find in the west one or two types unknown in Greenland⁴).

SCRAPING BOARD (*qeerpik*, fig. 226, cf. p. 504). The figure shows a very beautiful specimen which was found in a grave near Täsee-saarsik. It has the shape of a whale(?). Note the ornamental lines on the tail. Traces of wear on the upper side.

¹) Barnum (1901) p. 316.

²) Parry (1824) p. 566, cf. 538; "rubbing the skin hard for several hours with a blunt scraper, called *siākoot*, so as nearly to dry it."

³) A scraper of bone with straight edge has been figured by Holm (1888) Pl. XIX, fig. c.

⁴) See e. g. Nelson (1899) Pl. XLVII and XLIX, figs. 1—20. Murdoch (1292) pp. 294—298, figs. 289—299.



Fig. 230.
Bodkin or boot skin
creaser.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

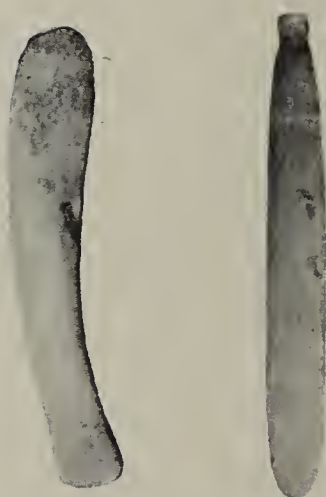


Fig. 231.
Boot skin creasers.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

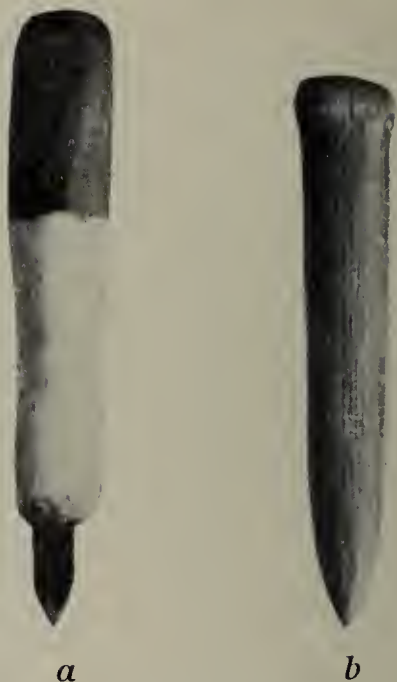


Fig. 232.
Awls for boring of
needles' eyes.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{4}{9}$.



Fig. 233.
Iron needles for sewing
skin. (Holm coll.). $\frac{2}{3}$.



Fig. 235. Awls for boring of needles' eyes.
Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

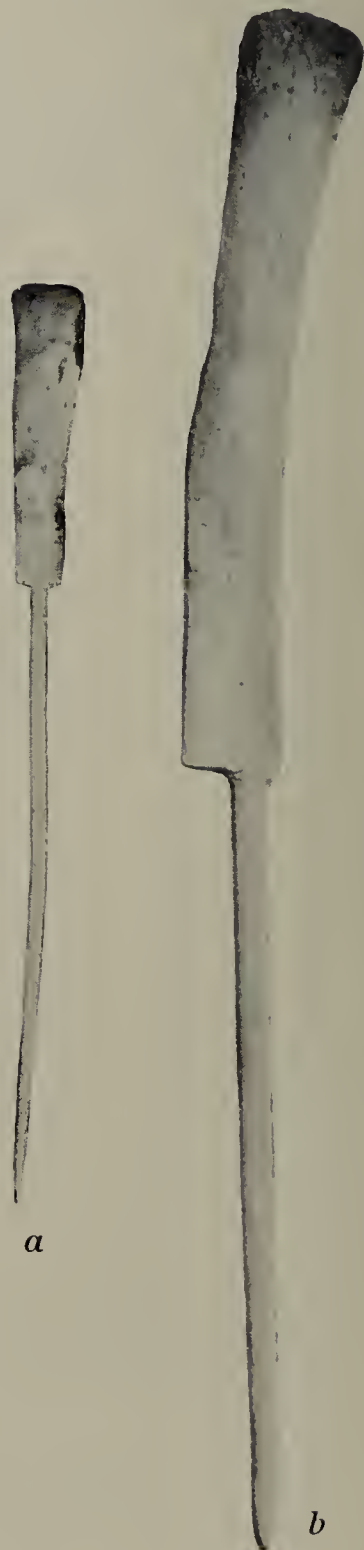


Fig. 234. Bone needles for
stringing caplins. (*a* Holm
coll., *b* Amdrup coll.).
a $\frac{4}{3}$, *b* $\frac{1}{2}$.

NEEDLES, BODKINS AND AWLS (cf. p. 35). Regarding the ways in which the natives made sewing needles of iron or brass before the arrival of the Europeans, I may refer to p. 34 of this volume. Fig. 233 shows two types of needles; the first type *a—b* (*mertceen*, plur. *mertceel^{win}*) is square in cross section, tapering and rounding towards the point; the other *c—d* (*mertcel^waatukajik*) is flatter and lancet-shaped. Both kinds are provided with an eye for the thread.

The eye (*itia*) was made by means of a needle-borer of the type seen in fig. 232*b*, the iron point of which is almost completely hidden in the socket, attaching it into the one end of the wooden haft. *a* is a larger hand-drill of a different type; the haft is partly of wood partly of bone and the iron point is square in transverse section. It was sometimes used for boring out needle-eyes but also for making holes in harpoon heads for the lines. In so far we may say that this is a man's implement, which the woman borrowed when she wanted it for boring out the larger needle-eyes. On the other hand, the other needle-borers, figs. 232*b*, 235*a—c*, are undoubtedly true women's implements, for the women made their needles and their sewing rings themselves (fig. 252). *a*, *b* and *c*, which have wooden hafts, were all found by Amdrup at the "dead house." The iron points are very worn.

The iron of which the needles were made may be an ordinary piece of hoop-iron. Amdrup found such a piece in the "dead house," loosely inserted in a groove of a bone which was used as a purchase when the chips, the future needles, were cut from the iron (fig. 238, cf. p. 485).

AMMASSÄT-NEEDLES (*kaportaat*, *kaportaalín*, pp. 54, 467—468, 504) are seen in fig. 234; *a* is from Ammassalik, *b* from Nualik. They are made of a whole piece of bone and with the long cylindric point shouldered off from the slightly broader handle part¹⁾.

BODKINS are used, for example, in making holes along the upper border of the umiak-cover for the strong skin-straps, by means of which it is tightened round the gunwale of the boat. The word *nuitarpileen* may possibly mean bodkins (or large needles). Fig. 230 shows a bodkin of ivory beautifully ornamented with dots and of



Fig. 236.

Bodkin of ivory. (Petersen coll.). ¹/₂.

¹⁾ The needles from Baffin Land (Cumberland Sound) mentioned by Boas (1901), p. 26 on which the fish are strung after being caught is of a different type, namely lancet-shaped and provided with an eye (l. c. fig. 32); they have nothing to do with the above-mentioned sort of needles.

the usual lancet-shaped type (circular cross section). Fig. 236 (Petersen coll.) is an unusually large and beautifully ornamented bodkin also made of ivory (narwhal). Fig. 237 is a lancet-shaped bodkin of ivory, found at the "dead house." Amdrup found here four bodkins, almost cylindrical at the top, biconvex at the base and with median ridge on the lateral surfaces. The one figured here has at the top a small transverse hole for a hanging strap.

BONE-NEEDLES FOR SEWING with eyes in the head and pointed ends were common everywhere among the Eskimo before they came into contact with the Europeans. I have previously determined a needle found by Amdrup far north near Cape Borlase Warren as a sewing needle made of ivory, and referred to similar needles known from Alaska¹). As mentioned by Murdoch, Cranz speaks of bone needles being used in former times by the Greenlanders, Kumlien by the people from Baffin Land, Parry by the Iglulikers. Murdoch and Nelson have several figures of bone-needles from Alaska²). I have now ascertained that Ellis mentions similar needles from Resolution Island in Hudson Straits. He relates that the people generally have very neatly sewn clothes which they make with an ivory needle using reindeer-sinews as thread³). Boas also has a figure showing primitive needle-cases containing bone-needles. In the West Greenland tale about "the Girl who fled to the Inland Dwellers," her flight was actually caused by her breaking her elder sister's needle, which was "made of reindeer-horn and very valuable."⁴)

Various types of NEEDLE-CASES of bone (ivory) have been found in all the Eskimo districts but up to the present time not near Ammassalik. Further north on the east coast Amdrup found two characteristic needle-cases of the Greenland type, which may be traced across Ponds Bay to the region near Southampton Island in Hudson Bay⁵). As previously pointed out by me⁶), this implement has a wide distribution from the Lapps in northern Scandinavia to the Amur district of Siberia; we may therefore conclude, that it has come to the Eskimo from the west by the Bering Straits. — The bone-toggles fastening the skin-strap that goes through the tube of the case have also been found far north on the east coast, being of the same kaiak-shape as known from Baffin Land, i. e. broadest in the middle where the hole for the strap is found and tapering towards both ends. Further west the shapes are different⁷).

Bodkins, needles, wound-plugs, marlinspikes, boot-sole creasers and marrow extractors all made of bone or ivory, are formally related implements, though there is a sharp distinction in their different

¹) Thalbitzer (1909) p. 492.

²) Murdoch (1892) pp. 318—321, figs. 325—326 and 328; Nelson (1899) p. 106, Pl. XLVIII b.

³) Ellis (1750) p. 143.

⁴) Rink (1866) p. 149.

⁵) Boas (1908) pp. 326—327; (1888) p. 523; (1901—1907) p. 94, fig. 136 and pp. 432—434, fig. 234. Nelson (1899) pp. 103—103, Pl. XLIV.

⁶) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 420—424, figs. 35 and 56; (1911) pp. 38—42.

⁷) Koldewey (1874) p. 605, fig. 19 b. Cf. Boas (1901) p. 94, fig. 136, and (1888) p. 523, fig. 472. The material of the Gjøa Expedition in Christiania (c. g. inv. nos. 15701—15703).

functions¹). In fact their shapes may sometimes resemble each other so much that it is difficult to classify them. I do not think, however, that they are ever used in place of each other. The bodkin type is undoubtedly the most varying; some of the specimens found consist of nothing but a flat bone pointed at the lower end, while others show a highly developed art of carving, being ornamented with ring grooves on the upper cylindrical part and not seldom provided with a short link of rings or of inter-linked beads at the top, all cut out of the same piece of ivory as the bodkin itself. The most primitive as well as the most beautifully ornamented are known from Greenland and Alaska²). The bodkins are generally cylindrical in cross section, but lancet-shaped near the working end; the bone needles are flat with rounded edges except at the point; the wound-plugs are lancet-shaped and provided with a head-like extension at the upper end; the boot-sole creasers have a basal edge which is crescent-shaped or almost square.

BOOT-SOLE CREASERS (*teeseet* or *oottersit*, p. 35). — Fig. 231 *a* shows a typical skin creaser of bone. The upper end is nearly cylindric, flattening downwards to a narrow blade with a straight and fairly blunt basal edge; the whole form somewhat crooked. By means of the edge were made the folds on the old-fashioned boots especially on the part of the sole which is turned up over the toes. *b* represents an implement of this kind, though more flattened³). — The common Eskimo type of this implement, resembling a boot or leg with the



Fig. 237. Bodkin of ivory. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

¹) Marlinspikes (used for example for the chipping along the back of bows) and marrow extractors are known from more western regions c. g. Baffin Land (Boas, 1901—07, p. 101, fig. 148) and Alaska (Nelson, 1899, p. 103). They have till now not been discovered in southern Greenland but Ryder found a marlinspike in Scoresby Sound (l. c. 1895, p. 311, fig. 11 *b*) and also a specimen of the S-shaped type of twister for working the sinew backing of bows well-known from other parts of Greenland, though not found as yet at Ammassalik. From the western regions of America these implements are of essentially the same type (Mason, 1893, Pl. LXXIV—LXXV. Murdoch 1892, p. 203, fig. 286. Stolpe 1906, Pl. IV, fig. 13. Ryder l. c., fig. 11 *a*).

²) In Pfaff's collection from West Greenland in Stockholm Riksmuseum I have seen all these types, cf. from East Greenland Ryder (1895) p. 334, fig. 32, from Alaska, Nelson (1899) Pl. XLVI. In Amdrup's collection from northern East Greenland there are several very beautifully cut specimens, cf. my description (1909) pp. 390—401 (figs. 18—20); 420 (figs. 31 *a*, *b*), 461 (fig. 52).

³) A boot-sole creaser of the same shape from Alaska has been figured by Nelson (1899) Pl. XLIV, fig. 47.

foot turned downwards (represented in Pfaff's collection from West Greenland both in bone and stone) has not been found in East Greenland.

The *kammiut*-stick (from the verb *kammiorpaa* 'to work the boot-skin with a scraper to make it soft') is mostly known from West Greenland; it consists of a wooden stick with a straight scraping edge of bone or metal and is used for the daily softening of the skin in foot and sole when the wet boot has been dried. I do not remember having seen this implement in East Greenland; but on the other hand Johan Petersen told me later that the East Greenlanders call this implement *teeseet*, so I conclude that it is also known there. This name possibly corresponds to *tigussaut* in West Greenland (cf. p. 500). The long slender form known from West Greenland I consider as a variety, caused by European influence, of the originally shorter scraper either made of bone all in one piece or of stone inserted in a bone haft; the working edge of the implement was of nearly the same form (p. 509)¹.

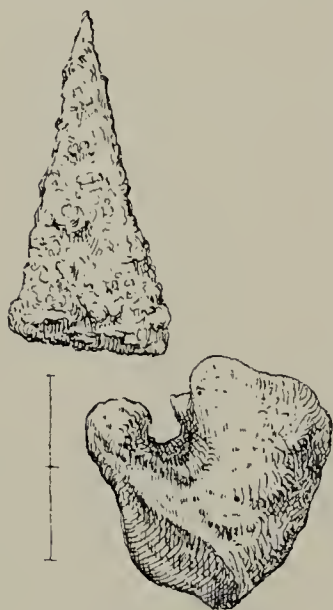


Fig. 238.

Piece of hoop iron to be used as material for needles, and bone piece to be used as holder.

Nualik.

(Amdrup coll.).

TWISTING AND PLAITING IMPLEMENTS (pp. 35, 506). — Though I have hardly any information regarding the use of these implements, I shall venture to express my opinion thereon. *Manee-kuttaq* was the name of a hunter at Ammassalik with whom I looked over the ethnographic figures on the plates in Holm's book on his countrymen, in order to get his names for the objects. It is mainly these names, supplemented and confirmed by several other natives from the same place, which are given for the different objects in this description. When we came to the two oblong boards with regularly made holes and incisions in the edge as seen in fig. 241, the hunter gave a special name to each of them²). The one to the left he called a *qiwttarpia per-taawin*, the twister used by sinew-plaiters, the other to the right was on the other hand an *atcinaatät panerseetaa*, a drying implement for the skin straps. The cause of his determination is not uninteresting, as it seems that he considered it a necessary charact-

¹) Cf. the types of this implement known from Smith Sound and Baffin Land. Boas (1888) pp. 519—523, figs. 465—468, (1901) pp. 91—92, figs. 132—134. Kroeber (1899) p. 287, fig. 29. Steensby (1910) pp. 336—337.

²) In Holm's work (1888) Pl. XIX the two pieces are placed separately on each side of the plate without being connected with the bone-fork at the base.

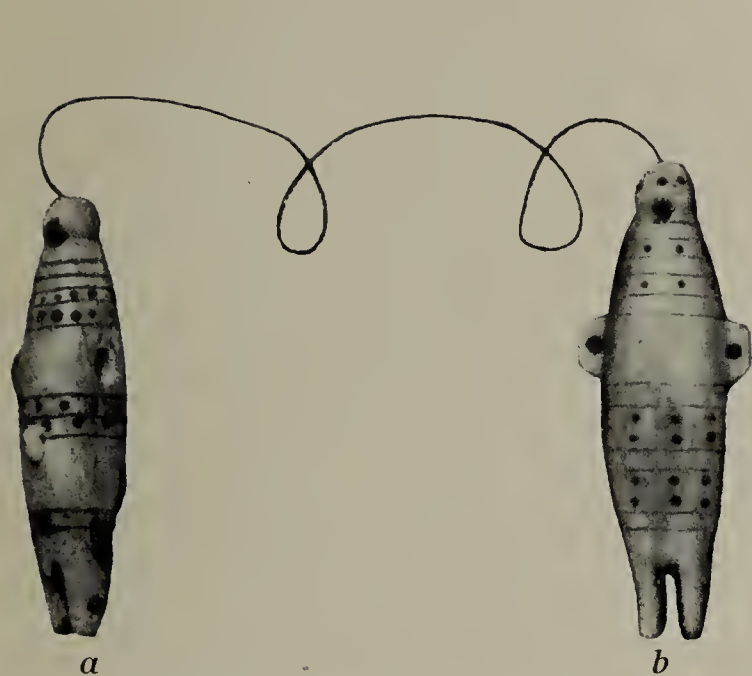


Fig. 239. Two sinew twisters.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

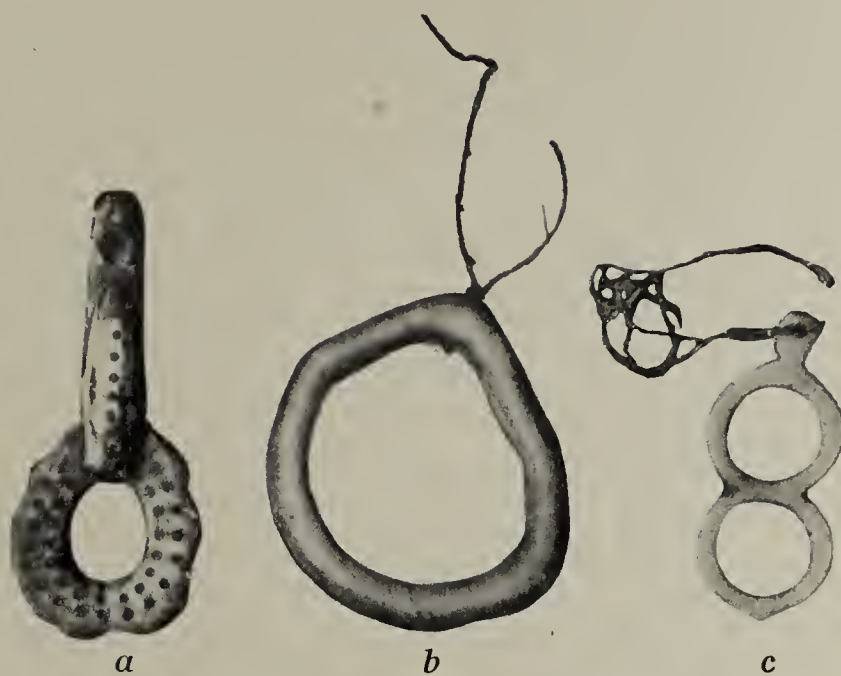


Fig. 240. Bone rings for the twisting
of sinew threads. (Holm coll.).
 $a, b \frac{2}{3}, c \frac{1}{2}$.



Fig. 241.
Two wooden boards
with holes for the
twisting of sinew
threads, and an ap-
pended thimble
guard.



Fig. 242. $a-b$ Toggle hooks c Ornamented
hook for sinew threads. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$

eristic of a twisting and plaiting implement to have small holes arranged two by two. I think that it has probably been the custom to wind the material (frayed sinew-thread or whale-bone) round the board and use the two nearest holes for drawing through the fibres to be twisted. As the material was gradually used up and more holes became uncovered, it was possible to fasten the twisted thread in the single holes that alternate with the double ones, or to begin twisting another thread through a new pair of holes nearest to the material wrapped round the board. The other board has been used for winding up the finished thread, thus as a kind of reel (but unlike the typical reels known from Alaska)¹; the side notches as well as the holes have been excellently suited for this purpose and the implement has possibly also been employed as a reel for thicker skin thongs, so that it has been of similar use to the drying frame of fig. 259. It must be observed regarding these two boards, that no similar objects occur in the other collections, they are unique; but on the other hand my informant did not hesitate in his determination, so that he must have recognized them from previous experience. The thought has struck me whether there might possibly be a connection between the shape of these implements and the implement from southern West Greenland, seen in fig. 392.

Fig. 239 is a characteristic twisting implement (*pertaawin*) cut from ivory in the shape of a seal; it is very common at Ammassalik but unknown from any other Eskimo regions. The same kind of implement is seen in fig. 243 and 246 made of bone and ivory. The ornamentation consisting of black dots in regular patterns is very common on such ivory carvings representing animals (cf. fig. 374). The probable use of the implement is best seen from fig. 243, where by means of a short noose it is hung in a large bone-hook, which again is suspended on a line fastened to the ceiling or the drying frame. I imagine that the material is hung on the hook, and from there the fibres are drawn down through the two small eyes or bone-rings on each side of the seal-body and further on through the two small holes of the tail-part (the hind paws); thus placed it would be easy to twist them with the fingers or if the strands are already twisted into thread to plait them into a cord. A third small ring is found under the belly of the seal (see fig. 239*a* and 243, but is missing in the specimen in fig. 246); it is probably meant for inserting the end of the finished cord. Instead of placing the material on the hook, one might use bone-rings of various shapes (figs. 240 and 245), hung in a strap under the ceiling. The implement in fig. 240*a* is a combination of a hook and a ring (the up-

¹) Nelson (1899) p. 111, Pl. XLVIII*b*.

turned barb of the hook with the ornamented front side is seen above the ring).

To spin the thread in the true sense of the word is not known among the Eskimo, probably because the material, the frayed sinews, is in itself sufficiently connected and strong to be twined into thread at once and without any special preparation. Otherwise we should be inclined to consider the implement described here as related to a spindle on account of its function. But it has evidently not been constructed to rotate. On the other hand, we are not quite without proofs that spindle implements have been known in West Eskimo regions. Nelson describes a sinew-cord spinner from St. Lawrence Island in the Bering Straits, consisting of three parts, namely a heavy base to be used as handle, with a central perforation into which a slender rod is inserted. The sinew to be spun is attached to the flattened rod, which by a rapid circular motion of the hand is caused to revolve, giving the desired twisting to the cord. Nelson suggests that this implement, which he does not know elsewhere from Alaska, may have been borrowed by the Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island from foreign whalers¹⁾. I am, on the other hand, inclined to consider this implement as an old relict, because it corresponds exactly to the Scandinavian Laplander's *sländor*, 'spindles,' or primitive spinning-wheels²⁾. The Lapland spindle also consists of a flat, perforated disc, revolving on a rod. This as well as the Eskimo spindle corresponds to the description of the spindle known among the North American Indians, namely a slender rod with a circular block for a fly-wheel³⁾. In Greenland this implement is merely known as a toy for children, being like a kind of buzz, and as I have only seen it from Ammassalik there is reason to believe that this is the only place apart from St. Lawrence Island where the Eskimo have still kept it in mind. A more thorough description of

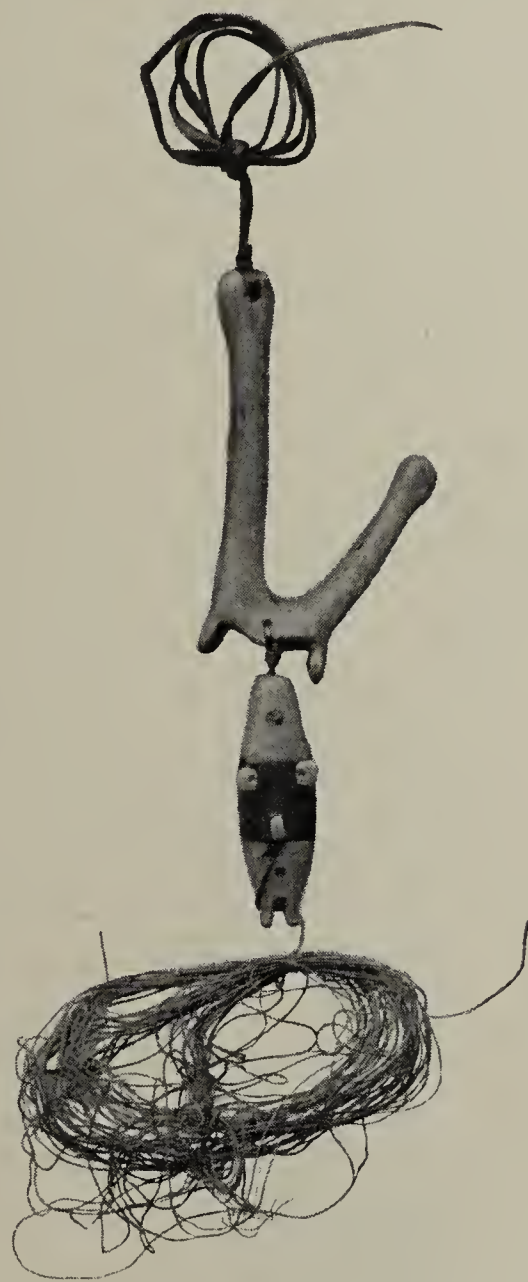


Fig. 243. Apparatus for sinew twisting. (Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

¹⁾ Nelson (1899) pp. 111—113, fig. 31.

²⁾ In "Nordiska Museum" in Stockholm I have seen a great number of these.

³⁾ O. T. Mason in Handbook of American Indians II (1910) p. 928.

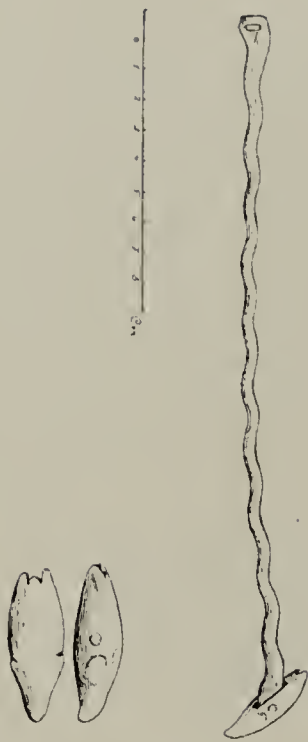


Fig. 244. Sinew guard with a seal-shaped toggle. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

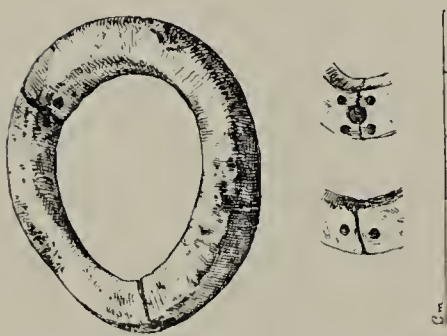


Fig. 245. Bone ring for the twisting of sinew thread. (Amdrup coll.).



Fig. 246. Sinew twister from Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

the specimens discovered will be given under the figures of toys (figs. 379—381).

HANGING HOOKS (p. 35; figs. 242 *c*, 243, 248) are found in all three collections. In the first two illustrations they are beautifully cut with ornamental black dots on the surface, or notches in the edge or base, the third only consists of a roughly cut bone.

This kind of simple and open hook as well as the sticks of bone or ivory with a toggling seal, bird or block-shaped piece of bone in the lower end (figs. 242 *a, b*, 244, 249—251) were used for hanging up sinew thread and skin-straps (rarely sewing-rings)¹).

NEEDLE-SKINS AND THIMBLE-GUARDS (p. 35, figs. 247, 249, 250, 251). Instead of needle-cases of bone with a narrow skin-strap, of the kind known everywhere among the Eskimo (mentioned p. 514), the Ammassalikers only use broad, generally richly ornamented skin-triangles on which the needles are stuck, as seen in some of the figures. The skin-triangle (*mert-ceeluwik*, *kakkiluwik*, *kakkisuwiät*) is hung up for example on the drying frame or on the wall and from its lower edge — as in the skin-strap of the ordinary needle-case — small cut objects of bone and ivory are suspended. At Ammassalik thimble-guards mostly but also hooks for sinew threads and combs may be observed among the objects suspended. I shall show presently that at Ammassalik the needle-skin is undoubtedly a specialized form of the original skin-strap, that was a part of the needle-case.

The characteristic double hooks (*tikkiwee*) on which the sewing rings are kept, are closely connected with these needle-skins with which they are always bound together. North of the Ammassalik district near the Skærgaard Penin-

¹) Ryder (1895) p. 139. The hook with appurtenances seen in fig. 243 (Petersen coll. 106) has belonged to one of Kunnaak's wives at Ammassalik.

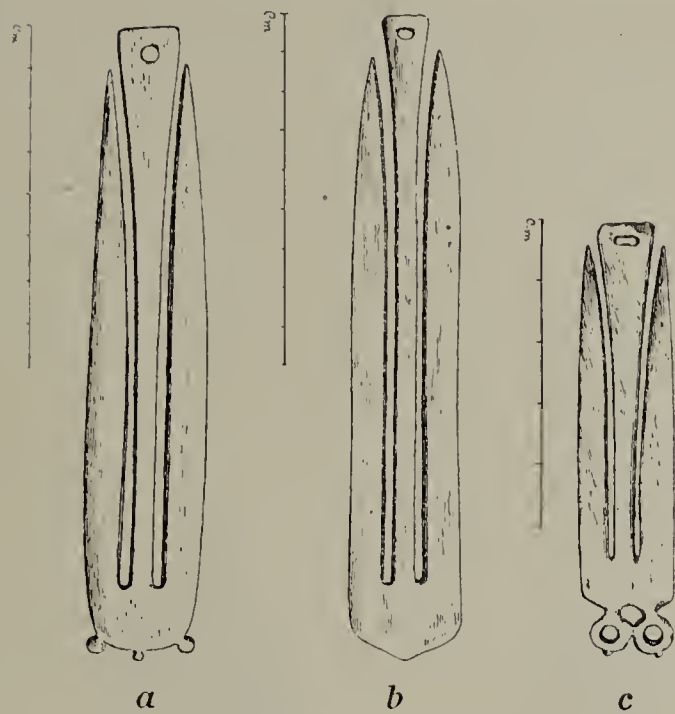


Fig. 247. Thimble guards. Nualik.
(Amdrup coll.).

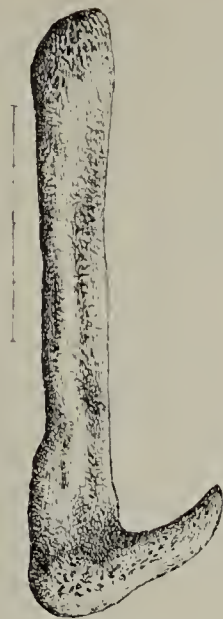


Fig. 248.
Bone hook from
Nualik. (Amdrup
coll.).



Fig. 249. Needle skins and thimble guards.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{2}{7}$.

sula Amdrup found three double hooks of the smaller and comparatively broader type mostly known from West Greenland¹). From Alaska many different types of this implement are known (double and single hooks, often ornamented)²) and also some corresponding

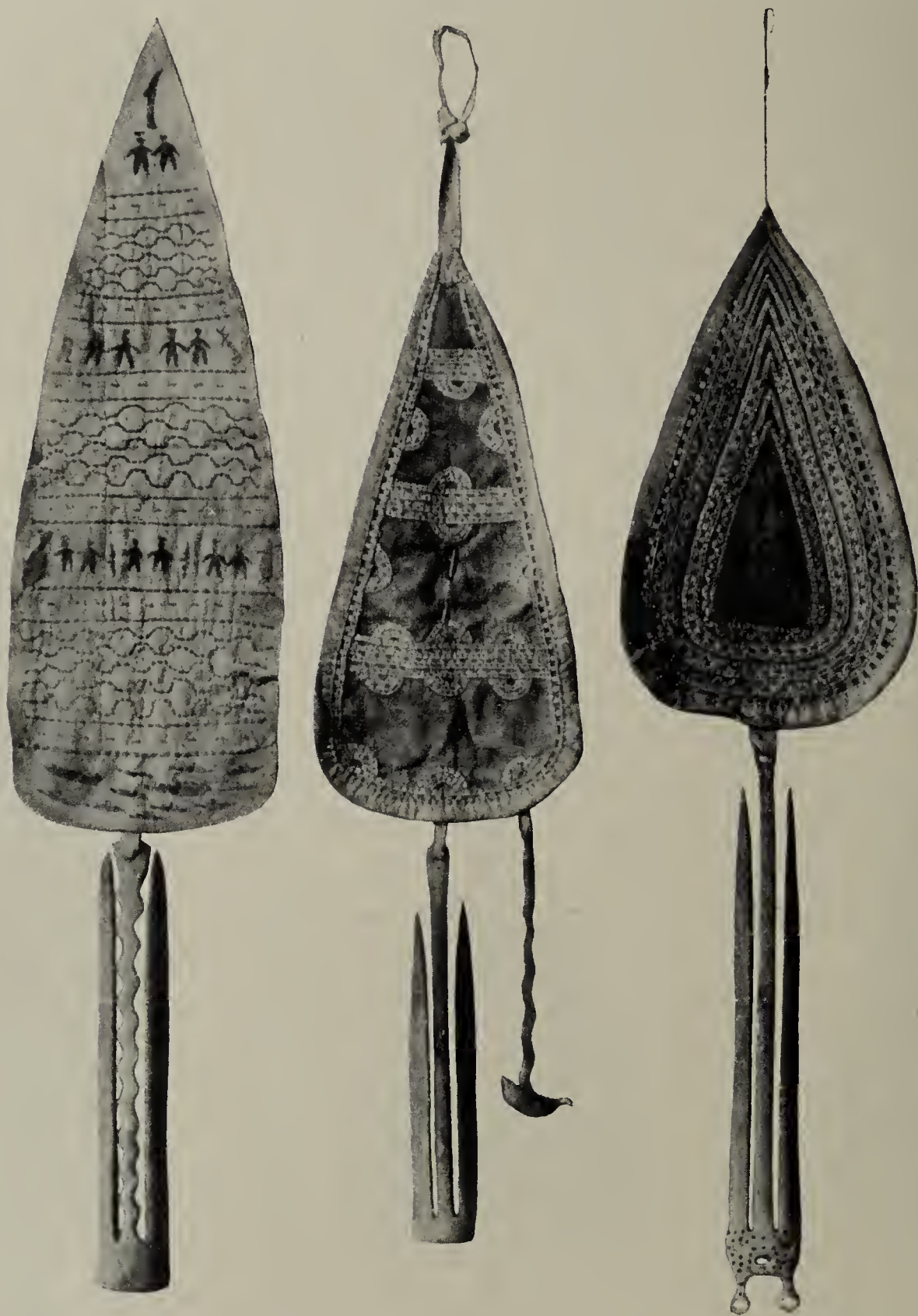


Fig. 250. Needle skins and thimble guards. (Holm coll.). ²/₇.

exactly to the Greenland forms. These hooks, which carry the sewing rings, are in Alaska always fastened to the skin-strap of a needle-case, which lends strong support to the supposition that the triangular needle-skin of the Ammassalikers is only an expanded

¹) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 405—406; fig. 22. Nordenskiöld (1885) p. 484.

²) Nelson (1899) Pl. XLIV and p. 104.

relict of the needle-case or rather of the strap drawn through the bone-tube of the needle-case. As previously mentioned, needle-cases of bone or ivory have formerly been used everywhere in Greenland and probably also at Ammassalik, where some day a specimen of this implement will be brought to light. But perhaps one or two centuries have passed since the last specimen was thrown away at this place and the broader skin-triangles, into which the metal-needle could easily be stuck in order to be quite secure, came into use.

From the districts lying between Greenland and Alaska I do not remember to have seen any illustration of thimble-guards of the type mentioned (a double-hook of bone). In the figures from the west coast of Hudson Bay¹⁾ the sewing rings are seen hanging on the strap itself of the needle-case.

SEWING RINGS OR THIMBLES (*tikeq*, plur. *tikin*, *tikiñin*, fig. 252) are for the women the same as the finger protectors (p. 481) are for the men; the former are placed on the forefinger of the worker, the latter on the thumb. The women make their sewing-rings themselves from an oval or round piece of tough seal skin; along the one edge of this piece they cut a free rim, thus

making a noose which may be drawn over the finger-nail while the round part lies as a shield covering the soft side of the finger tip.

The Ammassalik type

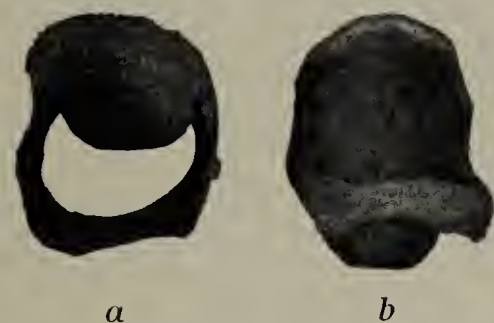


Fig. 252. Thimbles made of sealskin. (Thalbitzer coll.). ¹/₁₁.

of sewing ring corresponds exactly to the type from Baffin Land figured by Boas, and in Alaska the shape is also the same²⁾. In Scoresby Sound in East Greenland Ryder found a sewing ring shaped like a figure of 8, i. e. with double shield³⁾.

How the sewing rings are placed on the thimble-guards at Ammassalik is seen from figs. 241, 249a, c and 251.



Fig. 251. Needle skin with thimble guards and a comb. (Petersen coll.). ¹/₃.

¹⁾ Parry (1824) p. 550, fig. 25. Boas (1901) pp. 93—94, figs. 136 b, d.

²⁾ Boas (1888) p. 524, fig. 473 (1901) p. 94, fig. 136. Nelson (1899) p. 109, Pl. XLIV.

³⁾ Ryder (1895) p. 334, fig. 32.

HOUSEKEEPING. UTENSILS USED IN COMMON.

DIVISION OF LABOUR AND RIGHT OF POSSESSION. — From the foregoing it will be evident already, that men and women have each their own field of work, which is divided between them according to certain inherited, unwritten rules of almost religious character (cf. p. 503). The man has the right and duty to take the initiative in the labour for existence, not only in claiming possession of his wife (which generally takes place as a kind of robbery), but also in providing the food for the whole family by hunting the marine animals and in deciding the places of residence for the family from winter to summer. He makes his hunting and working implements himself, this being the first condition for the right of possession. Other ways of acquiring property are by barter or by inheritance. The weapons and implements made by the man himself are buried in his grave and are not inherited. The son inherits however his father's tent and umiak; also pots and lamps of soapstone may be inherited. But the small personal implements closely connected with the owner's work follow him to his grave, as for example the sealer's kaiak. Thus the personal right of possession of these things is so strongly developed, that it has a religious character¹). Marks of possession (family marks) on the implements, as known among the West Eskimo, are unknown in Greenland²).

The right of possession is however not absolutely bound to personal manufacture. Thus it is the men who make the knives, scraping-boards, bodkins (of bone) and combs possessed by the women and the women sew the men's as well as their own clothes, prepare all the skins and sew the harness for the sledge-dogs. The difference in the labour of the sexes only asserts itself in such things as are of the greatest vital importance for the race. In the fishing for sea-scorpions and caplins and the gathering of berries, angelica, sea-weed and mussels both men and women take part in the work. The cutting up of the captured animals is made partly by the men partly by the women, though not by both sexes at the same stage of preparation (cf. pp. 503 and 505).

The right of possession appears to be very distinct especially on many points regarding the hunting life of the men. The sealer "owns" the seal's breathing-hole and opening in the ice which he has found

¹) Cf. also Mauss (1904—1905) p. 117. My following remarks may on several points serve as a corrective to the exaggerated statements by some authors regarding the communism in the Eskimo settlements, which in reality only applies to the proceeds of the hunt.

²) Nelson (1899) pp. 322—327.

and he has the potential right of possession to the seal that may be caught therein. If a sealer comes across a hole on the ice, to which lead the tracks of another sealer, he passes it without trying to hunt, but if he makes use of it unawares and catches the seal he is liable to pay damages. If several kaiaks are at the same time hunting a seal or walrus, he has the prior right to the animal who first harpoons it, so that the bladder becomes attached to it. The same rule applies to the capture of whales¹). On the other hand, a bird becomes the property of the person who kills it. The skin of a bear belongs to the person who first caught sight of it, whether man or woman, old or young. The relatives of the man and woman get certain parts of the captured animal.

As common property are considered, for example, the salmon-ponds (*saputaatāt*) in lakes and mouths of rivers, because they have been 'made by our ancestors.' Drift timber floating in on the outer coasts or into the fjords with the sea-ice is the property of the finder, whether man or woman, who then drags it so high upon the beach that it is out of reach of the tidal water. Any one who takes away the drift timber thus laid up is guilty of theft. The timber in the houses is the property of the different individuals who found it. On the other hand, the stone and turf in them are common property which is left behind in case of removal. I once met a man who owned the greater part of the timber in the house wherein he lived but had no tent. That a number of people are called housemates (*itteqatiñeen*), does not mean that they constantly hold a house in common, but only that they have agreed during the previous summer to live together during the coming winter (cf. pp. 57—58)²). This word (*itteqatiñeen*) may be compared with another expression of community, namely, the umiak-mates (*umiaqatiñeen*); if two men have an umiak in common they go during the summer to the same tenting-places, each man taking with him his tent and his family.

Each man owns a sledge and several dogs (two to six); the dogs are a common article of barter³). A man seldom owns two kaiaks; if so, he generally lets out one of them for payment.

During my sledge journey in winter I came south of Sermilik Fjord to Nappartuko's house near Qeqertaalaq (see p. 372). Here I made inquiries as to who owned the furniture of the house. A part

¹) Cf. Holm; tale no. 15 (here p. 262); Glahn (1784) p. 278.

²) At Ammassalik it is not of any importance that the people living together in a winter house should be related. Unrelated families may live together and brothers not seldom dwell in houses lying far from each other.

³) Holm (1894) p. 69.

of the house was owned by persons living there no longer, as for example the long roof-beam (*toolcaq*) and two of the roof supports by Imaawka and the cross-beams between the long beam and the front wall by Nusukkaliwaq — both of these men had removed to Sermilik. The third roof support was owned by the present master of the house, who also possessed the wall hangings and the boards of the platform. Nappartuko owned a large pot of soapstone inherited from his ancestors; the bottom had been broken but had afterwards been repaired so cleverly, that the repair could hardly be seen. He owned besides a water-cask with a scoop of wood, a lamp with wick-trimmer and wooden stand, a meat-tray and a drying frame. The beautiful flat stones of the house-floor were said to be nobody's property, but Nappartuko's sister maintained that some beautiful stones near her side-platform, which she had brought with her from the north in the umiak, were her property.

The old widow Qiwingataaq who died during my stay there, once enumerated to me the following objects as her private property. She owned a soapstone lamp with appurtenances, dripping bowl and pot, a wooden water vessel, a urine tub, a drinking scoop, a plate, a ladle for taking the meat out of the pot, a one-pronged fork, a drying frame and hanging hook, a needle-skin and open skin-bowl for the lamp moss, a knife (*cakkiya*, 'my knife'), a scraper, a whetting stone (*ipisaatiya*), a hammer (*parpaleen*), a closable bag (*poorättlara*, for gathering lamp-moss), platform skins (*qatakka*), sleeping skins (*uliya*) and pillow (*akisiya*), a skin for separating two family stalls (compartments) on the platform (*talé*), a single roof-skin (*itcaq*), platform bars and beams for her special place (*ittisaa*), a roof support (namely, the one nearest her place on the platform, *qiwkkaliya*), some cross-beams in the framework of the ceiling (*paa^{wk}waatiya*), some beams of the hindmost and innermost part of the platform (*kilé*) and of the side platform (*ippat*). She declared that if she was going to move, she would leave behind her the last mentioned beams of the house, which she had brought with her from Sermilik and only take away the framework of her own part of the platform. The other parts of the framework of the large house in which she lived at that time, were owned by three great sealers and another old widow (the mother of two of the sealers); and they and several others of the inhabitants owned the skins covering the roof and hanging on the walls. In the inventory given me by Qiwingataaq from memory she has undoubtedly forgotten several things, as, for example, a thimble guard, a bodkin, needles and a sinew twister.

SKIN-BAGS FOR KEEPING MOSS AND OTHER HOUSEHOLD MATERIALS (p. 41 and figs. 253—255). — As with the lamps and pots in the

house the skin-bags belong to the women and their work and they might, therefore, in so far have been described under the heading of the preceding chapter, but their contents serve for the general good of all the inmates. The lamp-moss contained in the bags (*iparaaluin* or *iperaasoon*) is used mainly as lamp-wicks, these modest producers of the comfort, which during the long winter nights has to make up for the light and warmth of the summer-sun.

Moss of various kinds and for different purposes is gathered by women and children. The moss used for lamp-wicks is probably a kind of *Sphagnum* of greyish-white colour, called, as also the wicks, *iparqat*. For lighting up, a dark, long-stalked species of moss (*maneq*)¹⁾ is used; after being plucked and dried it is used for catching the sparks from the drill, because it flares up very quickly; as it catches fire it is called *ciput*²⁾. Moss is also gathered to be used as toilet-paper. I have been shown samples of two kinds of toilet moss (*eqeelüssaq*), a darker kind (*qatsiar* or *qatsilin*) which grows in lakes and another lighter sort, which "covers the earth as a carpet" (*nuname ulisimaler*). When they go out onto the ice to the sealing grounds, the men have often a lump of moss with them hanging loosely on the stomach in a skin-strap round the hips.

Some skin-bags are probably also used for holding the sinew threads, whether twisted or not, until they are required. This is what the small bags were used for, which Parry mentions he saw among the Eskimo on Winter Island and at Iglulik and which were "sometimes made of the skin of birds' feet, disposed with the claws downwards in a very neat and tasteful manner;" quite a similar bag from Iglulik has also been figured by Boas³⁾. At Ammassalik bags are also made of birds' feet of the same shape as seen in fig. 253 *e* and *h*. Other bags are used for the gathering of berries and herbs. They are called *poorattät* or *poorartilartiwän*.

Most of the bags have a cylindrical shape and are made of two pieces of skin, the largest forming the side, the smallest the bottom. They are besides generally provided with a strap (*ipia*) at the top for carrying purposes. The two seen in fig. 254 *c* and *d* are made of bladders, those in fig. 253 *i* and 255 are made of fish-heads (*am-massät*) sewn together with a broad skin-border along the upper edge.

The ornamentation is made with slips or pieces of skin (*kit-toṇ^waai*) of a different colour from the ground-colour, namely, black on white or white on black. Similar ornamentation is found on the needle-skins (p. 522) and on womens' boots. On fig. 253 *a* the pat-

¹⁾ A kind of hair-moss (*Polytrichum*).

²⁾ Undoubtedly the same word as Parry's *hu-poo-tik* [*huputik*] (plural) 'flower of willow used as tinder' (Parry, 1824, p. 569).

³⁾ Parry (1824) p. 537 and fig. 23 on Pl. II (p. 550); Boas (1907) Pl. VII.



Fig. 253. Skin bags with embroidery sewn on them.
(Holm and other colls.). $\frac{3}{10}$.



a



b



c



d

Fig. 254. Skin bags, *a—b* of seal skin, *e—d* of bladders (with skin collars).
(Holm and other colls.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

tern has been made with sinew-thread on a white ground. The human shapes are dark pieces of skin that have been sewn on (*a* and *b*); on *b* there are also umiaks and kaiaks, birds etc. The cross-shaped figures on *c* and *f* (bottom) are meant to be birds; they are called *itarqalaniqät*, 'flying or flapping the wings.' I shall later return to the description of the patterns (chapter on ornamentation).

Larger bags of thick skin (*imiyaq*, plur. *imikkat*) are used for holding the sealer's stores of blubber during the winter (pp. 41, 61, 131). I have seen a great sealer inspect 12 or 14 large bags filled with seal-blubber after the hunting of crested seals in late summer near Cape Dan.

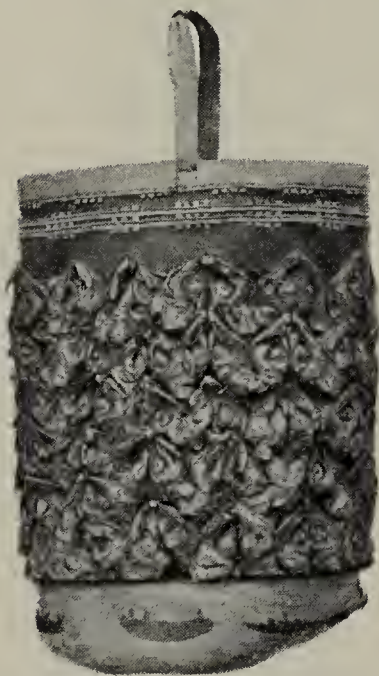


Fig. 255. Bag made of fish heads sewn together. (Greenland Administ. coll.). C. $\frac{1}{3}$.

Near the lamps of the house there may be seen some small, flat and open bags or skin-bowls in which the wick-moss lies ready for use (fig. 256 *e*).

At Boothia Felix Mac Clintock saw a similar bag in the snow-hut where the woman was sitting on the platform: "Her 'tinder-box' was a little seal-skin bag of soft dry moss, and with a lump of iron pyrites and a broken file she struck fire upon it."¹

FIRE-MAKING IMPLEMENTS (p. 41). — Fig. 256 shows all the different parts belonging here: *a* is a piece of flat wood with many, blackened conical holes on the upper side caused by the drill-stick; in these depressions the sparks are made by small loosened particles of the wood which become red-hot owing to friction. *b* is the cross-bar with a concaved bone-knob fastened to the middle which supports the top of the drill-stick during use (thus replacing the mouth-piece in the boring of holes, cf. p. 480). *c* shows a complete set of fire-making implements; the drill-stick, the cross-bar and the skin-string lie upon a board with many blackened holes on the upper side; the cross-bar has ferrules at each end besides the bone-knob in the middle; the string is provided with a bone-handle at either end (instead of the drill-bow used in boring holes). *d* is a piece of wood cut in the shape of a bird, which has been used for making fire, as seen by the blackened hole in the middle of the one side. *e* is a skin-bowl filled with tinder moss.

It is generally two women who help each other to make fire. The old Akernilik (a man) and his wife showed me the mode of

¹) Mac Clintock (1859) p. 250.

procedure. Fig. 69 shows old Ukuttiaq engaged in drilling the fire. The wife held the cross-bar with both hands whilst pressing the concave surface of the bone-knob firmly down on the top of the drill-stick, the lower end of which was inserted in a hole in a block of wood greased with blubber. This hole was connected with a neighbouring hole by means of a groove in the surface. The string was wound one or two times round the stick and was drawn to and fro by the man so that it rotated in alternate directions. In less



Fig. 256. Fire-making implements. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

than a minute smoke came out of the hole and immediately after sparks were seen. It was perhaps because the piece of wood had been greased with blubber that the small loose particles so easily caught fire. The cross-bar and the drill-stick were quickly laid aside and the woman began to waft air towards the hole with her hand so that the sparks revived, all the more quickly as the operation was performed in an open door where there was a draught. The man now took the block of wood, placed a spark on the dark lamp-moss and blew upon it till it flared up. With the burning

moss the lamp-wick was lighted, after first being moistened with train-oil.

Regarding the Boothia Eskimo (Iglulik etc.), Parry does not speak of fire-making by drilling but only of the use of two lumps of common iron pyrites from which sparks are struck into a little leathern case, containing moss well dried, and sometimes made more inflammable by admixture of the seed of the ground willow. Otherwise the lighting up with the lamp-moss is as in Greenland¹).

Technical names: *innerit* 'the fires (pyrites?),' the whole kindling apparatus, especially the flat piece of wood with the holes in which the sparks arise; *kootcukjootaa* or *neutaa* the drill-stick; *naqit^waa*, 'the presser,' the cross-bar supporting the top of the drill-stick;



Fig. 257. Cooking pot of soapstone. (Holm coll.). ¹/₅.

kik^wkortaa, the bone-knob on the cross-bar; *nimaaw^wtaa*, the string by means of which the drill-stick is moved; *arcaara*, the handle of the string; *neuttut*, the drillers who make the fire; *kaporniagassaqaa^wtit* 'you are about to catch fire.'

LAMPS WITH APPURTENANCES (p. 38). — At Ammassalik the most common shape of the soapstone-lamp is a bowl in the shape of a semicircle or a segment of one; sometimes the curved line is broken so that the shape of the lamp approaches that of a triangle (fig. 258*b*). But these lamp-forms have always a straight side with a low side wall, while the round or broken wall is high and sometimes slants outward. Along the straight side facing the platform the wick-moss (p. 527) is leant against the low wall at the shallowest place in the lake of train-oil, constantly melting from the small pieces of blubber further back on the deep side. A more oval-shaped lamp

¹) Parry (1824) p. 504.

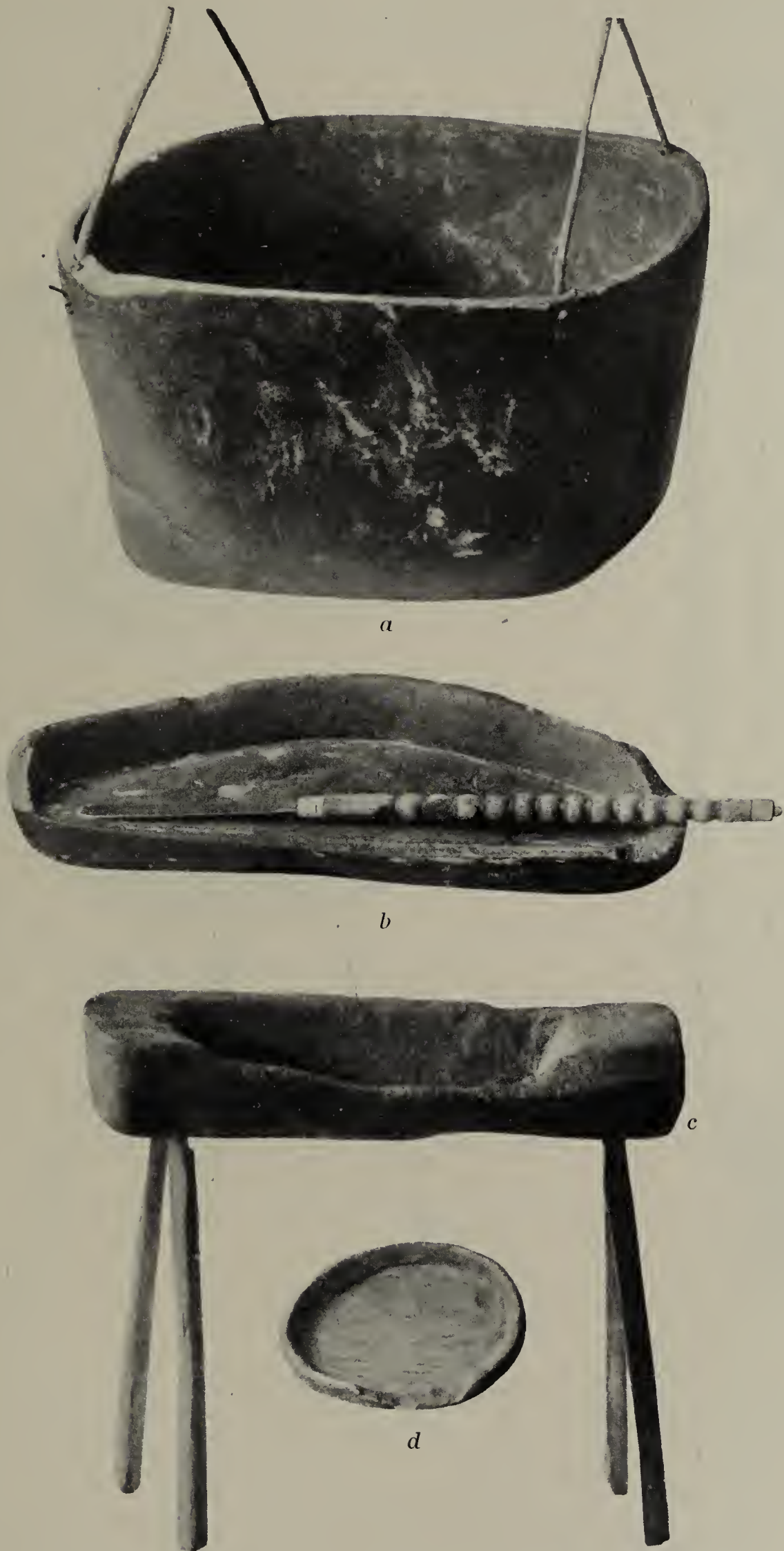


Fig. 258. Cooking pot (*a*), lamp with wick trimmer (*b*), lamp stool (*c*) and cup (*d*) for the oil dripping from the lamp. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.

also occurs however at Ammassalik (fig. 260 c), resembling the lamps Ryder found in Scoresby Sound¹). In some houses a somewhat



Fig. 259. Drying frame for the sealing line and other skin thongs. From Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). ¹/₃.



a



b



c

Fig. 260. Drying frame for the clothes (boots, mittens etc.) (a), placed crosswise over the cooking pot, lamp and lamp-stool. (Holm coll.). ¹/₅.

smaller lamp (*atter* 'the nether one'), only intended for heating, had its place out or down on the floor near the window platform and

¹) Ryder (1895) p. 327, fig. 25.

is thus not found in the row of the larger, cooking lamps, which rest on the lamp-stools above the lamp-platforms along the edge of the main-platform (cf. pp. 356—357). The lamp-stool is a block of wood hollowed to a shallow bowl for receiving the oil dripping from the lamp, and provided with three or four legs (figs. 30, 258 c and 260 c).

It is not the custom among the Ammassalikers as among the West Greenlanders to fill the lamps with chewed or hammered blubber (i. e. half melted into oil); the blubber melts owing to the heat of the lamps¹⁾. Sometimes they place a piece of blubber over the fire stuck on a wooden stick with a single or double hook hanging down from the drying frame, so that the oil drips down into the lamp to feed the flame. Amdrup found at Skærgaardshalvø north of Ammassalik two sooty hooks of wood which were said by the Ammassalikers to have been put to this use²⁾. — The wick-trimmer is used for pressing and arranging the pieces of blubber and for turning over and trimming the moss so that it does not smoke³⁾.

The lamps burn all day long and part of the night; they are looked after by the women on the platform who take great care that they do not smoke. When the inmates are asleep during the night most of the lamps are extinguished, but one or two are always kept burning unless there is a dearth of blubber. In hard times the Ammassalikers have sometimes been obliged to use other lighting material in their houses (heather, drift-timber)⁴⁾.

Technical names: *oonarqe* (plur. *oonarqilin*) lamp; *atter* smaller lamp placed on the floor; *pisittät* (Holm) or *ippatin* lamp-stool; *aki^wnna* interval between the legs of the lamp-stool; *qurtulurpik*, *quttuluppe* 'dripping place,' the hollow in the lamp-stool, or else a

¹⁾ The common Eskimo way of crushing the blubber for the lamp with a piece of wood or a bone mallet (maul) is unknown at Ammassalik. The West Greenlanders call such a mallet *kaawarsit*, the crushed blubber *kaawartaq*. Northwards on the east coast Amdrup found such a blubber-mallet (Thalbitzer, 1909, pp. 441—443, fig. 44, cf. p. 533 and fig. 105. Idem, 1911, p. 39); similar implements are seen in the Gjøa collection (Amundsen) in Christiania, in the collections from the Netchilik Eskimo, described by Boas (1907, p. 402, fig. 199), and in collections from Alaska (Murdoch, 1892, p. 98, figs 31—32 etc; Nelson, 1899, p. 79).

²⁾ Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 406—407, fig. 24.

³⁾ Wick-trimmers of asbestos were used in earlier times on the west coast but are unknown at Ammassalik. Several specimens (ca. 30 cm. in length) are found in Pfaff's collection. They are used not only for trimming the wicks but also like candles for lighting up certain places. Parry also saw some in the Boothia Gulf (Repulse Bay) where they were called *tatko*, cf. the Greenland word *tar-qippaa* 'to trim the wick and make the flame of the lamp burn higher.'

⁴⁾ For the comparative study of the Eskimo lamps and their use I may refer the reader to W. Hough's interesting paper on this matter (1896).

small soapstone bowl placed under the latter; *ernaain* overflowing oil dripping from the lamp; *oqummia* 'morsel, mouthful,' piece of blubber in the lamp; *eeneg* train-oil; *iparqat* wick (moss); *neqqit* 'tooth,' smoking snuff of the wick; *nanereelua* (sort of torch, candle?) = *taqqiseet* wick trimmer.

FIRE-PLACES in the open air are not used by the Ammassalikers, nor (as on the west coast) are they placed in a side-space of the passage way. It has probably at some period or other, and perhaps for religious reasons, been prohibited at Ammassalik to make fire in the open air. On the northern part of the east coast fire-places have often been found¹).

DRYING-FRAMES (*innicät, eeoqalin*, p. 39). — Two different forms of these are known from Ammassalik. The larger is a rectangular grating, about 50 by 100 cm., consisting of two thick and flat boards (ending with seal-tail ornaments) connected by a row of longer and thinner bars (round in transverse section), the ends of which are inserted into some holes in the inner edge of the boards (fig. 260*a*). This frame is suspended in a horizontal position above the lamp-place by means of four lines hanging down from the ceiling, the thin bars of the grating being directed from the platform to the window side. The hanging straps of the pot are either looped over two of the bars or fastened on a loose cross-bar resting upon the other bars, so that the pot may be pushed to and fro according to the heat wanted for it. The pot can also be lifted or sunk for the regulation of the cooking. To this end the hanging straps are not attached directly on the drying frame but are looped into two other straps which hang down from the frame, tied in their upper ends to the cross-bar just mentioned. These straps are arranged as movable loops which may be lengthened or shortened by means of bone-buttons and hooks whereby the pot is sunk or lifted. All wet clothes that have to be dried (including boots) are placed on the large drying-frame. — The smaller kind of drying-frame or "hook" (p. 248, *initsat*) is a more specialized implement of an elongated oval shape (fig. 259), cut from a piece of wood like a small

¹) Scoresby (1822) p. 187 at Cape Swainson (near C. Lister 70° 30' N. lat.) "two cavities inclosed by stones, on the edge of a bank, that had been employed as fire-places" (cf. p. 253). Ryder also came across several fire-places in Scoresby Sound (1895, pp. 291, 328 etc.). The Smith Sound Eskimo often made their cooking places in the open air (K. Rasmussen, 1905. pp. 8—9, 230 etc.); Nares found near Cape Sabine in Ellesmere Land "a blackened fire-place, made of three stones placed against a rock with the hairs of a white bear sticking to the grease-spots" (Feilden in Nares, 1875, p. 1888). As to Baffin Land, Kumlien (1879, p. 20) mentions that "in summer, especially when on hunting excursions, they very often 'fry' meat by making a little fire-place of stones, laying a flat piece of stone on the top."

grating with three bars; also the broad end-pieces are found here but are of quite a different shape, the one being triangular and ending in a roundish blade (the seal-tail ornament at the lower end), the other is more rectangular and has a knob shaped like a door-handle at the upper end. In the specimen seen in fig. 259 the one side of the lower blade is wanting and the shank of the handle is broken (and repaired). It is however a typical specimen with its characteristic "key-hole" at the upper end, intended for the terminal knot of the strap that has to be wound round the frame for drying purposes; by moving the knot a little downwards through this hole the knot will come down in a countersinking and the strap could then be tightened. This implement is mostly used for winding up and drying the long harpoon and bladder lines which the sealer uses from his kaiak. It is kept in the house.

While the smaller drying frame is undoubtedly characteristic of the Ammassalikers, the larger one is found in eastern Eskimo regions and westwards as far as the Mackenzie River (but I have not seen it from the western Eskimo regions)¹). Parry gives the following description of it from the Eskimo snow-huts in Boothia Gulf. "Immediately over the lamp is fixed a rude and ricketty framework of wood, from which their pots are suspended, and serving also, to sustain a large hoop of bone, having a net stretched tight within it. This contrivance, called *innetat*, is intended for the reception of any wet things, and is usually loaded with boots, shoes, and mittens."

THE COOKING POTS (*ootsit*, *oolurturpik*, *neqileerîn*, p. 39 and figs. 257, 258, 260) made of soapstone are only used for cooking the many kinds of meat and fish. Roasting is not used. The pots are considered a valuable part of the furniture; they are inherited and many or most of them are undoubtedly of great age. They are of course also acquired by purchase. Umeerinneq for example had a large and beautiful soapstone pot which he had bought from the widow Noonajerqwar for a gun transferred to her son, as her husband the maker of the pot had died. — In most houses at Ammassalik the old soapstone pots have now been superseded by iron pots.

Further north on the same coast soapstone pots have been found among the ruins of houses by Amdrup at Nualik, by Ryder in Scoresby Sound and by the German Expedition towards the north at Jackson Island²).

THE FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION. — The old woman named Qiwingataaq (p. 526) told me all the dishes known in the houses of the Ammassalikers. The following reveals her "cookery book."

Dishes of meat. Seal-meat is eaten boiled, dried or frozen. The boiled meat (*ootissaq*) is the main food. There is a great difference

¹) Parry (1824) p. 502; Petitot (1887) fig. V. (pp. 192—193); Hough (1896) p. 1042.

²) Ryder (1895) pp. 328—329, fig. 26; Koldewey (1874) p. 649.

between the various kinds of seal-meat (the same difference as the Europeans find between beef, pork, mutton etc.) and the different parts of the animal are not equally appreciated. Before boiling the meat, it is generally washed in sea-water, and if it contains much blood it is even given a very careful and long washing; it is then boiled in fresh water in the soapstone pot over the oil-lamp, more seldom in fresh water to which is added a little sea-water; the water is shallow in the pot and the meat has to be turned several times. The cooking goes on very slowly until the meat is quite tender. No lid is used on the pot but a sort of floating lid is often formed, the house-wife filling her mouth with blubber, chewing it and afterwards spitting it out over the water. The boiled meat is always served hanging by one or two bones to be used by the left hand instead of a fork, while the right hand manipulates the knife; mouthfuls are torn off by the teeth, the knife assisting just in front of the lips. Each choice piece has an attendant lump of blubber which makes it a still greater delicacy (making up for our sauce and vegetables). Besides the meat of seals, that of walrus, whales, bears, foxes, dogs and most sorts of birds is also used as food. Bear meat is boiled in fresh water without salt.

Dried meat (*nuk^wkoq* or *panertän* or *salek^warsimalin*) of all sorts of mammals, seals, whales, walrus, bears, dogs and of various birds (ptarmigan, eider duck, black guillemot, sometimes raven) is also common food, but is hardly appreciated so much as the fresh meat. On the other hand, the lightly frozen, half-rotten seal-meat (*qeetsiaq*) is considered by many almost as great a delicacy as newly boiled meat. Both this and dried meat are generally eaten with frozen blubber which has been kept from the autumn in the large blubber-bags (*imikkat*) out in the stone-cellars¹⁾. The freezing of the meat and blubber is simply carried out by depositing the seals captured during the autumn at a certain place in the neighbourhood of the house and covering them with snow. As they are wanted in the course of the winter, they are carried into the house and cut up to be eaten before being thawed. If the whole animal is not eaten at once, the rest of the meat is boiled. The half-decomposed blubber in the blubber-bags is used as gravy.

The soup of the meat (*neek^waaq*) is poured out of the pot and drunk; it may often have been used before as gravy (*neekwaamut misittiyo* 'to dip one's portion of meat in the soup.') Like the blood the soup is sometimes only used as food for the dogs. But if the

¹⁾ When this blubber has been lying in the bags for a long time it oxidizes and is boiled into a sort of tar (*itcinnaq* or *utisaalisaa*, p. 505) used for the boat-skins, making them water-tight.

woman wants to see one or two of her friends for a gossip, she sends for them to come immediately and drink the soup (corresponding to our afternoon tea): *pan^wna imertorniarseek* 'come over and take soup with me' or *neekaalej^war imertorniarseek* 'come for soup.' This custom has once has been the cause of a bitter juridical drum-fight between two women. One of them heard one day that the other had dog-soup in her pot and as it was her favourite dish and she was an old friend of the house, she paid a visit in the hope of having a treat, but was very disappointed when she was only offered a piece of very dry meat and not a drop of soup. This tragical incident was certainly the main cause of the process which followed, during which the two ladies hurled bad accusations into the face of each other, about which I may refer to Rink ¹).

Fox-meat is boiled and is said to have almost the same taste as dog-meat (has no special fox-smell).

All sorts of birds (ptarmigans, eider-ducks, ducks, sea-gulls, auks, guillemots, wild geese, loons etc.) are boiled but are not very highly appreciated. Ptarmigans are sometimes dried to be cooked later when food is wanted. The only part of the ptarmigan that is considered a delicacy is the half-digested contents (*qeeke*, *qeekoät*) of the intestines. Eggs (*manij*, plur. *mannin*) of all sorts of birds are eaten either raw or boiled; and even if the egg is so far developed as to contain the young bird, it is eaten with pleasure.

Shark-flesh is eaten, but is considered inferior to all other meat; it forms part of the food during the starvation-period, when in the darkest months of the winter the seals are scarce or there are none at all. The flesh of the shark is first boiled in sea-water, then either chopped and boiled in fresh water until it becomes a sort of white porridge (the water is pressed out with a spoon), or boiled and cut up into small pieces of the size of a hand. Even the cartilaginous parts of the shark are eaten, lightly boiled. Shark's flesh is also eaten in the dried state; the drying takes place in the house, where it makes a nauseous smell. Even the rough hide of the shark is dried and eaten. On the other hand, the long red liver itself is not eaten but its contents of fat, which slowly oozes out of itself in the liquid state, is used as oil for the lamps and is better than seal-oil.

The blood of the seals is also used as human food; it is poured out into a vessel where it coagulates and is then called *aak^wkaa*q or *aa^wknkaa*q; it is afterwards stuffed into a seal-gut or stomach and eaten as blood pudding (unboiled). The coagulated blood may also

¹) Rink (1866) pp. 140—141 (song no. 131).

be spread out in a pot and roasted (without using water) so that it becomes a sort of cake (*ersaajulilin*). In winter the natives prepare the frozen blood (*qeetciässaq*) which after boiling is taken out into the frosty air to coagulate.

The hide of seals (and whales) is eaten unboiled and raw as a special dish. The whale-hide is however sometimes boiled, the walrus hide always. Other sorts of dishes are prepared from the blubber-like inner membrane of the fleshy side of the hide, which is scraped off, if the skin has to be used as leather; it is called *mamia* ('its *mame*,' p. 504) and is eaten as a delicacy, sometimes boiled, most often unboiled or rather, after being kept in a skin-bag during the winter, in a dried state as a cake-like mass. Cut up in small pieces it is cooked in fresh water and remains there until it is sufficiently old and stiff (*ittersoileq*). The hide of sharks is hung up on the drying-frame in the house and eaten dried and unboiled. Hides of bears and dogs are the only ones not eaten.

Salmon (*kaporniakkät*), sea-scorpions (*qiwaaqit*) and caplins (*keersakkat*, replacing the tabooed *ammattät*) are partly eaten fresh-boiled, partly dried (winter-food). Split and dried salmon are called *mit^wcin* or *mat^wceen*, dried caplins *keersakkat panérsimalin*. The preparation of the caplins, after they have been taken out of the water with a scoop (*qaleq*), is as follows (cf. pp. 467, 503—504): first they are spread out on the drying places of the rocks, if possible arranged in rows (*eeoralin*); when they become dry on the upper side they are turned round, generally on the third day; when dry the tail of each fish is bored through with a bone needle (p. 513, fig. 234) and with the tails overlapping each other they are sewn together two by two, thus forming broad bands that are rolled up into large bales. They are now by means of the uniaks taken to the stone-cellar (the distant store-room, *qimmutuliwik*) where they are left until they are wanted in the course of the winter. Then they are portioned out in the house and are eaten preferably with blubber; but if they have become moist they are cooked in the pots. — The following fishes are eaten in a boiled state: sea-scorpion, Norway haddock, lumpsucker (*nipisaait*) fjord-cod (*ook^wkat*), which are captured with spears or taken with the hands or found in the stomachs of the large seals. The same is the case with the different kinds of mussels, crayfish and shrimps (*perqitannaat*), crabs (*putcukuttin*), sea-snails (*pusijalin*), sea-anemones (*sunaan^wai*, *oersartik*), etc.

Black crowberries (*pukukkat*) and bilberries (whortleberries, *keetarnän*) are gathered during the autumn and placed in a special bag; the same is the case with various green herbs with juicy leaves called *qoojuut* which are frozen during the winter preserved in the

blubber bags (p. 504)¹⁾. They are eaten as a kind of dessert with blubber or blood. As already mentioned, the root of angelica is a favourite stimulating delicacy, a quid as strong as mustard.

Different species of sea-weed are eagerly looked for between the sea-ice and the beach, when the starvation-period sets in towards the end of the winter. One day in March I saw the sealers themselves return with newly gathered sea-weed from a flowing current at the other side of the ice-field of the fjord²⁾.

So far Qiwingataaq's cookery book. I have compared it with the merry and good description of the West Greenlanders' cooking given by Fridtjof Nansen³⁾ and find that hers also leaves a trustworthy and nearly complete impression. That Qiwingataaq does not speak of reindeer and hares may naturally be explained by the absence of these animals at Ammassalik. She does not dwell on the half-rotten slightly decomposed meat (*mikiak*) eaten in the unfrozen condition, but I know from experience that this dish is also served in East Greenland; *mikiakkarpoo* means 'I eat raw meat in process of decomposition.' Nansen points out quite rightly that the Eskimo are by no means so easily contented as to food as they are generally considered to be. Their taste perceptions are undoubtedly very differentiated not to say refined within the material their country can offer them. During long times of the year they have a surplus of meat of all kinds, and if for a time the marine animals fail to appear, so that they must feed on birds (ptarmigan etc.), they immediately complain about the starvation period.

Finally, I may describe a menu from West Greenland from the middle of the 18th century. It is related by Dalager, who was the storekeeper for the merchants in the southernmost regions and lived in intimate touch with the natives³⁾. He was once invited to a treat (feast) by a rich Greenlander together with two angakut; they had been promised whale-tail, which only meant that this was the main dish of the treat, and that some 9 other dishes were also to be served; these were the following: 1, small dried herrings (i. e. caplins), 2, dried seal-meat, 3, boiled seal-meat, 4, half-rotten seal-meat (*mikiak*), 5, boiled auks, 6, a piece of raw whale-tail(!), 7, dried salmon, 8, dried reindeer-meat, 9 and 10 black-crowberries and vegetables, mixed with blubber or fish-oil and the contents of the intestines of

¹⁾ The edible herbs are: *kuännerin* (*Angelica*), *tortérnwnät* (houseleek), *toquttän* (the root of the latter), *nunän* (dandelion), *nucukkut* (sorrel), *quttoyalin* (dwarf-willow?), *ulänneelät*, *itwtormeetat* etc.

²⁾ Some species of edible sea-weed may be mentioned: *misarnat* (sea-wrack?), *misarqat*(?), *imertikkat* (red-weed), *sarpeelwäl* (wild-man's weed, the West Greenland *uisik*), *suttuittin* (also *kipilacät*), *anaatakwaq* (also *attiwitce*), *nujaalukajee* etc.

³⁾ Nansen (1891) pp. 81—87. Dalager (1752) p. 56.

reindeer. Regarding the first dish Dalager remarks, that dried caplins are always the first dish in the meals of the Greenlanders. The black crowberries and the vegetables correspond to our dessert. He admitted, however, that on this occasion he could not do justice to the very end, but having reached as far as the dessert he took quite privately a glass of old Jamaica instead.

DIGRESSION ON THE NAME ESKIMO. The word Eskimo is said to mean "raw-meat-eaters," a translation that is constantly found in old as well as recent authors¹). The name is first heard of from the

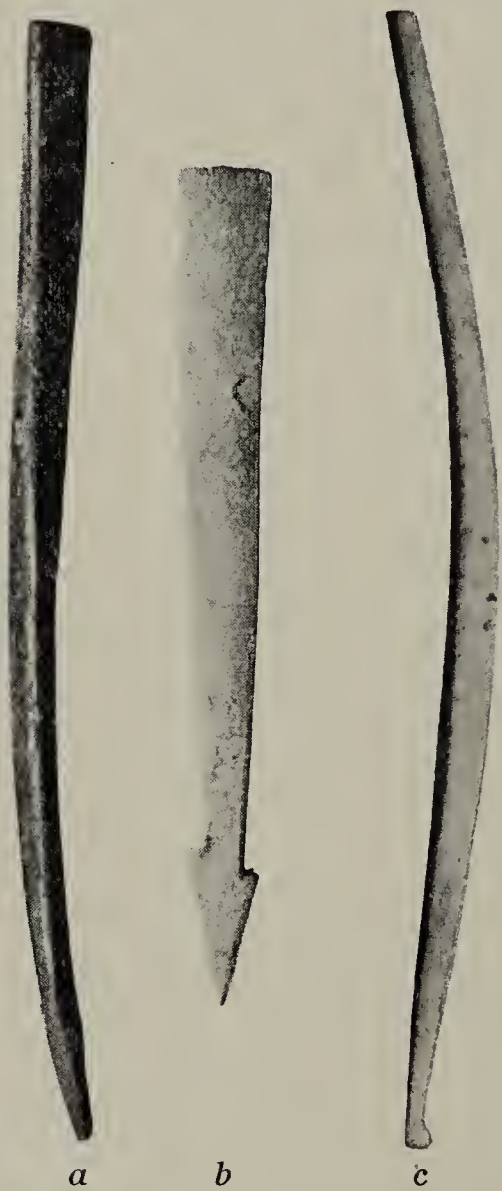


Fig. 261. Meat and blubber forks.
(Amstrup coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

French Jesuit missionaries in Canada, but in a somewhat altered form than the current name used now-a-days, i. e. *Esquimaux*, which makes its original significance doubtful; I feel inclined to believe that the true derivation of this name is different from the traditional. According to the tradition the name has been picked up by the French emigrants in the 17th century from certain tribes of Algonkin Indians. Some of these tribes lived so far north that they were neighbours of the Eskimo people on the southern coasts of Labrador and Hudson Bay. But it is hardly from these tribes that the name originates, partly because the form of the name (*Esquimaux*, *Eskimo*) is in closer correspondence with the language of the southern tribes, for example, the Abnaki (*Wabeenaki*), *Natick* and *Narraganset* Indians living formerly towards the south-east in Maine, Massachussets and on Rhode Island. According to Charlevoix and Ellis after him, the Abnakis called

them *Esquimantsic*. According to Trumbull's *Natick Dictionary*, founded on Eliot's translation of the bible from ca. 1660, *aske* (*askin*, *askeen*) means 'raw, not cooked or prepared for food' and *moho* 'to eat (alive),' *mowhaü* (*moowayoo*) 'he eates him,' whereas *meetsu* (etc.) means 'he eats, he takes food.' According to this the word *Eskimo* must rather mean 'living-meat eater' or 'man-eater,' if it originates from this language. Taking this explanation to be correct we have

¹) Lahontan 1703; Charlevoix 1744, vol. III. p. 178; Ellis 1750, p. 145; Cranz 1770, vol. I, p. 336 note; Petitot, *Vocabulaire* 1876, p. 9; Thalbitzer 1905, p. 186; cf. also *Handbook Amer. Ind.* p. 434.

to face the difficulty that in the oldest French authors, namely in the Jesu Society Relations (1612—1614) the people were called *Excomminguois* or *Excommingui* or *Escoumins*, words that point in quite another direction, as they seem to be derived from, to excommunicate and to have indicated a group of people that had been excluded from the church and banished by the missionaries. This might thus be the original meaning of the name, due either to a casual episode or the missionaries' general impression of these remote heathens. In Hans Egede's Relations (1738, p. 257) we hear about excommunicated Greenland Eskimo. Not until about 1700 does the form *Eskimaux* (Lahontan) occur, being possibly an Algonkin Indian's version of the French name, corrupted and etymologized according to his own language as "raw-meat eater" or "living meat eater." It is at any rate a fact that we get quite different explanations of the word, if we trace it back to the older literary sources or place it in connection with the language of the Algonkins, as has hitherto been done in the traditional explanation of the name.

BLUBBER FORKS OR CARRIERS AND MEAT TURNERS. — Fig. 261 *b* shows a flat one-pronged fork provided with two barbs cut out of a piece of narwhal tooth. The description given to Andrup regarding its use corresponds exactly to what Glahn writes about this kind of fork from West Greenland:

"It is not only together with the caplins but also with angelica, black crowberries etc., that the Greenlanders eat a piece of fresh blubber, for which reason they are often seen walking about in the open air with a small stick with a piece of blubber at the one end, from which they eat off a small piece whilst gathering the berries. Such a stick is called *oksorsar-bingvoak*." ¹⁾

It is probably a similar fork, though only a little more worn, that is seen in fig. 261 *a* (triangular in transverse section, lateral view so that the barbs are indistinct on the figure); *c* is probably an implement of the same kind. The curved stick or fork (*atcätaalin*) with which the woman turns the meat in the pot is not provided with barbs; it only consists of a bone of a suitable form, pointed at the lower end, while the thick end forms the handle. Fig. 266 shows an implement of this kind from the "dead house;" in Johan Petersen's collection I saw a couple of them, somewhat more curved at the point and made of seal-ribs. Up at Scoresby Sound Andrup found a similar fork (or blubber carrier) with serrated edge, and near the Skærgaard Peninsula a more simple form with a much



Fig. 262. Oil spoon of soapstone. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

¹⁾ Glahn (1771) p. 207.



Fig. 263. Drinking cups or dippers of bone. (Holm and other colls.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

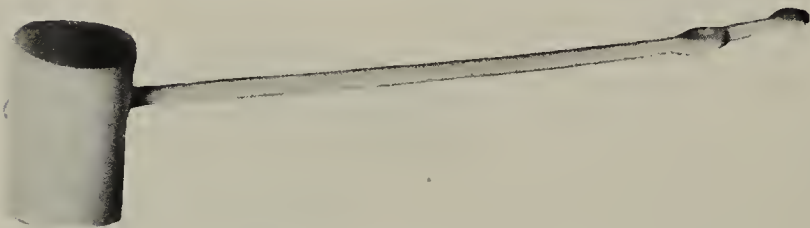


Fig. 264. Dipper of bone. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.



Fig. 265. Spoons of bone. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

worn point, both of which have been described before¹). Similar implements may be seen in Pfaff's coll. (Stockholm). The old women's implements for turning the meat play some part in several Greenland folk-tales. In the tale of the two cousins the orphan boy makes an arrow out of his grandmother's meat-turner of seal-bone in order to kill his enemy; in another the father of the girl shoots the dangerous eagle, which has robbed him of his daughter, with his grandmother's meat-turner²). — These implements are also known from western regions. Kumlien describes a meat fork from Baffin Land: "a reindeer's rib pointed at one end, used to fish up the meat with and sometimes to convey it to the mouth;" also Boas has some figures of curved forks like the Greenland ones³).

Blubber hooks for the lamp are mentioned p. 535. The blubber hooks and carriers from Alaska⁴) are used for the same purposes as the Greenland ones but are a little more specialized.

DIPPERS, LADLES AND SPOONS (p. 39). — Fig. 262 is a small spoon made of soapstone and used in supping preserved

¹) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 405—406, fig. 23 and pp. 463—464, fig. 53.

²) pp. 255 and 260 of this volume.

³) Kumlien (1879) p. 21; Boas (1888) p. 563, fig. 517 and (1901—1907) p. 74, fig. 100.

⁴) Nelson (1899) p. 73; Murdoch (1892) p. 310, figs. 311—312.

fruits (berries and blubber mixed). It could also be used for other things, for example, scraping the fat off skins.

Figs. 263*a* and *b* show some drinking cups of bone with bottoms of wood and long wooden handles. They are used both as dippers and cups. Fig. 264 is a similar drinking cup (for a child?) made of bone in two pieces. The sides of the cup are always made of a hollow bone sawed across so as to form a tube.



Fig. 266.
Meat and
blubber fork.
Nualik. (Am-
drup coll.).

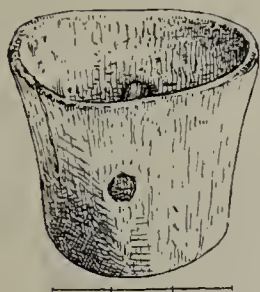


Fig. 267.
A child's
drinking cup
(fragment).
Nualik. (Am-
drup coll.).



Fig. 268. Dipper of wood for seal oil. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). ³/₁₀.

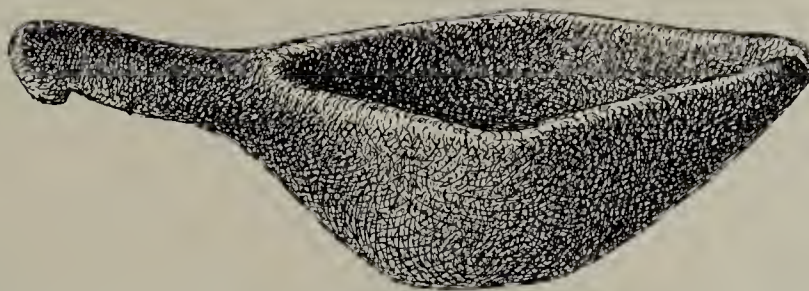


Fig. 269. Soup-ladle of wood. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). ³/₁₀.



Fig. 270. A child's dipper for drinking water.
Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). ⁵/₁₁.

Fig. 267 is a fragment of a dipper and drinking cup from the "dead house" of the same kind as the above-mentioned, but of wood instead of bone. It is characteristic of the two cups that the handle is inserted into two holes, bored opposite each other in the sides of the cup, so that it goes right across the cup. This is not the case with a larger water-dipper of wood also found in the "dead house" (Amdrup coll. no. 526). The holder of the dipper has here the same shape as the *pertaq* vessels in fig. 286 and consists of a thin-scraped board or hoop of wood folded back on



Fig. 271. Ladles and dippers of wood. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

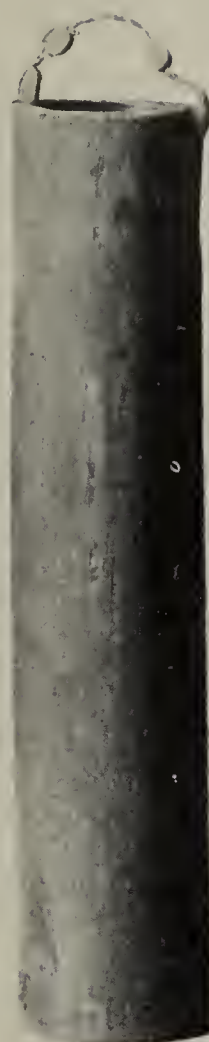


a



b

Fig. 272. Fish-slices of wood. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.



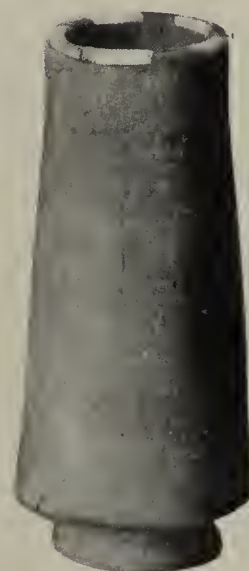
a



Fig. 273. Water bottle of wood. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.



Fig. 274. Sucking-tube for drinking water. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.



b

Fig. 275. Wooden pails for drinking water. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

itself and nailed together so as to hold fast round a flange on the oval-shaped bottom; further the bottom part is fastened by wooden pegs to the lower end of the hoop. The handle which is broader towards the holder is forked, so that it grips the latter up and down along the line of meeting and is fastened to the wall of the dipper with wooden nails.

Fig. 265 shows two spoons made of the scapulae of bears, used both for ladling meat (soup) out of the pot, and pouring blubber onto the lamp¹). This kind of bone-spoon is common at Ammassalik.

Figs. 268 and 269 show respectively an oil-dipper and a soup-dipper from the "dead house," according to Amdrup who got them determined by the Ammassalikers themselves.

Fig. 271 shows various ladles and dippers all made of wood in one piece. *a*, *c*, *d* and *e* have pieces of bone mounting inlaid and nailed on the edges with pegs in order to prevent them from fraying.

Fig. 272*a* and *b* are fish-slices, flat or slightly curved scoops of wood with one or three holes in the middle of the blade for the water to run through. They are mostly used for taking boiled caplins, sea-scorpions or salmon out of the pot (cf. p. 61).

Fig. 273 represents a bottle made of a hollow piece of wood, closed firmly at the one end by a wooden bottom. Besides the drinking hole at the top of the neck there is a hole in the middle of the side so that it can be half filled without being put quite down into the water. This is very practical as the water-vessel is not always quite filled and it may be difficult owing to the melting pieces of ice in it to let down the scoop or the bottle deep enough. In Johan Petersen's collection there were also a few water-scoops and mugs of the same peculiar forms (Mikeeki's water-scoop etc., nos. 213—216). These objects (the wooden bottle etc.) show us some recent examples of the Ammassalikers' skill in converting pieces of material of different shapes — here a round piece of wood — into useful objects which are not typical, rather quite unique, but may however serve for practical purposes.

Fig. 274 (cf. p. 39) shows a drinking-pipe of wood carved with ornamental rings and with a mouth-piece of ivory at each end for sucking water out of the water-bucket.

Fig. 275*a* is a drinking-cup made of bamboo-rod (drifted on land, see p. 333); it is provided with a strap for carrying purposes with

¹) One of the spoons described (*a*) has probably served for the same purpose as the one from Baffin Land described by Kumlien: "I found among some of these people a little spoon, or rather a miniature scoop, made of ivory, which they used to drink soup with." Kumlien (1879) p. 21.

two bone-beads. *b* is a similar cup of wood, the rim is strengthened with inlaid pieces of ivory.

Technical names. The various shapes of scoops and spoons have different names according to their different use. I am unable to give a complete account thereof, but I have noted the following designations: *imarteen* dipper, small scoop (for drinking water); *erñut* (or *erñuceq*) dipper (for drinking water), drinking cup; *ilaa'n* large scoop (for drinking water or for blubber or for baling a boat); *akkeesi(n)* or *atteesi(n)* large ladle for serving soup, boiled meat, or blood; *qatiwaaisarter* blubber spoon of bone or horn (for pouring blubber into the lamp); *nuniaartee(li)n* spoon for eating berries etc.; *atcät(t)aat* 'implement for upsetting something, turning it upside down,' used as — 1, a meat turner, bone fork for turning the meat in the pot; — 2, a fish-slice (spoon with a broad flat blade with holes for ladling fish out of the pot); — 3, a caplin scoop or dip-net (p. 467).

WATER AND URINE-TUBS (pp. 38—39, figs. 276—284, cf. figs. 46—47). — The difference between these utensils, namely, the presence of a cross-piece as handle in the first-named and its absence in the latter has already been pointed out by G. Holm's description here in the book. The handle is a thin, often slightly curved stick, the ends of which are mortised in two opposite ears or prolongations of the staves. Common to both urine- and water-tubs are the pieces of bone or ivory inserted in the upper rim and fastened with bone or wooden nails, partly to hold the staves together (to make up for hoops) partly to strengthen the rims and prevent them fraying. How the bottoms are fastened is seen in figs. 278 and 279. The bottom generally consists of one piece; besides being grooved into the staves, it is nailed with wooden pegs through the lower part of the staves. Through one of the staves of the water-tubs in figs. 279 and 280*b* a sucking-pipe has been inserted and the ivory mouth piece is seen projecting on the middle of the rim. The pipe lying as an elongated rounded swelling on the inner side of the stave reaches down to the bottom, where there is a hole through which the water may penetrate up into it. Several of the tubs (even the urine-tub in fig. 277) have ornamented sides, e. g. ivory reliefs representing seals, whales, human beings, that are nailed on.

The same is the case with the two drinking cups in fig. 281, which are very richly decorated in a similar way; here not only seals can be seen but man, wife and children, kaiaks, a narwhal, white whale, bear, birds etc. (cf. pp. 118 and 120). They are of the same shape as the water-buckets (cf. under *pertaq*-vessels) and must probably be considered as miniature buckets used as drinking-cups. Fig. 281*a* is at any rate quite unique. Otherwise the previously mentioned wooden-scoops are used as drinking cups. *a* is made of



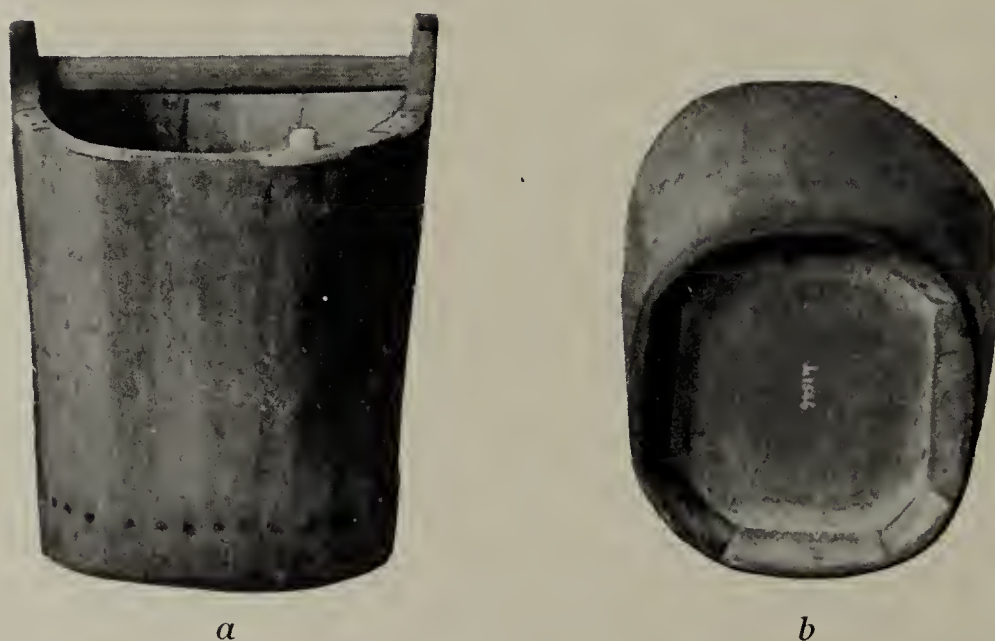
a *b*
Fig. 276. Two small water buckets.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.



Fig. 277.
Small urine vessel.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.



a *b*
Fig. 278. Water tub ornamented with ivory reliefs
representing seals and human beings. Side and bottom view.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.



a *b*
Fig. 279. Water tub with sucking pipe. Side and bottom view.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{6}$.

the hollowed stem of a tree, on which a wooden ring has been pegged at the upper end and a ring and bottom in one piece at the lower one. On the upper side of the first ring are small strips of bone and on the sides of



Fig. 280. Water tubs. *b* with sucking pipe. (Holm coll.).
a and *b* $\frac{1}{10}$, *c* $\frac{1}{5}$.

the rings bone-nails. The beads on the handle are made of fox-bone. *b* is made of a thin strip of wood, bent and pegged round a thick wooden bottom (i. e. a vessel of the *pertaq*-type, cf. pp. 545 and 553).

The water-tubs have their fixed place in the house in front of the main platform and stand beside the lamps on the same platforms as these or on the floor. They are rarely filled by fetching the water in a bucket (of the *pertaq*-type) from a river, but as a rule by being filled with large pieces of ice or frozen snow which slowly melt in the heated air of the house or tent. The urine-tubs occur in two different sizes; the smaller (always private property) stand on the narrow side-platform at the side-walls of the house; the larger, which are used in common and of which there are two or three in each house, stand on the floor between the side-platform and the window-platform. During the summer the large urine-tubs



Fig. 281. Drinking cups with ivory reliefs. (Holm coll.). $\frac{5}{8}$ s.

have their place in the fore-room of the tent in front of the tent-curtain.

MEAT-DISHES AND PLATES (p. 39). — For the common serving of the meat deep wooden dishes or trays, such as seen in figs. 285 *a, b, c*, are used whereas the shallower plates (*iluliaainät*, *d, e, f*) are for individual use during the meal, or for two or three persons.

Pertaq-dishes, buckets and drinking-cups (fig. 286) are mentioned together owing to the common construction: a strip of wood or whale-bone bent round a circular or oval bottom to which it is nailed, while the overlapping ends are sewn or nailed together, generally by two parallel seams (frequently sewn with whalebone fibre along the outer seam and pegged with wooden nails along the inner one). According to the breadth (height) of the strip the vessel is

used as blubber dish (fig. 286*j, k, m*) or for [serving blubber and frozen berries (*a, b, c*), as water pail for fetching [water or cup for drinking it (fig. 286*g, h, i, l* and 281*b*). Outside Greenland the water-casks are probably generally of this shape and construction but much larger.



Fig. 282. Urine tub from Ammassalik. (Amdrup coll.). $\frac{1}{7}$.

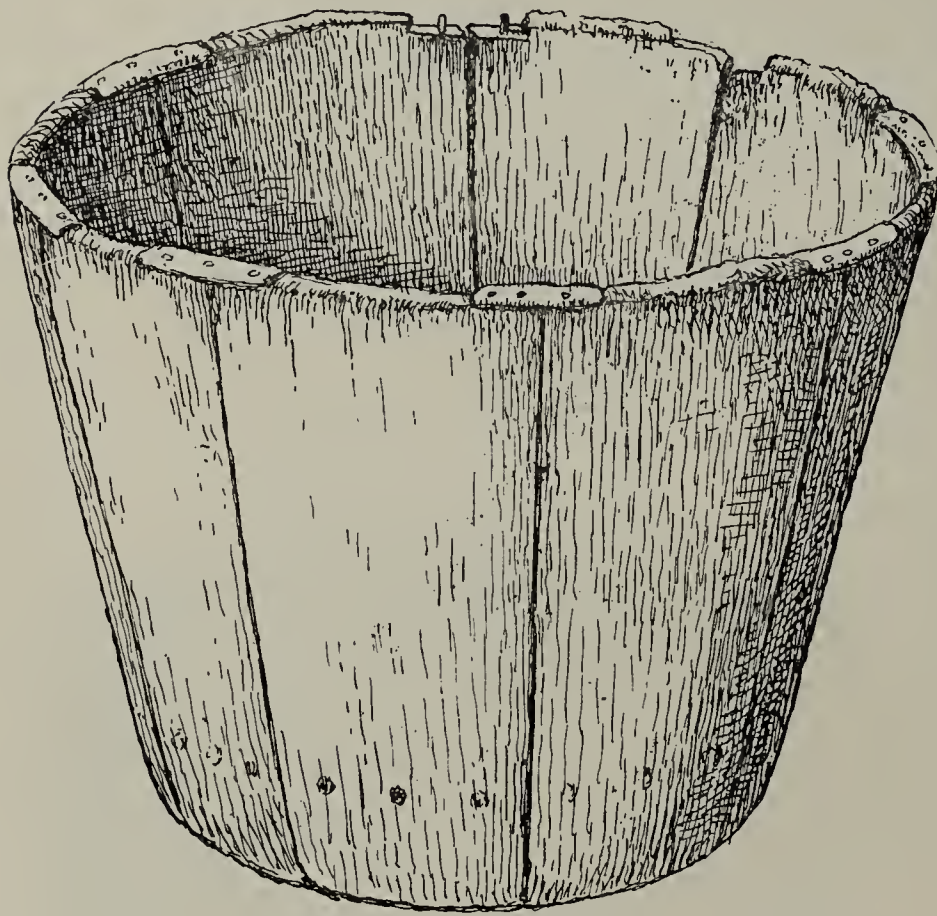


Fig. 283. Urine tubs from Ammassalik. (Holm coll.). *a* and *b* $\frac{1}{5}$. *c* $\frac{1}{6}$.

Technical names: *imern* or *imérpik* 'fresh water,' 'fresh-water place,' i. e. water tub in the house; *qoolorpik* (*qoolarpé*) urine tub or pail; *innertaat* bucket (of pertaq type); *neelupik* (*neelupé*) small dish or plate (of pertaq type, used for serving frozen blubber and

berries, herbs etc. (*qoojuit*); *qeetsiarpik* dish (of *pertaq* type for the same use); *iluliaainnaq* meat dish or plate (flat and round, made of wood all in one piece).

VESSELS, DISHES AND SPOONS IN GENERAL. — While most of the household utensils from Ammassalik described here are typical of the Eskimo culture in the far west even as far as to the Bering Straits, this does not apply to the water and urine-tubs made of wooden staves, which are so very characteristic of the Ammassalikers. It is only at Ammassalik that we find these stave-vessels,



cm.

Fig. 284. Urine tub from Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

generally very neatly and solidly made, almost superior to the tubs obtained from the Danes which the West Greenlanders keep in their houses for the same use; the Ammassalik tubs excel these in having the upper rims inlaid with ivory strips and frequently relief ornamentation on the sides. In earlier days the southern West Greenlanders have also used similar vessels and tubs¹). Wooden nails are used oftener than bone nails. Also the solid way in which the

bottom is mortised in the sides in these vessels is typical of the Ammassalikers, as also the firmly inserted wooden handle across the mouth of the water-tubs (in the *pertaq*-type of the West Eskimo a skin-handle fastened over the rim corresponds to this). The sucking-pipes belonging to some of the water-tubs are only known where the Ammassalik culture prevails. — It is probable that the stave-vessels from Ammassalik originate from European influence coming along the trade route southwards round Cape Farewell. How far back we may trace this type of vessel in Greenland is uncertain, but it is astonishing to see that these have had such a wide distribu-

¹) Cranz (1770) p. 191; Glahn (1771) pp. 208, 212.

tion before the arrival of the Europeans at Ammassalik and that their manufacture already long before that time had acquired such distinct and conventional forms. The ornamentation consisting of ivory reliefs along the outer sides of the staves in some of the smaller tubs already seems to indicate, that the manufacture of this



Fig. 285. Dishes and plates made of wood. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.

kind of vessel is of an old date in these regions of the east coast; and a still better confirmation of this supposition is obtained from Amdrup's discovery of a small urine tub (a child's urine pail) at the Skærgaard Peninsula, previously described and illustrated by me¹). Here we find again both the staves (seven in all) and the bottom

¹) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 407—408, figs. 25 and 27 (by a misprint the latter illustration has been turned upside down in the book, but not in the separate copies).

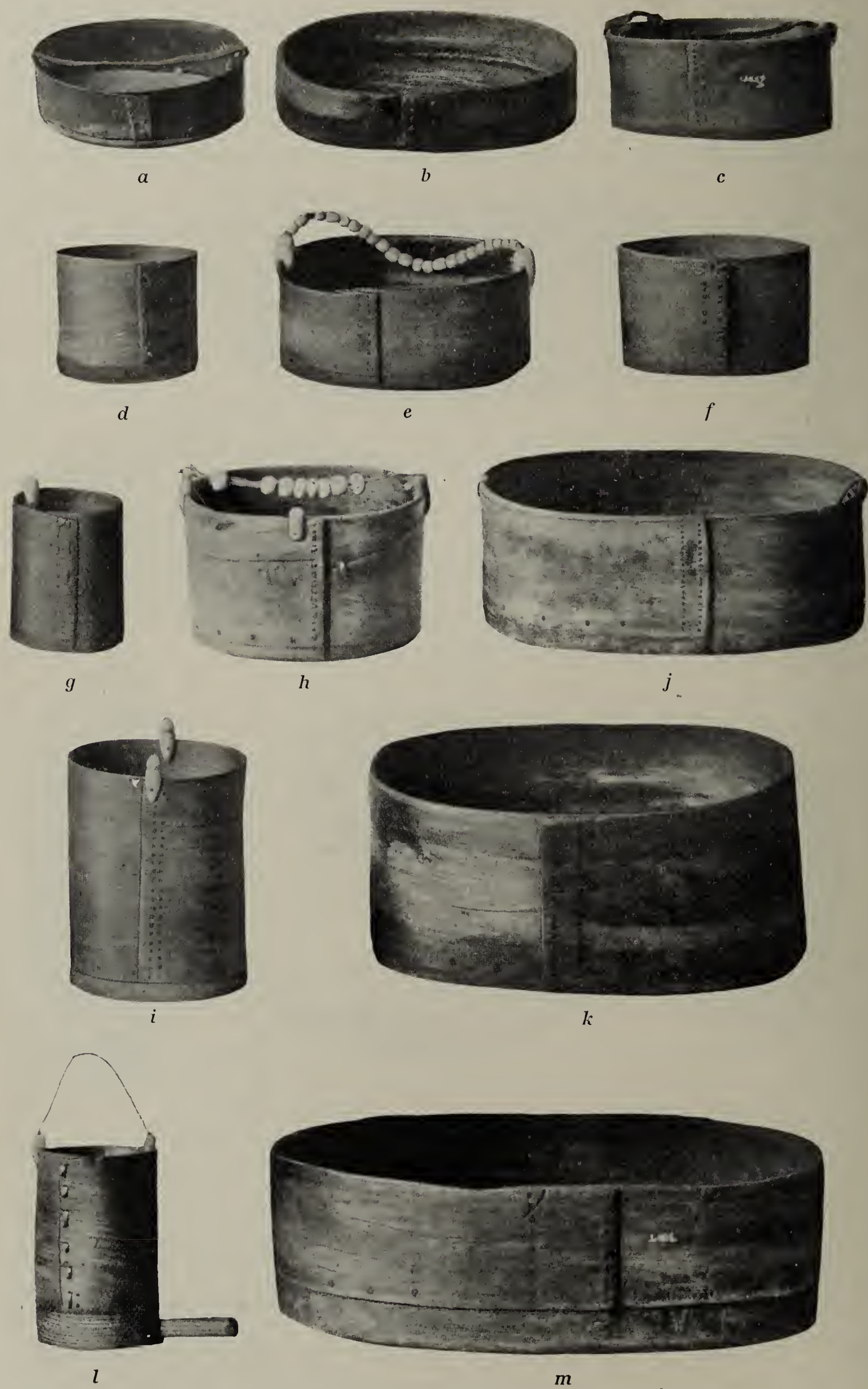


Fig. 286. Dishes and vessels (*pertaq*-type). (Holm coll.). $a-i \frac{1}{4}$, $j, k \frac{1}{5}$, $l \frac{1}{2}$, $m \frac{1}{6}$.

mortised to them. This specimen in reality connects the settlement discovered at the Skærgaard Peninsula with the Ammassalik culture more closely than any other objects from the same place. As the majority of the discoveries from this place betray an undoubted connection with the common, old Greenland culture, the comparatively ancient date of the stave-vessels at Ammassalik is rendered probable.

Otherwise the *pertaq*-type is the usual form for the Eskimo water-bucket, urine-vessel, drinking cups and for their plates and trays used for carrying meat and blubber, frozen berries, soup for the family, blood for the dogs etc. The *pertaq*-buckets are found everywhere in Eskimo regions¹). Northwards near the Skærgaard Peninsula Amdrup found a typical specimen of a *pertaq* blubber-dish made of a whalebone-strip round an oval wooden bottom²).

Besides this kind of vessel the Eskimo everywhere use hollow wooden blocks, round, elliptical or rectangular in shape, as meat and blubber trays and as plates. The round and flat shapes of these utensils (fig. 285) observed among the Ammassalikers are by no means unknown outside Greenland³). Near Cape Tobin Amdrup found a meat-tray of a similar rhomboid and deep shape as known from central Eskimo regions and from Alaska⁴). Also the scoops, ladles and spoons of the Ammassalikers are of true Eskimo



Fig. 287. Snuff-horns. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

¹) Murdoch (1892) pp. 86—88 (here urine-buckets are also mentioned from Alaska); Nelson (1899) pp. 71—72; Boas (1901—1907) pp. 44—48, 73—75, 98—99; Kroeber (1899) p. 288.

²) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 408—412, figs. 26—28; cf. from West Greenland p. 525, fig. 95 (and 43).

³) The West Greenlanders have used quite similar forms (seen in Pfaff's collection). From the west coast of Hudson Bay, Boas (1901) p. 99, fig. 143a; from South-west Alaska, Nelson (1899) p. 70 and Pl. XXXI—XXXII. Murdoch (1892) pp. 99—100.

⁴) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 462—463, fig. 51; (1911) p. 43. Boas (1901) p. 99. Lyon (1824) p. 118. Murdoch (1892) p. 89, fig. 19.

shapes and correspond to the same kind of implements used by the central and western Eskimo¹).

SNUFF-HORNS OR TRINKET BOXES (pp. 39, 140 and fig. 287). These are pipe-shaped boxes provided with a lid or stopper at both ends. The two specimens in fig. 287 *a* and *b* are made of hollow bones²), *c* of wood (bamboo-rod?), *d* is made of bone and wood, and the beehive-shaped bottom part ends below in two bead ornaments of the same kind as found on the handles of men's knives (fig. 181 etc.). The ornamental dots and figures carved on the small snuff-horn (fig. 287 *a*) are of great interest and will be mentioned in the section on the ornamentation of the Ammassalikers. In the wooden horn (fig. 287 *c*) I found some crushed whitish snuff. The horn is filled by turning the bottom upwards and removing it, so that the snuff can be put in; when wanted for use small portions of snuff are poured out through the smaller opening at the upper end.

In these snuff-horns (*tupaaisiwik* 'tobacco place'), which as far as known only occur in the Ammassalik collections from Greenland, we recognize the trinket-boxes of the Alaskan Eskimo (*kigiunar*) described by Murdoch³). It is true that the latter have the bottom nailed on and that the lids are made fast by means of sinew-threads, but their shape and size quite agree with the Greenland ones, most of them are of bone, often reindeer-antler, with wooden lid and bottom and several of them are ornamented on the outside with incised lines or dots. The original use of these Greenland boxes has probably been the same as in Alaska, where they serve for holding threads, beads and all sorts of little trinkets and knickknacks.

As Murdoch also described a similar kind of box or basket of fine twigs or root of willow in connection with these trinket-boxes I take this opportunity to mention that the East Greenlanders make no basket-work. The southern West Greenlanders on the other hand do some neat wicker-work of straw (small plates and dishes), but this industry seems to have been introduced by the Europeans. Murdoch is probably right in saying

¹) A great number of the wooden dishes, buckets, trays and ladles ornamented with totems and which have won a distribution among the Alaskan Eskimo originate according to W. Nelson (1899 p. 70) from the inland Tinne Indians, who disposed of these wares to the Eskimo when travelling down the rivers. But the Eskimo themselves also made similar objects which have their own peculiar style and are found as far away as the coasts of Davis Straits. That the original spoons of the West Greenlanders resembled those of the Ammassalikers is seen from the description in Glahn (1771) pp. 216—217. Dippers and ladles from northern parts of East Greenland of similar types as in Ammassalik have been found and described by Ryder (1895) pp. 329—330.

²) Fig. 287 *a* made of bear's tooth, *b* of a narwhal jaw-bone (bottom and lid of wood).

³) Murdoch (1892) pp. 322—326, figs. 329—334; (basketry) pp. 326—327.

that the West Greenland *amaat*¹⁾ is identical with the Point Barrow Eskimo word *ama*, giving evidence of a very old knowledge of basket-work in the western regions.

MEN'S BOXES OR HOUSE CHESTS (pp. 40 and 356). — These chests, in which the men (seldom the women) keep their tools and part of their clothes, are in Greenland always made of several pieces. The sides, bottom and lid consist of separate boards, sometimes a side or a lid is even made of two pieces bound together (fig. 288*a* and *b*). The hinges for the lid consist of skinstraps; the sides and the bottom are fixed together by means of wooden nails. The chest seen in fig. 289*e* is divided into three compartments. Fig. 289*b* shows a richly decorated box provided with a string of beads to be used as a handle for carrying purposes; further, it has four chains of beads fastened in the corners and connected with the same number of toy bears of wood (the fourth which is not seen in the figure has fallen off and lies in the chest). A chain of beads belonging to the lock has become loose and is illustrated in fig. 344*a*.



a



b

Fig. 288. Tool boxes from Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). ¹/₄.

The different kinds of locks are mentioned p. 40. On the boxes in figs. 289*a, b, c* there is a strap in the lid with a bone-toggle at the end, which is meant to be fixed between the two projecting teeth in fig. 290. This type of small toggle, shaped like a double crescent, is well known from Baffin Land and the Netchillik Eskimo²⁾.

¹⁾ Kleinschmidt's dictionary (p. 24) *amâk*. plur. *amât*, "the long thin runners from the root of a tree, also a basket of European basket-work."

²⁾ Boas (1901—1907) pp. 455—456, fig. 251*d, e*, cf. pp. 19—20 and 74.

In the houses of the Ammassalikers the larger chests (*tumarqat* plural of *tumaraq* 'something to put the feet on'), have their place on the floor in front of the main platform. As seen from the list on p. 357 each family if possible has a chest in front of their compartment. In the house near Qeqertaalaq, in which the platform had three compartments, there was a chest by the owner and his family's place at the one side wall and another by his old unmar-

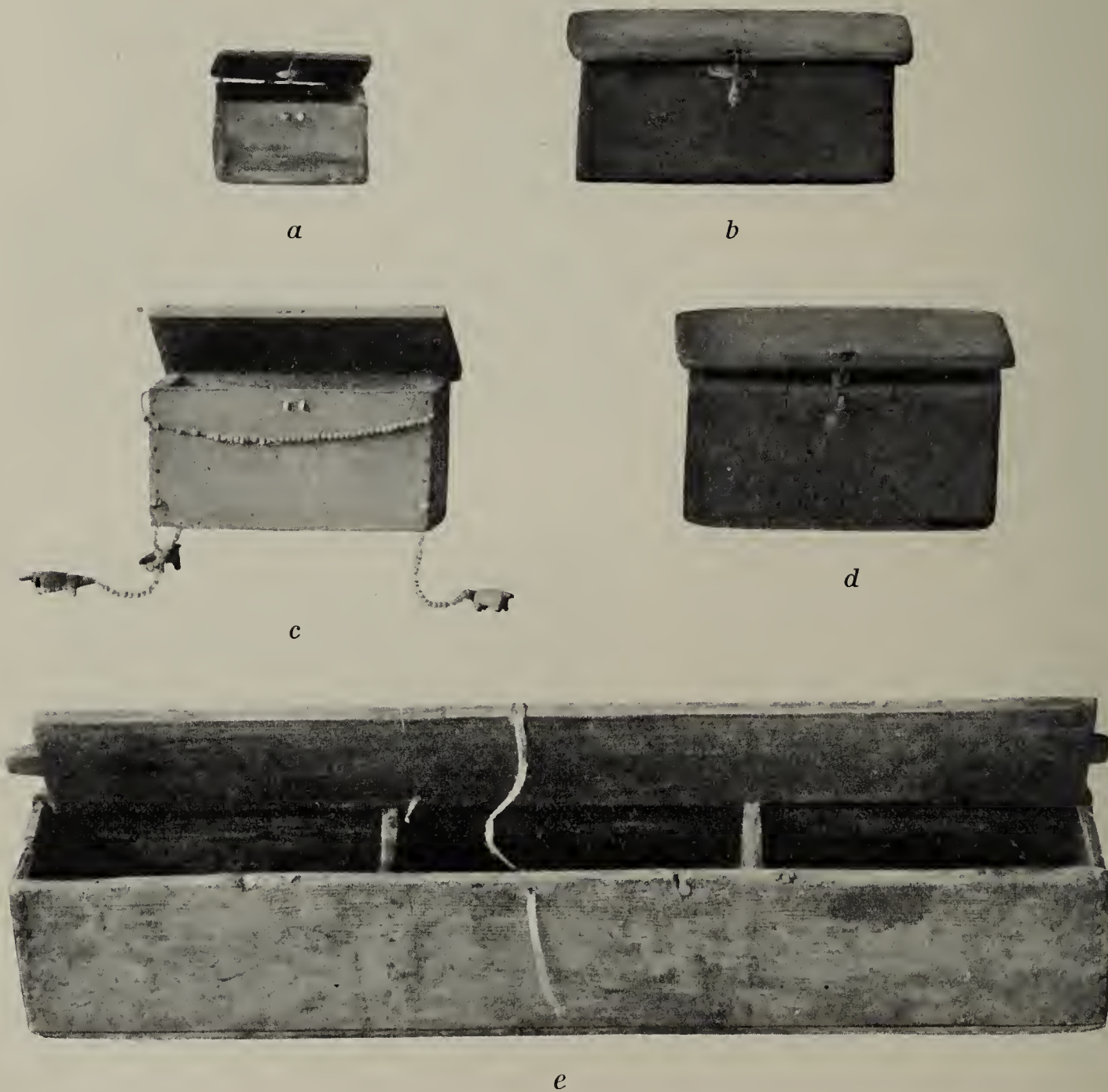


Fig. 289. Tool boxes. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

ried sister's place at the other. In the middle place between these lived a distant relative, a widow who had no *tumaraq*. Smaller boxes for keeping small implements and loose things are generally seen on or under the platform.

These kinds of chests are only known among the Eskimo within Greenland, where their shape has undoubtedly been influenced by intercourse with the Europeans. From Alaska are mentioned some oblong tool-chests cut from a wooden-block in one piece and with

a lid bound fast to the sides by means of holes, but similar chests have not been mentioned from East Eskimo regions. In addition to these Nelson describes some tool and trinket boxes from Alaska, one or two of which are made from thin boards fastened together with wooden pins; some of them are provided with a cover hinged with rawhide strips. I am inclined to think, however, that when in the manufacture of the Eskimo 5 or 6 cut boards are made into a chest and 10 or 12 staves into a bucket, this is most likely the result of extraneous influence. But the Greenlanders must very early have learnt this handicraft by copying everything they have seen of this kind. For specimen of chests and buckets constructed in this way have been found far north on the east coast. Fragments of a chest of 7 or 8 boards nailed together were found by the German North Polar Expedition on Jackson Island ($73^{\circ} 55' \text{ N. lat.}$)¹⁾ north of Franz Joseph Fjord. The nearest relatives of the Ammassalikers must have journeyed so far northwards, carrying with them their tumarqat and other household things up to this part of the coast, where they have died out long ago. (Cf. also fig. 389).

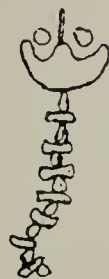


Fig. 290.
Toggle lock of
a box.
(Holm coll.).

CLOTHING.

CLOTHING (pp. 29—34). — As G. Holm's description of men's and women's clothes in the first part of this book is fairly complete, I need only give a short account of these here and some few remarks about certain details.

Men's costumes.

(* before the designation means "not worn by all or on all occasions.")

- | | |
|--|---|
| No. 1—4.
Home dress
(fig. 18). | 1. Short breeches (fig. 291).
2. Amulet-straps on breast and back (fig. 348).
3. *Armlets round the upper arm (fig. 349).
4. *Hair halters (fig. 324). |
| Nos. 5—12 (and 1—4).
Outdoor dress
to be used when walking or sledging
(figs. 14 to 17, 63, 294, 300). | 5. Inner frock made of
α) seal skin or
β) bird skin or
γ) fox skin
} with the fur (hair) in towards the body.
6. Outer frock with hood made of
α) seal skin (fig. 294) or
β) bear skin (fig. 300). |

¹⁾ In Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. Illustrated and described by me (1909) p. 519—525, fig. 91.

- | | |
|---|--|
| Nos. 12—18 (and 1—5).
Kaiak dress
to be used only in the
kaiak.

No. 19.
Whaling dress
(obsolete). | 7. Outer breeches made of
α) seal skin (fig. 294) or
β) bear skin (figs. 295, 298, 300).
8. Inner boots or stockings (of sealskin).
9. Outer boots (figs. 294, 298—300).
10. *Overshoes of bear skin (fig. 300).
11. *Mittens (fig. 300, 312 etc.).
12. *Snow goggles (fig. 323).
13. Gutskin shirt drawn over the inner frock (fig. 298).
14. Outer waterproof kaiak frock with hood (fig. 296).
15. Combined half-frocks (fig. 299) consisting of
α) the upper part,
β) the skirt or nether part (to be fastened round
the rim of the manhole).
16. *Cap with peak (figs. 314—315).
17. *Eye shade (figs. 316—322).
18. Kaiak mittens (figs. 296—297).
19. * <i>kardligpâsalik</i> (Holm, see p. 31). |
|---|--|

Women's costumes.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Nos. 1—4.
Home dress
(figs. 11, 23, 24, 302).

Nos. 5—11 (and 1—4).
Outdoor dress
(figs. 17, 19, 21, 24, 25,
28, 58, 303—309). | 1. Short breeches (fig. 293).
2. *Armlets, anklet and necklace (pp. 33—34).
3. *Ear-drops (figs. 23, 27, 329—330).
4. Toupee ribbon (fig. 329).
5. Inner frock of seal skin with the fur side in to-
wards the body (figs. 25, 303—306, 309).
6. Outer frock of seal skin with the fur side out-
wards
α) with a large hood (figs. 28, 308), or
β) with a small hood (figs. 27, 307).
7. *Gutskin frock.
8. Outer breeches (fig. 292).
9. Inner boots or stockings of sealskin.
10. Outer boots (fig. 311).
11. *Head-kerchief (fig. 327). |
|---|---|

Children's costumes

(see pp. 34 and 63, cf. figs. 21, 25, 28, 310).

Technical terms. — Men's costumes: (1) *naatseen* 'short ones' i. e. short breeches (*natit*); *naatsuät* their short breeches; (2) *aarnuaat qit-tutaat*, *qittätaat* wooden parts (dolls) of the amulet-straps; (3) *teea^wtaa* armlet; (4) *soonიაqitaat* hair halter; *niwiṇalértaat* pearl strings fringing the front part of the hair halter;

(5—6) *átätsin* (*aṇätsik*), outer frock; *arnoraaq* (or *paṇaaq*?) anorak, inner frock; *atigéq* (plur. *atikkin*, *aṇikkin*) bird skin frock; *naniwa* (*naner^wa*) bear skin frock; *nannilarte* one who has a bear skin frock on; *nuijaaja* the opening for the face in the hood of the frock; *pusisaa* the border round the face of the bear skin hood;

(7) *qarterpaat*, *qartippaat* outer breeches, trousers;

(8—9) *kapitaa* or *ilipaaaja* inner boot, stocking; *kamik* or *kam-(m)ak* or *atartagaq* boot (*kamikka*, *kammakka*, *atartakakka* my boots); *aliwa* sole; *kimmia* or *keenä* (*keenor^{wa}*) heel; *isä* toe; *iseraa* or *isayaa* (plur. *isárqan*) instep; *anyia* patch sewn on for repairing;

(10) *isigammaait*, *isikammaait* overshoes (short outer boots) of bear skin;

(11) *teemiseq* (plur. *teemisin*) mittens, gloves (*teemisaa* his m. or g. single); (12) *itlaak* a pair of goggles;

(13) *ikkiaq* gutskin's frock; (14) *qaajarseen*, *qaarseen* (*qaarceen*) outer waterproof kaiak frock with hood; (15) *akiwilisaq* (*akuilisaq*) or *usernaweeqit* (*-qitaa*) kaiak skirt, nether part of combined kaiak frock; *qarsertaq* or *kiapeet* upper part of the combined kaiak frock; *sukättitaat* draw-strings for tightening the border of the hood; *kuio-raataat* 'a means for getting water to run off,' string provided with beads and toggles for lifting navel part of the frock; *misérsérpia* the navel part of the frock or a bone button there; *paata uwitaa* draw-string along the opening of the sleeve;

(16) *qarmaa^wssaq* (Holm) or *qaa^wmaa^wssaq*, *gammaaalaq* cap with peak; *isisäataa* upper part of the cap; *inneekitaa* its peak; (17) *inneekitaq* (*inyeekitaq* Holm) eye-shade; (18) *maatät* or *pualaatit* kaiak mittens;

(19) *ata^wttaa*q or *qartippaasalik* (Holm) '(frock) provided with large trousers,' whaling frock.

Women's costumes: (1) *naatseen* short trousers; *niwiyataaiät* fringe of small strings; *ijia* the front part of the trousers; *iserpalia* the hind part (*rima*); (2) *nuiserqat* necklace; (3) *orseetaak*, *awatarpaak* ear-drops; (4) *qalia titarnera* toupee ribbon;

(5—6) *tättuttaq* anorak, sealskin frock (also *arnnoraq*); *isiwa* hood; *nuijaaja* or *neesora* the opening of the hood; *nuiaa^wqitaa* fur brim along *nuijaaja*; *qaqiwaan* two strips of light-coloured skin sewn in the fur of the outer frock over the breast; *qaqiwaarmeewän* two ornamental pearl strings hanging at the nether end of *qaqiwaan*; *tuwiä* shoulder seam; *looameewän* or *ilin^wnameewän* two ornamental pearl strings on each shoulder; *ilin^wna* seam from the shoulder to the back, hind part of the shoulder of the frock; *ipeet^waataa* seam or fold from the neck along the shoulder, front part nearest to the neck; *tartiwaata* leather strap attached (sewn) on the front of the frock, about at the midriff, for winding round the waist to make a bottom when the child is in the hood; *nättiwaata* short string at the top of the hood; *qimertiwa* front seam of the hood; *akiwän* or *kernän* flaps on the nether edge in front and back of the frock (*akik^wka* my flaps); *kitteqitaa* and *qernertertaa* brims sewn like two

stripes along the nether edge of the frock; *sitterseeta* interval between them; *aaia* ist (the frock's) sleeve;

(8) *qarterpaat*, *qartippaat*, outer breeches; *malersaa* skin brim or tuck along their upper edge (containing a string for lacing); *ilit^waa* the front part; *cilataak* 'outer parts,' loin parts; *napaaia* the hind part; (9) *serqiwilisaa* fur border around the upper part of the stocking (which protrudes from the top of the boot-leg);



a



b

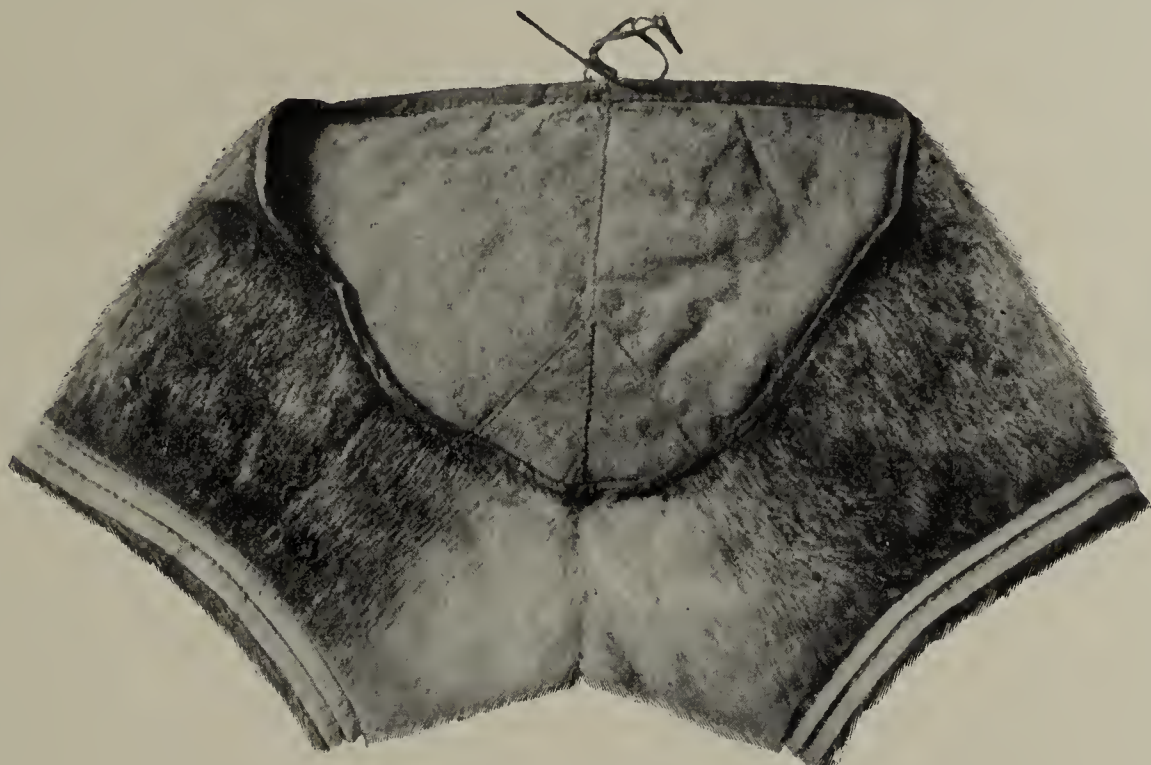
Fig. 291. Men's short breeches (natit). (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{6}$.

(10) *kamme*, *kamippaat* see men's costumes (8); *iaaria* or *eearnera* the seam which attaches the sole to the quarter; *aliter^wnera* seam between sole and quarter; *puttaa^wtaa* the bulky part along the instep; *kuttararna* the Y-shaped pattern on the upper part of the front of the boot; *cüjoraa* or *neewa* front seam or skin stripe sewn along the shin-bone of the boot (the nether shank of the Y); (11) *qaarua* her head-kerchief.

HOME DRESS. — In Greenland as everywhere among the Eskimo it is the custom of the natives to take off the frocks, outer breeches and boots inside the house or tent, when they sit up on the plat-

form and only to keep on the short breeches which consist of very little but a widened belt round the thighs and loins¹⁾.

Out in the open air the children may be seen playing with each other with no clothes on. The grown-up people on the other hand are not seen naked outside the house and a woman would consider it very indecent to appear in her home-dress outside the



a



b

Fig. 292. Women's outer breeches. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{6}$.

door-opening; I have the impression that they are forbidden to do so on religious grounds. When I wished to photograph Maneekut-taq's wife and asked her to take off her frock outside the tent, she called her husband, who was angakoq apprentice but not full-fledged,

¹⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 112; Steensby (1910) p. 334. In the snow-huts of the Central Eskimo this custom does not prevail, however, owing to the low temperature. Cf. Lyon (1824) p. 111.

and he declared somewhat excitedly, that "only the wives of the baptized behaved in that way, our women must not undress in the open air but only in the tent or the hut." Kilime's wife, an old hag, confirmed this statement. Her scruples were overcome however by a small reward — I wanted to photograph the tattoo markings on her body (see fig. 302) — and she took off her anorak but she tied the flap round her neck so that it hung down her back, probably as some sort of apology to the provoked spirits.

Finer dress than the ordinary home-costume is not known, but on certain grand occasions new clothes are sewn and the young (sometimes also the old) women hang ornaments of beads round their neck and hair. — In some of the *uaajertooq*-games the men disguise themselves in women's clothes or by turning their own anoraks inside out or in other ways; in these games they have to represent women or to play certain parts whilst dancing and drumming.

The West Greenland home-dress was previously like the East Greenland, but long ago the influence of the Christian mission has led to the naked habit being abandoned. In reality the removal of the clothes in the heated interior of the house was of advantage in promoting health and cleanliness among the natives. The heavy skin-clothes must naturally still be taken off, but the body is covered by shirts from the European store or by cloth-anoraks which they make themselves from striped or checked cotton-cloth, often with strong colours. These serve as covers over the skin-anorak. The same custom is now being adopted at Ammassalik and here the women even put on a long white linen-shirt, hanging loose round the upper part of their body and their legs like a petticoat 'in order to resemble the European ladies.'

The home-dress of earlier times in West Greenland has been described by Glahn¹⁾ as follows: "The women always wear *natit*, even sleeping with them on. They are generally made of very short-haired reindeer-skins, richly ornamented with the belly-skin of the animals (*pukit*). They only hide pudenda and a third part of the loins. As soon as they enter the house or tent they immediately sit down on the platform, draw off first the boots, then the skin-coat and at last the outer trousers, so that they are quite naked except for the short breeches. These being the only things they keep on in the house, it is quite natural that they take great pains to make them as beautiful as possible. For the same reason they do not wear necklets fitting closely round the neck but make them wide so that they fall over their breasts. Their earrings are beads drawn on a string, often so long that they reach down over the shoulder. To a foreigner it is not pleasant to be surrounded by so many naked people, but one gradually gets so accustomed to the sight that it appears quite natural."

¹⁾ Glahn (1771) p. 190—191.

From the Smith Sound Eskimo we hear of women's breeches ("legless trunks") made of thick fox or rabbit fur, lined with soft bird-skin¹⁾. They seem to be made according to the same principle as those of the Ammassalik women, only that the latter are made of seal-skin with the hairy side turned outwards and ornamented with embroidery, skin fringes and strings of beads.

SEWING, NEEDLE AND THREAD. — As a supplement to what has been said on p. 514 regarding the sewing of the Eskimo women with bone-needles and on pp. 506—507 and 518—519 regarding their twisting of the sewing thread, I may here cite what has been written by Cranz and his sharp commentator Glahn. The accounts given by the older authors of the original manufactures of the Eskimo are naturally of special value, as the commercial intercourse with Europe in modern times has caused great changes in the culture of the natives. The new wares have even penetrated as far as Ammassalik and certain old implements and manufactures have changed or been forgotten. It must be noted that the following remarks apply

¹⁾ Kroeber (1899) p. 295. Mylius-Erichsen and Moltke (1906) pp. 364—365; Steensby (1910) figs. 22—23.



Fig. 293. Women's inner breeches (natit). *a* and *c* front, *b* and *d* back. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{6}$.



Fig. 294. Man's outdoor dress of sealskin.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{10}$

to the West Greenlanders but are undoubtedly also in the main applicable to the culture of the East Greenlanders.

The Greenlanders do not (according to Cranz)¹⁾ use the guts for sewing thread, but the sinews of reindeer and whales, which they split into thin fibres, afterwards plaiting them with the fingers to form threads with two or three strands. To this Glahn adds the remark²⁾, that it is the sinews of smaller whale-species (white whale, narwhal and porpoise) that are used for the sewing of clothes, but that the reindeer sinews are best suited to this purpose. It is only for sewing the whale-fisher's garments (qardligpaasalik) that sinews of larger whales are used. The latter are also used for sewing certain coarse objects, e. g. the skins for umiaks, kaiaks and tents and the network of dipnets for catching caplins. As already mentioned, only the sinews of the smaller whales, and sometimes the sinews in the hind-part of seals and the spine-sinews of foxes are used in the sewing of clothes. The sinews are separated into finer or coarser threads according to what is wanted in the given case; they are then rolled by a certain twisting movement of the hand on the

¹⁾ Cranz (1770) p. 182.

²⁾ Glahn (1771) p. 184.

knee [at Ammassalik on the cheek] and are thus used as they are, i. e. unplaited. But for the clothes that require stronger sewing, e. g. whale-fishing dress and boot-soles, plaited threads may be used. Plaited threads (*pertlāk*) may also be used in the sewing of umiak, kaiak and tent-covers, for the large skin bags etc.; the plaiting of the threads is made with wonderful dexterity and speed.

For the plaited sinew thread large sewing needles, for the unplaited small needles are required. The fine embroidery, e. g. on boots, shoes, skin-frocks, especially if adorned with the beard of reindeer (old males), requires just as fine sewing needles as our own finest embroideries. The triangular (in transverse section), ground needles are mostly used by the Greenlanders, who are so particular in their choice that among 100 needles of varying sizes they would hardly find more than a few which in every respect suit their wishes. But if they find good needles and have good thread they sew very neatly and take great care that the stitches are small, short, uniform and with the same distance between them (Glahn).

According to Cranz¹⁾ the Greenlanders previously used fish-bone and the thinnest bones



Fig. 295. Man's dress. Sealskin frock and bear skin trousers and shoes. (Holm coll.). ¹/₁₀.

¹⁾ Cranz l. c. p. 183.

of birds as sewing-needles (at the time when their knives were of stone). As mentioned by Parry¹⁾ for the Central Eskimo, the Greenlanders have probably used "for want of needles often a strip of whalebone as a substitute" (note, these are needles used for tatooing of the skin).

Glahn points out that "the southern women" (viz. on Greenland's west coast) with regard to dexterity in sewing excel those from the northern parts, just as the men in the southern parts of West Greenland are cleverer at working in wood than those from the northern regions. In both respects the skill of the Ammassalikers may undoubtedly be compared with that of the southern West Greenlanders.

OUTDOOR DRESS. In Greenland there is no great difference in the style and cut of the clothes in the different regions. Everywhere we find the same shirt-like frock, consisting of an inner and an outer part; it is apparently almost the same for men and women, only that the latter are provided with a larger hood than the former and the lower border²⁾ ends in somewhat larger flaps in front and at the back. The men's frocks (fig. 294) are generally cut square below but are sometimes pointed in front; near Smith Sound the men's anoraks have always small flaps in front and at the back³⁾. Both here and at Ammassalik the boys' anoraks have the same pointed shape or diminutive flap (a rudiment of an earlier mode in the men's coats?). Regarding the West Greenlanders Hans Egede states that "many (of the men's coats) have a flap in front and at the back."⁴⁾ — A further difference between the frocks of men and women consists in the shape of the shoulder part, which is wide and loose in the latter (figs. 304—309)⁵⁾.

The most conspicuous difference between men's and women's clothing in Greenland lies in the shape of the trousers and boots⁶⁾. The men's outer breeches reach down to the knees or still further; the outer breeches of the women are very short so that a part of the thighs is always naked. On the other hand, the women's boots

¹⁾ Parry (1824) p. 498.

²⁾ What Lyon states about the clothing of the women of the Central Eskimo, that "in shape almost every part is different from the male dress," undoubtedly also applies to all other Eskimo. The cut is different and also the seams run differently (Lyon 1824, p. 315).

³⁾ Steensby (1910 figs. 74—90; Kroeber (1899) p. 293; Mylius-Erichsen (1906) pp. 184 and 317.

⁴⁾ Egede, *Perlustration* (1741) p. 72. Cf. plate on p. 93 (the ball-players).

⁵⁾ Egede (1741) p. 73; Cranz (1770) pp. 183—184. Cf. Lyon (1824) p. 315 regarding the people of Winter Island and Iglulik: "The shoulder of the women's coat has a wide bag-like space, for which we were long unable to account; but it was at length ascertained to be for the purpose of facilitating the removal of the child from the hood round to the breast without taking it out of the jacket."

⁶⁾ Kroeber (1899) p. 291; Glahn (1771) p. 190 notes the difference that the women's coats are shorter and narrower round the hips than the men's.

reach much longer up on the leg than the men's and are naturally much wider at the top. The upper part of the women's breeches is also very curtailed especially behind, so much so that in stooping forwards a part of the naked body will always appear between the frock and the edge of the breeches. In front the flap of the upper garment hardly reaches the lower edge of the breeches. In most of the women's dresses shown in the illustrations here (reproduced quite as they were arranged in our National Museum) the breeches are drawn too high up under the frock, so that the flap covers too much of the front and back; but the conditions seen in figs. 303—304 are nearly right. — The outer breeches are edged with a folded band of black leather, through which is drawn a thin rawhide lace with the ends emerging from the openings in the band at the back. By means of this lace the breeches are tightened round the hips (and round the legs, cf. fig. 301).

Outside Greenland there is a greater difference in the clothing of the men and women. At most places the frock of the former is cut square below without flaps but often ornamented with a row of fringes¹⁾; the frock of the women is provided with very large flaps or rather trains especially at the back. But in the central regions among the Eskimo at Winter Island and Iglulik²⁾ such large flaps, like enormous coattails, are also found at the back of the men's frocks. Here the flaps on the frocks of both men and women are almost as broad as the body and rounded along the lower border and the women have them almost down to the feet at the back. Down along the east coast of Hudson Bay and on Baffins Island women's flaps are considerably narrower, and almost resemble tails reaching quite down to the feet. Kumlien calls them "lance-shaped trains" and mentions, that "there is often an approach towards this prolongation in the men's jackets," as is also evident from Boas' illustrations. Only the frocks of children are without these flaps. On the west coast of Hudson Bay among the Kinipetu and Aivilik tribes we find almost the same large tails on the men's frocks as further northwards at Iglulik and Winter Island. The Kinipetu male dress especially has a long tail which reaches to the ground and is almost square below³⁾. The Aivilik male dress on the other hand is cut off sharply below and hung all round with fringes⁴⁾. Near Mackenzie River and westwards in Alaska there is no trace of this mode with the back-train; the male dress is cut square below or is a trifle longer behind than in front⁵⁾. The same holds good of the men's frocks on the eastern side of Hudson Bay, the north coast of Labrador and Resolution Island⁶⁾. Murdoch refers to the illustrations in Cranz⁷⁾ in order to prove that the ancient fashion in Greenland was much more like that of the western Eskimo. Cranz's illustrations

¹⁾ Boas (1888) fig. 397; Turner (1894) figs. 30—31; Murdoch (1892) figs. 53—58.

²⁾ Parry (1824) and Lyon (1824), see the illustrations.

³⁾ Boas (1901) pp. 49—50, figs. 67—68 and pp. 103—105, figs. 150—152.

⁴⁾ Boas (1901) p. 102 and Pl. I—IV.

⁵⁾ Nelson (1899) p. 34.

⁶⁾ Turner (1894), figs. 34—36; Ellis (1750) p. 142 (at Resolution Island); Frobisher (1577) p. 225; Kumlien (1879) p. 23.

⁷⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 120; Cranz (1770) vol. I, Pl. III.

are however very different from the above-mentioned modes from the other side of the Davis Straits, but the flaps on the female frocks are certainly



Fig. 296. Hooded waterproof kaiak frock, front view.
(Holm coll.). ¹/₁₀.

larger than in these old pictures (cf. the illustrations in Egede)¹. In Holm's collection we see the old fashioned mode represented by an interesting specimen of a woman's dress from southern East Greenland with larger flaps than usual now and with a peculiar style of seaming over the breast, distinctive of old-style dresses from southern West Greenland (fig. 309)². The mode of the large flaps has probably been predominant among the tribes which once immigrated into Greenland, but has been given up here, perhaps already before the time of immigration.

If we consider that the long tails in front and at the back of the women's frocks have originally been formed as a sort of petticoat round the waist and hips — this being the shape of their hooded frock on the islands in the Bering Straits — the characteristic feature of the women's dresses becomes the long slit from the lower border of the frock and up along each side. Near the mouth of the River Yukon the frocks of the women were almost

like those of the men, except that they were cut up a little further on the

¹) Hans Egede (1741); Poul Egede (1788) Pl. II with two natives.

²) Johan Petersen remembered having seen the same fashion of seaming in his childhood in West Greenland, and it corresponds exactly with the old illustration just cited from Poul Egede (1788).

side so as to make a more conspicuously pendent flap before and behind. This peculiarity decreases southwards along the coast but increases towards the north of the River Yukon. "They are deeply cut up along each side so that before and behind the skirt hangs in a long, broad, round flap."¹⁾ Even as far as the Davis Straits this mode has prevailed, the small flaps of the Greenlanders being only faint rudiments of it.

The following quotation from one of the French emigrant, Charlevoix's letters dated 1721²⁾ contains undoubtedly the earliest description of an Eskimo dress from regions outside Greenland, namely, from the south-east corner of Labrador near the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Here the gutskin or fish-skin frock of the kaiak-man is mentioned, as also his bear and fish-skin frocks with hood, trimmed above with a "skin-brush" (a fox-tail or only a border of long-haired skin round the rim of the hood?). It is worth noticing the reference to the long flaps of the women, their belts hung with small ornamental bones (teeth?), and the men's trousers and stockings with the hairy side turned inwards while covered on the outer side by other kinds of skins.

"Ces Sauvages sont tellement couverts qu' à peine on leur voit une partie du visage, & le bout des Mains. Sur une espece de Chemise faite de Vessies, ou d'Intestins de Poissons, coupées par bandes, & assez proprement cousuës, ils ont une maniere de Casaque de Peau d'Ours, ou de quelque autre Bête fauve, quelquefois même de Peaux d'Oiseaux, un Capuchon de même Etoffe que la Chemise, & qui est attaché, leur couvre la Tête, du haut de laquelle sort un Toupet de Cheveux qui leur offusque le Front. La Che-



Fig. 297. Hooded waterproof kaiak frock, back view. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{10}$.

¹⁾ Nelson (1899) pp. 35—36; Murdoch (1892) p. 138.

²⁾ Charlevoix (1744) p. 180.

mise ne descend que jusqu'aux Reins, la Casaque pend par derriere jusques sur les Cuisses, & se termine par devant en pointe plus bas que la ceinture;



Fig. 298. Gutskin frock and bear skin breeches.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{10}$.

mais aux Femmes, elle descend des deux côtés jusqu' à mi-Jambe, & elle est arrêtée par une ceinture, d'où pendent de petit Osselets. Les Hommes ont des Culotes de Peaux, dont le Poil est en dedans, & qui sont revêtues en dehors de Peaux d'Hermes, ou d'autres semblables. Ils ont aussi aux Pieds des Chaussons de Peaux, dont le Poil est pareillement en dedans, & par dessus une Botte fourée de même."

In Greenland frocks of bird's skin are generally only used by the men, especially in the kaiak. Glahn mentions however, that in South Greenland they were sometimes used by the women¹). Near Smith Sound they are used by men as well as women²). The material of which the ordinary frock is made is mainly the same everywhere in Greenland, except at Ammassalik where no reindeer and hare-skins are available owing to the absence of these animals. The skin of the polar bear

¹) Glahn (1771) pp. 186—187.

²) Kroeber (1899) p. 293; Steensby (1910) p. 338.

is much used as winter clothing at Ammassalik as well as at Smith Sound.

The ornamental stripes on the outer frocks at Ammassalik are made by sewing narrow strips of white skin (bear or dog, often with the hair cut short) in between the seams¹). Often the strips are double and alternate with dark ones which are produced by the white fur strips being sewn on broader bands of unhaired skin (black or brownish). The fur strips are often laid in parallel rows overlapping each other. — Also the surface of the inner frocks, which have the fur side in towards the body, is often embroidered with thin threads or narrow strips of dried gullet of seal or intestines of dog, which are first shred out and dyed in blood so as to become black, or reddish black.

THE KAIK-FROCKS. — The waterproof shirt of gutskin (with hood) is a common part of the Eskimo apparel, especially used in the kaiak in wet or rough weather. It is however not mentioned from the Central Eskimo nor from the people living at Baffin Land, but on the other hand we hear of it from the region round Ungava on the north coast of Labrador, first in Charlevoix (1744), later in Turner (with illustrations)²). It is made of long straight strips of the longitudinally split intestines of the bearded seal sewn together with sinew thread. Between Labrador and Point Barrow in Alaska they are probably not used. Those described from the latter place agree with the Greenland ones³), and it is stated expressly that they are used by men as well as women, as is also the case at Ammassalik (fig. 298).

The gutskin shirt of the Ammassalikers is often embroidered with narrow strips of black unhaired skin sewn on with threads. It is usually made up of 8 long and broad strips sewn together by four seams at the front and four at the back; the hood is simply the prolongation of the middle piece of the back. The shoulder pieces are set in separately and their two pointed flaps reach down on the back.

The two other kinds of kaiak-frock are unknown outside Greenland. They are not even known from Smith Sound but are restricted to the middle and southern part of both coasts, where they have thus probably originated. They are seen in figs. 296—297 and 299 *a-b*.

The waterproof kaiak-frock of black seal-skin leather is men-

¹) Graah (1832) p. 120 adds that the frocks are trimmed with a fur collar made of the skins of dog, bear, fox or raven.

²) Charlevoix (1744), cited above; Turner (1894) pp. 220—221, fig. 45.

³) Murdoch (1892) p. 122; Nelson (1899) p. 36. A similar man's fish-skin frock from South Alaska is mentioned by Nelson (1899) pp. 36—37; cf. Pl. XIX. In Greenland over-coats made of salmon skins to be used by boys are mentioned by Glahn (1771) p. 204.



Fig. 299 *a*. Combined kaiak dress, front view. Upper part, or half-jacket, made of white leather. Nether part or kaiak skirt, made of black leather. Cap of fox skin, breeches and boots of sealskin. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{10}$.

tioned but not further described by H. Egede, Cranz and Glahn¹), the latter of whom states that by means of a running lace it may be secured below round the kaiak-hoop of the manhole. In recent times Schultz-Lorentzen has called attention to its varying shapes²).

For keeping the hood in position round the head two narrow cords or laces are fastened on the back at each side (mentioned p. 30). Likewise a brace provided with beads and

¹) Egede (1741) p. 72; Cranz (1770) p. 183; Glahn (1771) p. 189.

²) Schultz-Lorentzen (1904) pp. 312—313 describes the waterproof kaiak-frock as comparatively short and narrow among the East and South Greenlanders whereas on the middle and northern part of the west coast it is so long that it almost reaches down to the man's knees, while the sleeves reach some way beyond the finger-tips when the frock is unlaced; when it is laced on the body, therefore, it forms numerous folds but is very comfortable and allows freedom of movement.

toggles is passed over the left shoulder through a bone ring or buckle to prevent the lower part of the frock from forming a fold, in which the water would otherwise collect. In the specimen used for the illustration here the brace and the laces are missing; but two braces of this kind are seen in fig. 42 bottom (p. 115) cf. figs. 335—337, 340.

The double or combined kaiak-frock consisting of two half-frocks (figs. 299*a* and *b*) is used when the weather is good, i. e. not rough or stormy or when there might be danger of capsizing. Glahn¹⁾ mentions however only the lower part, which is made fast round the rim of the man-hole and is kept up by means of braces slung over the man's shoulders; further, they use loose half-sleeves tied round the wrist and above the elbow. At Ammassalik the upper part is a real dress, though very stumpy, made of white



Fig. 299 *b*. Combined kaiak dress, back view.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{10}$.

¹⁾ Glahn (1771) pp. 189—190.



Fig. 300. Bear skin dress. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{10}$.

skin (unhaired). From the southern part of West Greenland the same is described by Hans Egede, who states that it is used in the fjords in the winter and made white above in order not to frighten the seals¹). The man first creeps into the lower part, the skirt (*akiwili-saq*), which is secured round the man-hole, then he puts on the *kiapeen* "the jacket for the upper part of the body" and draws the

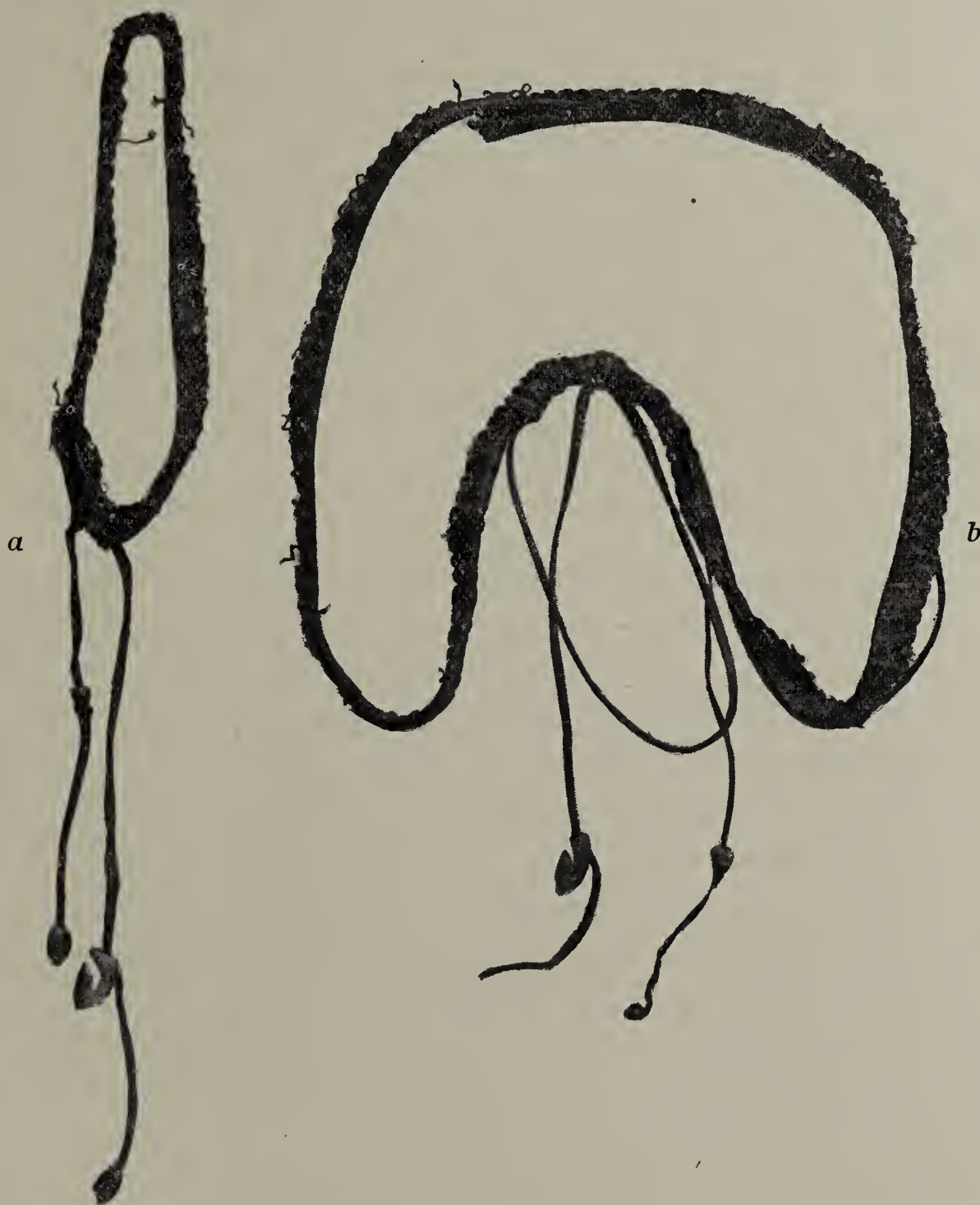


Fig. 301. Running strings in the edgings of bear skin breeches for lacing round the hips (*a*) and legs (*b*) of the man. (Thalbitzer coll.).

skin-braces (*uätceeta*) over his shoulders and secures them by the buttons on the front part of the skirt (cf. also figs. 102 and 299 *a—b*).

Since Holm's expedition in 1884—1885 the Ammassalikers have adopted the South Greenland kaiak-skirt and the old shape is seen no more. This had a triangular flap behind, with the point upwards and fitted close to the body when the brace was tightened,

¹) Egede (1741) p. 73, note.

so that no water could penetrate into the kaiak even on capsizing(?). The South Greenland form has the same breadth in front and at the back and sits loosely on the body. Also the kiapeen in its original Ammassalik shape has been superseded by the South Greenland type which is made of white skin (*unneq*).

The whaling-dress, consisting of frock, trousers and boots all sewn together, could be inflated; before going out in the boat (the umiak) the hunters filled it with air so that it would be able to float even if the boat were capsized by the whale and the crew fell into the water (cf. p. 403)¹).

Outside Greenland I do not remember to have heard about this kind of whaling dress. Curiously enough the women's dress on the islands in Bering Straits and on the Chukchee Peninsula is of quite a similar type, namely, combined garments put on by thrusting the head and feet into a slit-like opening in the back which is then laced up. The children are dressed in the same sort of garment and waddle about with the greatest difficulty. The same kind of child's clothing is also found towards the east even as far as Winter Island and Iglulik²). This agreement in dress is perhaps not quite casual; in the whale-fishing as well as the customs of the children we very clearly see the conservatism of this people, probably due to religious reasons.

CHILDREN CARRIED IN AMAUT OR BOOT-POUCHES. — While among the West Eskimo the small babies are carried on the naked back of their mothers under the anorak, which is without a hood, we find that from Fury Island and Hecla Straits eastwards to Greenland³) a special hood is sewn onto the woman's frock for this purpose. This hood is made of the entire skin of a seal so that the head of the seal forms the pointed top, the seal's ears being nearest to the point, the eyes close to the inner edge of the hood (the nostrils of the seal are cut off or perhaps concealed in a fold). (It may be added here, that in the sealskin trousers of both men and women the ears of the seal are placed close to the groin at both sides of the sexual organ). In order to form a bottom in the hood the anorak is tightened by means of a string round the waist which is fastened in front near the navel and the loose end made fast by means of a bone-toggle. A woman with a child in her amaut (fig. 303) is called *amaarloq*. But this is not the only way in which these people carry their babies.

Among certain tribes of the Central Eskimo it has been the custom for the women to have such wide legs to their boots that these might serve as a sort of pocket for the babies. The custom

¹) Fabricius (1812) p. 255. Glahn (1784).

²) Nelson (1899) p. 30; Parry (1824) pp. 496—497, illustration p. 530; Lyon (1824) p. 317.

³) Murdoch (1892) p. 415. Lyon (1824) pp. 74, 315.



Fig. 302. *Mannaate*, Kilime's wife, in indoor dress.
(W. Thalbitzer phot. 1906.)

was for the first time mentioned by Ellis who also gives an illustration from Resolution or Savage Island (near the entrance to Hudson Straits from the Davis Straits, corner of Baffin Land)¹⁾. The woman is seen from behind, her empty hood hangs downwards, the large flap of the frock going down to her ankles, with the enormous boots showing beyond the bottom of the frock and from the mouth of the left boot the head and arm of a child. The women here have thus used either hoods or boot-pouches for carrying the children. Ellis writes: "Their coats are larger and wider at the shoulders (than the men's) in order that they may the more easily carry their children on their backs. Their boots are also much wider and generally distended by small pieces of "fish-bone" (i. e. hoops or stays of whalebone) because they put the child down there when they want the arms free, until they can again place it in the hood."

According to Boas²⁾ the Akudnirmiut women, a northern tribe living near the Davis Straits on Baffin Land, have boots of a similar shape ("enormous boots with a flap reaching up to the hip"). In the same connection he cites Parry who in 1822 had observed the same custom further west, almost at the same latitude, but on the other side of Baffin Land. The custom has undoubtedly prevailed over a broad belt at about 70° Lat. from the Davis



Fig. 303. *Ulaneq* with her baby.
(G. Holm phot.).

Straits westwards across the islands north of Hudson Bay, through the Straits up to Cape Bathurst where Franklin coming from the west met them for the first time³⁾. This mode with the wide ankle-

¹⁾ Ellis (1750) Pl. VI, cf. p. 142. On this illustration two women are seen, one of them sitting down; both have the above-mentioned wide boots. On Pl. IX on the other hand a woman is seen with tight kamiks. Cf. Engl. ed. (1758) Pl. opposite to p. 132, cf. p. 136. — Parry (1824) p. 496.

²⁾ Boas (1888) p. 556. Cf. id. (1901) pp. 39 and 356—357. Cf. id. (1907) p. 476, fig. 269 (Aivilik Eskimo).

³⁾ Franklin (1828) p. 226 writes about the Franklin Bay Eskimo: "and to excite our liberality the mothers drew their children out of their wide boots, where they are accustomed to carry them naked and holding them up, begged beads for them."

pouches, which has now disappeared from Baffin Land, seems originally to belong to the women's broad and long coat-laps in front and at the back. In Greenland it is unknown¹). It is a puzzle how the

large women's boot of this type found in the Giesecke collection in the Hofmuseum in Vienna has come into this collection, the other specimens of which have been collected by Giesecke during his stay in West Greenland 1806—1813. The most probable explanation is undoubtedly, that a whaler who had first visited Baffin Land and then the Greenland coast has thus had the opportunity of bringing a specimen of this strange foot-gear to Giesecke's collecting ground²).



Fig. 304. Woman's dress. Sealskin anorak with the hair inside. Outdoor breeches of sealskin with fur-side out. Boots and stockings with fur brim above.
(Holm coll.). ¹/₁₀.

FOOTWARE. — The characteristic, upturned soles seen on old-fashioned boots from Ammassalik, men's as well as women's, are everywhere in agreement with the Eskimo shape. In recent times they have been replaced in Greenland by other forms approaching the shape of the European boots. The old shape affords a clue to the interpretation of the Greenland myth about the origin of the Europeans, as reported by Hans Egede: "a woman had children by a dog; part of this mixed issue she placed on an old boot-sole

¹) Boas (1901) p. 356 states, though certainly incorrectly, that such enormous women's boots have been found near Smith Sound in Greenland. Neither from here nor from Ponds Inlet have we any certain proofs that they have been used.

²) The boot in the Giesecke collection in Vienna is mentioned in K. I. V. Steenstrup's biographical introduction to Giesecke's diary (1910, pp. XXIX—XXX, note 2).



Fig. 305. Woman's frock and breeches, back and front. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{10}$.



Fig. 306. Woman's frock (inner) with fur side in. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{10}$

Fig. 307. Woman's frock (outer) with fur side out. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{10}$.

which she put out on the sea with the words: sail away and become Kablunat (Europeans).” This is said to be the reason why the Kablunaks live on the sea and why their ships are shaped like

Greenland shoes, rounded fore and aft¹⁾. It must be borne in mind that the ships compared with boot-soles date from the 17th or 16th century.

The preparation of the sole-skin (bearded seal) and the folding and sewing require great care and skill. Glahn states²⁾, that it is considered one of the greatest attainments to make the folds over the toes and round the heel small (short) and at the same time broad and deep. A special implement exists for this purpose, namely, the



Fig. 308. Woman's frock (outer) with fur side out, front and back. (Holm coll.). ¹/₁₀.

boot-sole-creaser (*tigussaawt*, p. 515). — According to Kroeber there is some difference in the sewing of the outer and inner boots applying both to men's as well as women's boots, namely, that "the leg of the inner boot consists of two pieces of skin and consequently has two seams one on each side, whereas the leg of the outer boot consists of one piece joined in one seam along the front of the leg³⁾.

Qiwingataaq told me that in her childhood the men often used boots with the hairy side outwards (made of harbour sealskin),

¹⁾ Egede (1741) pp. 116—117. ²⁾ Glahn (1771) p. 189. ³⁾ Kroeber (1899) pp. 292—293.

cf. G. Holm in 1884—1885 (p. 30 and fig. 14). Such boots have been used formerly in southern West Greenland, cf. Glahn¹).

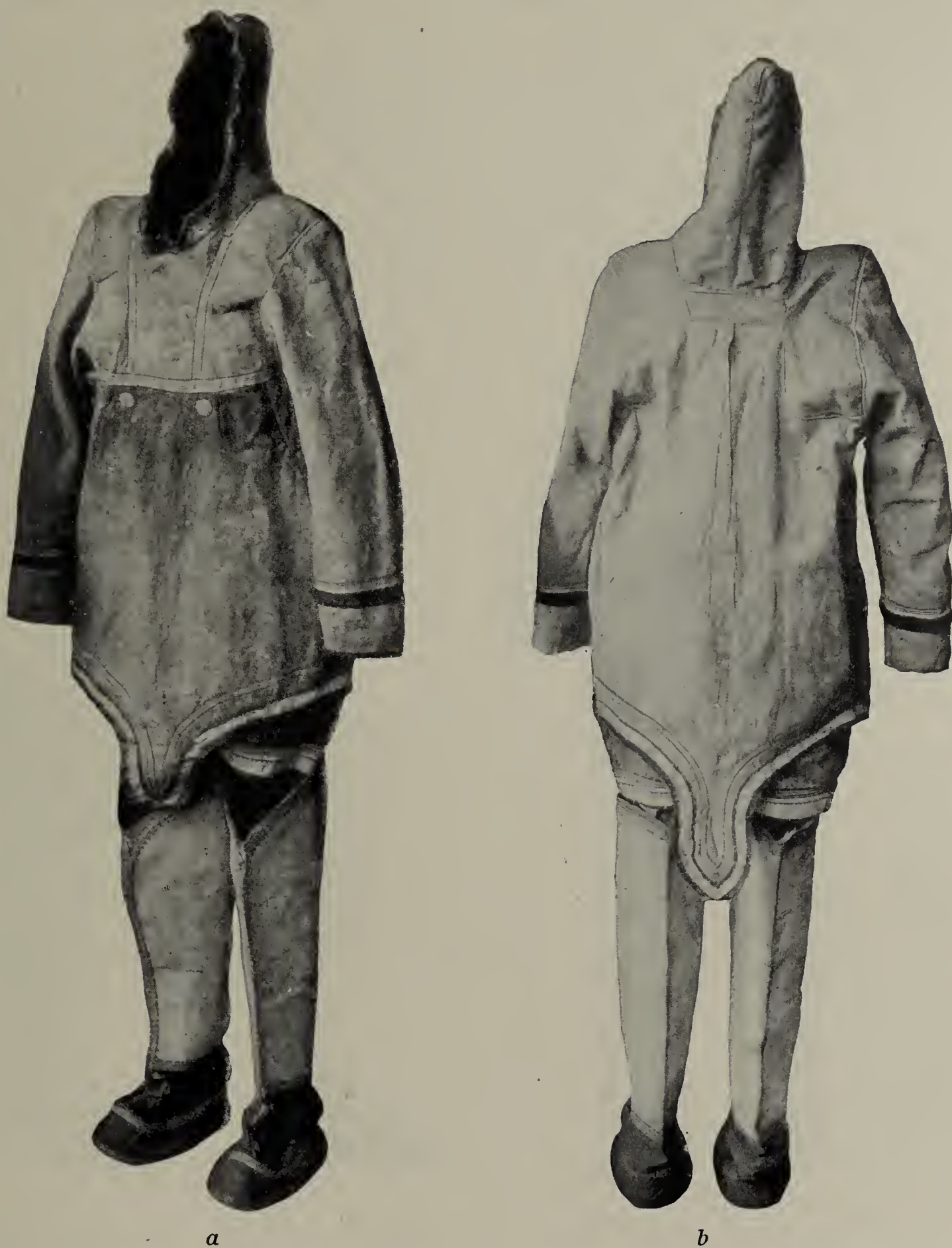


Fig. 309. Woman's dress from the southern part of East Greenland.
Front and back view. (Holm coll.). ¹/₁₀.

The use of shoes (apart from those used on the ice, *isigam-maait*, figs. 300, 314*d*) was also mentioned by the Ammassalikers and

¹) Glahn (1771) p. 189. As used on Winter Island mentioned by Parry (1824) p. 496 (boots of deer-skin with the hair outside).

referred to very old times, "when only white frost and not snow covered the country." I am surprised that the Ammassalikers refer the use of shoes to such a remote time, for both Egede and Cranz mention them as belonging to the dress of the Greenlanders of the 18th century. On the other hand, it is quite right that the

western Eskimo wear shoes or slippers and it may really be that the Ammassalikers refer to some ancient remote form of foot gear which had been relinquished and never reached Greenland — either those worn outside the stocking or sometimes between this and the outer boot like the moccasins of the Indians¹). According to Kleinschmidt some sort of footwear called *ikernuk* (shoes or sandals?) is mentioned in the



Fig. 310.

Child's (girl's) dress.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{10}$.



a

b

Fig. 311. Women's boots, *a* of white leather, *b* of black. (Holm coll. $\frac{1}{10}$).

old tales²). Apart from these, shoes made of black leather, laced over the instep, with soles like the old-fashioned boot-soles, are mentioned by Egede and Cranz³).

¹) Lyon (1824) pp. 313—314; Parry (1824) p. 496; Boas (1901) p. 106, figs. 154—155 (cf. p. 52).

²) Kleinschmidt dictionary p. 80.

³) Egede (1741) p. 73; Cranz (1770) p. 183.

At Ammassalik the use of boot-laces for tightening the boot round the foot was often observed, especially in the case of men's boots¹). I do not know whether this custom originates from South



Fig. 312. A pair of sealskin mittens. (Holm coll.). ¹/₅.

Greenland or is of older date there. The latter is the more probable as boot-laces are well-known Eskimo articles used in remote regions (Alaska)²).

HEAD DRESS AND TOILET.

HEAD-GEAR. — Children's jackets without attached hoods are mentioned among the Smith Sound Eskimo, whose small children have on a loose hood³), otherwise the frocks of the children and adults are made with the obligatory hood. But in summer this is sometimes too warm and the men and boys therefore often prefer a loose cap or hood. The older authors do not speak of these loose skin-hoods in connection with the West Greenlanders, but to judge from their occurrence at Ammassalik and near Smith Sound I feel inclined to believe, that they have previously been used everywhere in Greenland. I do not refer here however to the Ammassalikers' small caps but especially to their fox-skin caps. Both the Ammassalikers' fox-skin caps (*qammaalän*, figs. 299, 314*b*, 315*a*) and the Smith Sound Eskimo's reindeer hood for children are akin to the Alaska Eskimo's skin-hoods⁴). The cap seen in fig. 314*c* which consists of a single skin of a large white bird (goose or loon?), without any peak attached, may belong to the same type.

Amdrup brought home with him from Ammassalik the hood of unhaired seal-skin seen in fig. 313. In spite of its unusual shape I am of opinion, that it is of Eskimo origin and made according to

¹) The clasping of the boot laces is essentially like that seen in fig. 337.

²) Nelson (1899) p. 42.

³) Kroeber (1899) p. 296; Steensby (1910) p. 346.

⁴) Nelson (1899) fig. 3.

an old pattern. The upper main part is made out of one piece like a helmet. The two richly ornamented corner pieces have been sewn on later as shown by the seams on the inner side; they are sewn on no doubt in order that the edges of the lower flaps may lie quite close to the breast and back of the wearer, the lower opening naturally enclosing the neck, the upper the face. Petersen's

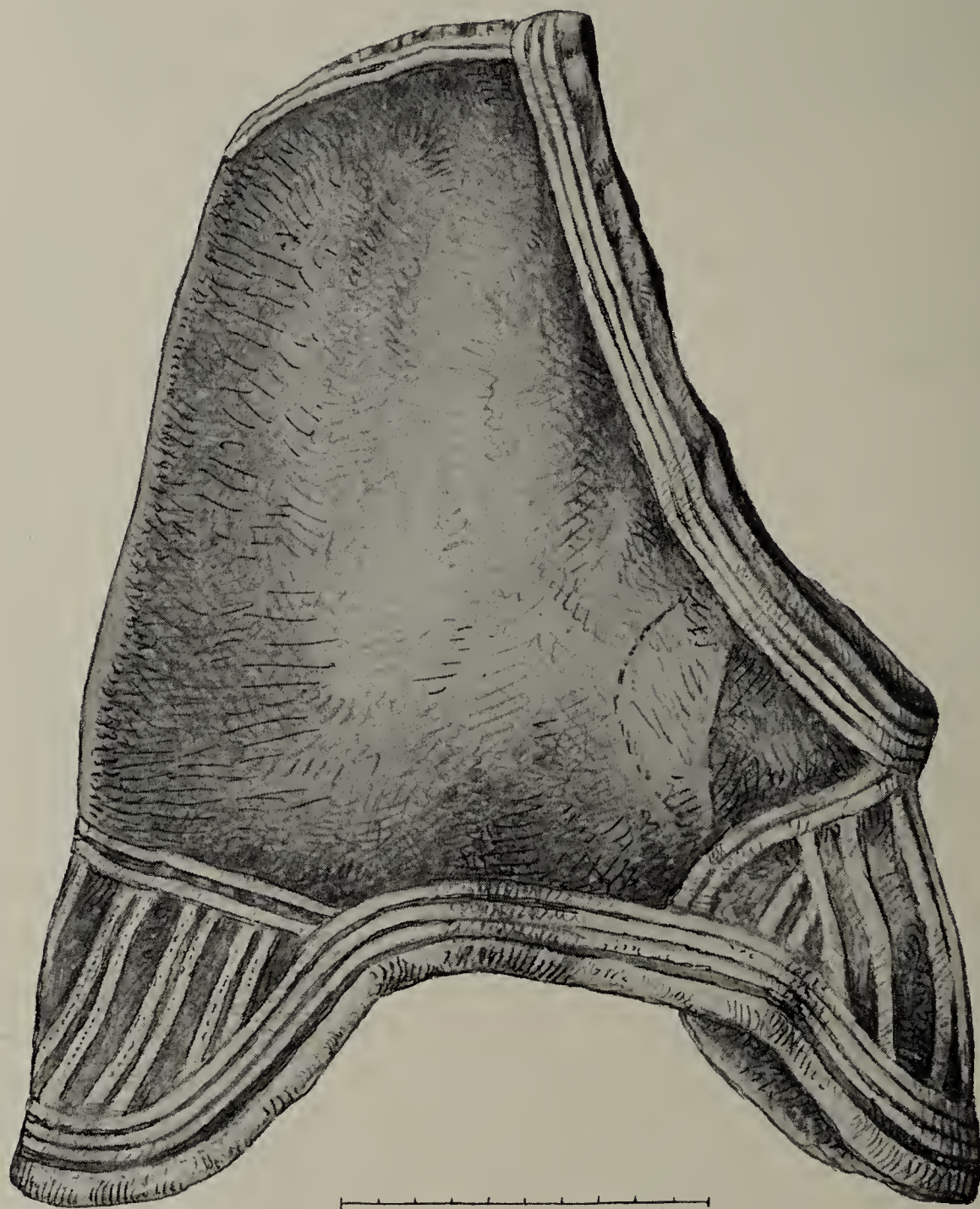


Fig. 313. *Piaarqusiaq* hood or skin helmet to guard the wearer against evil spirits. (Amdrup coll.).

collection contains a similar hood, the use and meaning of which are known; and when I showed the specimen from the Amdrup collection to Johan Petersen he was sure at once that it was of the same kind.

It is a so-called *piaarqusiaq*-hood used to protect a child whose sisters and brothers have died as infants or babies. In order to prevent the last-born child from dying like the others, the mother gives it this or some other special garment as a kind of amulet to

*a**b**c**d*

Fig. 314. *a* Cap of newborn sealskin; *b* cap of fox skin; *c* cap of bird skin; *d* sandal of bear skin. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.

avert death from the child. This helmet-shaped hood is tied with double strings passing under the shoulders of the child; enclosing thus the shoulders, back and breast so that only the face is free, it forms such a magic remedy, averting attempts against the spirit of the child¹⁾.

Among the Smith Sound Eskimo we hear of loose hoods for children. Kroeber has an illustration of a hood that differs from the East Greenland one by the hair of the skin not being removed but turned outwards and by being quite open in front, so that it must be tied with strings under the chin or round the neck²⁾. It is made of the skin of a fawn's head and it has a long tip reaching down behind. Quite the same kind of hood for children was found by Lyon near Iglulik north of Hudson Bay. He says that "a cap forms an indispensable part of the equipment of children and is generally of some fantastical shape: the skin of a fawn's head is a favourite material in the composition and is sometimes seen with the ears perfect; the nose and holes for the eyes lying along the crown of the wearer's head, which, in consequence, looks like that of an animal."³⁾

A kind of skull-cap is also of religious importance, namely, as mourning hood for the woman or women who have helped in laying out the corpse on account of their close relationship to the deceased. The figure in the left corner of fig. 51 (p. 123) probably represents such a hood. It has almost the same shape as a mourning hood from East Greenland which I have seen in Stockholm Riksmuseum belonging to the Nordenskiöld collection from 1873. It was found in South Greenland and brought to this place from East Greenland by some casual boat party. It is simpler and less richly ornamented than the specimen in Holm's collection from Ammassalik, being only sewn together by alternating white and black skin-strips. According to the inventory it has been worn by a mother who had lost her child. It is at any rate a fact, that in Greenland it was the custom for a mourning woman during the mourning-time to keep her head constantly covered by her hood (or some other loose mourning cap)⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Similar customs mentioned by G. Holm here pp. 32, 49, 86 and Cranz (1770) p. 209.

²⁾ Kroeber (1899) fig. 47. Steensby (1910) p. 340 relates that "the women who are carrying a child in the amaut have a loose, helmet-shaped skin hat, which is fastened under the chin by a band."

³⁾ Lyon (1824) p. 317.

⁴⁾ These skull-caps of religious character may be related to the comical caps mentioned by Murdoch (1892) p. 112 as worn in the dances and pastimes of the Alaskan Eskimo.



Fig. 315. *a* Cap of blue fox skin; *b* and *c* caps of cotton cloth with skin peaks; *d*—*g* different styles of ornamented skin caps. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.

With regard to the Ammassalikers' skin-caps some of them are provided with skin peaks sewn on and richly embroidered (figs. 315 *d—e*), these have probably come into existence in comparatively late times in imitation of the European caps, either by a few specimens reaching over to the east coast or by the first women visiting the east coast seeing them there. Of special interest is the type in the two figures 315 *b* and *c*, made of thin cotton cloth stretched round a wooden hoop, a modernized shape of that seen uppermost in fig. 314 made from the skin of newborn seals. These forms (*b—g*) are probably due to the early influence of the 200 year-old colonisation of the west coast by Europeans; the foreign head-gear has first been imitated in their own material of skin and ornamented with embroidery according to the Ammassalik custom of ornamenting their eye-shades. The Ammassalik hunters were fond of wearing these large caps when they introduced themselves to the arriving Europeans (see fig. 8).

EYE-SHADES AND PEAKS (*iŋneekitän*, *inneekitän*, p. 31). — Within the culture of the Greenlanders the richly ornamented eye-shades of the Ammassalikers have a special position. None of the older authors mention them, neither from West Greenland nor from East Greenland. G. Holm on the other hand found them in great numbers in the large fjords of the district of Ammassalik. It would be rash to believe, however, that they were first invented here, even though their shape is peculiar to this locality. Some very damaged fragments found in graves in northern West Greenland (now in Pfaff's collection in Stockholm Riksmuseum) prove, that similar eye-shades have in ancient times been used also on the other side of the large island and the fact that this object has once been commoner among the Eskimo far away becomes more and more clear, when we direct our attention to Alaska where we find it represented by similarly ornamented hunting helmets and visors. As in East Greenland these helmets and visors serve for protecting the hunter's eyes from the glare of the sun when hunting at sea or from the reflection from the snow and ice.

At Ammassalik we find two forms of eye-shades, a larger carved from a block of wood and in shape like a rounded box cut in two by a curved section with the inner surface towards the forehead (figs. 316—319) and a smaller also of wood shaped like a peak with a slight bend in it. The skin-loop (*coonaqitaa*) passing round the back of the head holding the eye-shade or peak fast on the forehead is made so that it just fits round the head. Its ends are made fast in the upper part of the peak or shade a little inside the concave edge against the forehead. Both are painted red with blood



Fig. 316. Eye-shades ornamented with ivory relief work. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.
XXXIX.

or ochre and usually ornamented with ivory reliefs in varying patterns. — In Alaska both kinds occur. With regard to the larger eye-shades, however, the Greenlanders have a modification with the

sides straight or vertical down from the curved upper part, by which means all the side light is naturally excluded.



a



b

Fig. 317. Two eye-shades with ivory reliefs. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

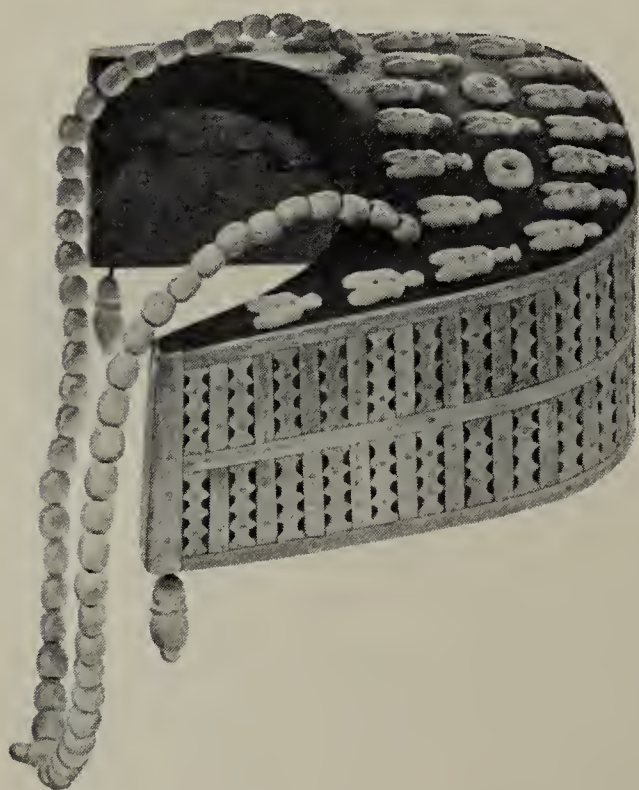


Fig. 318. Eye-shade with ivory reliefs of human figures on the upper side. (Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

Two kinds of the larger eye-shades are mentioned from Alaska by Nelson¹). One of them used between Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers is a conical wooden helmet which covers the crown of the head and projects far over the forehead, forming a broad, arched shade over the eyes. Northwards from Yukon wooden visors are used which lack the conical top but have a margin which encircles the head like a ring or fillet, in one piece with the eye-shade. At Ammassalik this fillet is quite cut away so that the helmet is so-to-speak halved and must be held up by means of a leather strap round

the back of the neck, often ornamented by a row of ivory beads. — As at Ammassalik the eye-shades in Alaska are red-coloured and often ornamented with ivory reliefs. From the regions between

¹) Nelson (1899) pp. 166—169, Pl. LXIV; Hoffman (1897) pp. 835—836.

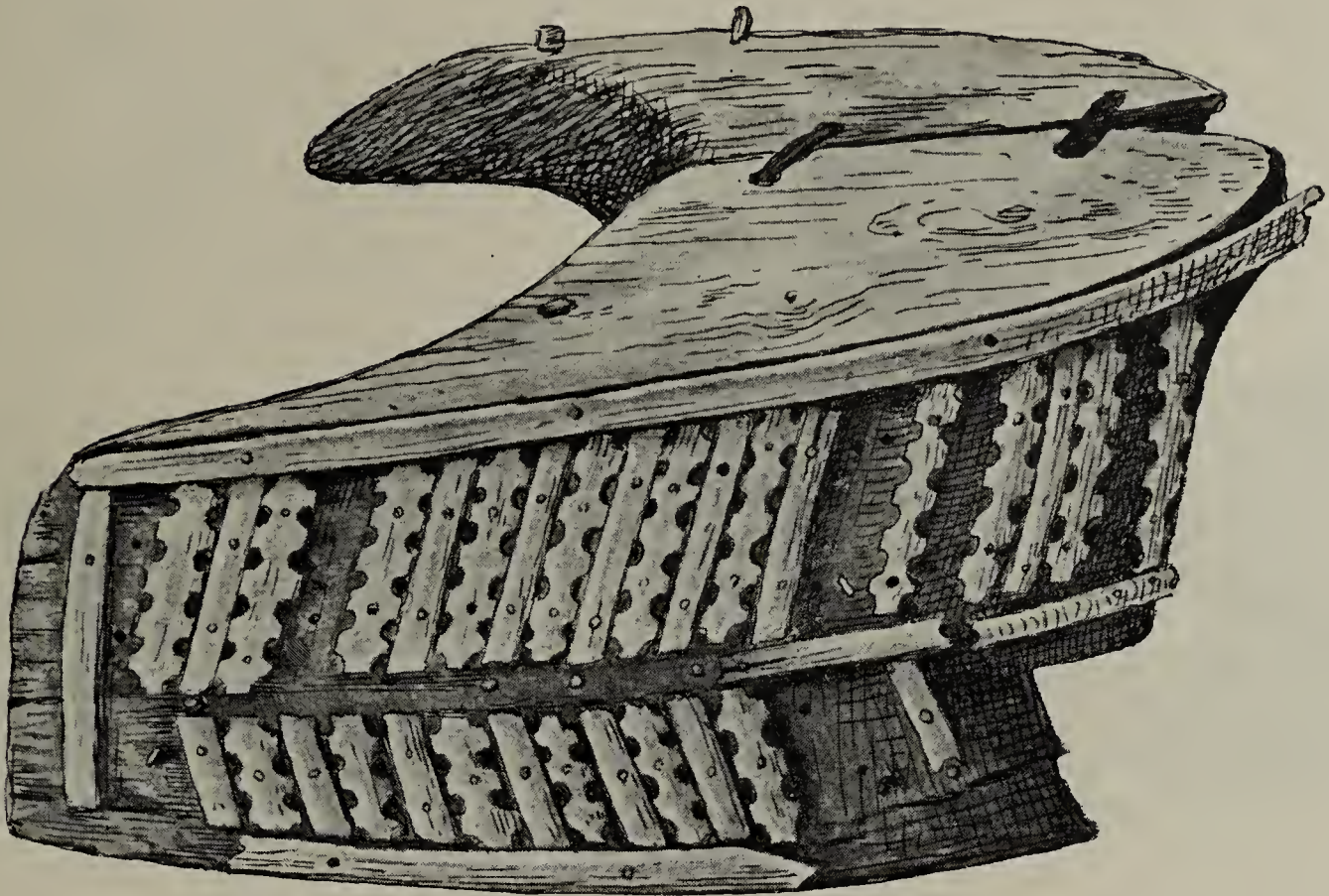


Fig. 319. Eye-shade (fragmentary) from Nualik. (Amdrup coll).



Fig. 320. Loose peak of wood with ivory mounting, from Tasiusak at Ammassalik. (Amdrup coll.).

*a**b**c**d**e**f*

Fig. 321. Loose peaks of wood with ivory relief work, *e* excepted which is of bone without ornamentation. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

Alaska and Greenland I have not found them mentioned in the literature.

Besides the helmet-like eye-shades the Ammassalikers, as already mentioned, use some simpler ones resembling loose peaks which are also well-known from Alaska (Nelson); they are probably only a specialized form of the above-mentioned wooden visors, somewhat shortened and provided with an attached loop to be hung round the head instead of the wooden fillet of the Alaskan helmet enclosing the back of the head (figs. 320—322).

The last-named peaks have not the advantage possessed by larger eye-shades, which according to the Ammassalikers can be used as drinking-cups when out in the kaiak. When the kaiaker out among the ice is overcome by thirst, he loosens his helmet-like eye-shade and

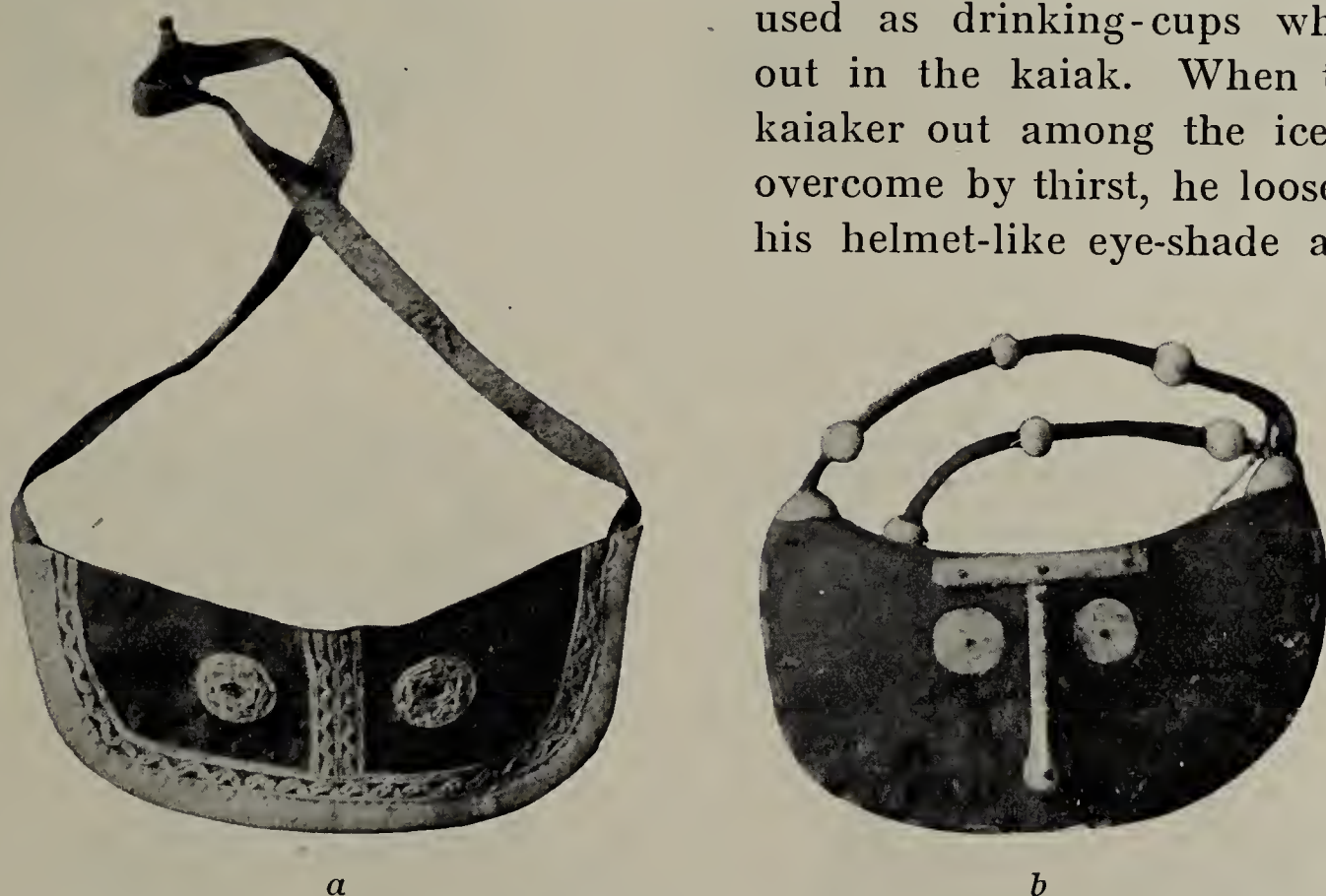


Fig. 322. Two loose peaks, *a* of skin with embroidery, *b* of wood with ivory reliefs. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

bales fresh-water from the nearest melting-water pool he can find on an ice-floe.

A feature probably peculiar to the Ammassalik helmets is the two oblong ivory beads (*qusoorutaai*) suspended by a short strap from the corners of the lower edge of the helmet and hanging down over the prominent cheek-bones (the eye-goggles sometimes have the same ornament); further a couple of beads (*tutarmeewän*) are often suspended in front on the curve of the lower edge. — The ornaments will be mentioned later (cf. also pp. 118—124).

SNOW-GOGGLES (*ittaak*, pp. 31—32). — The snow-goggles of the Ammassalikers are carved from an oblong piece of wood, and shaped so that they form a concavo-convex surface fitting over the upper part of the nose and going round to the ears. They all have a short

groove for the nose. They are tied round the head by means of a skin loop. For the eyes one long narrow slit or two generally longish holes are made in front (figs. 323 *a—f*).

These goggles agree with the western shapes from Baffin Land and Alaska as we might expect. Unknown from Greenland but found at the same places outside Greenland is a type in which the upper part of the goggles projects at the eyebrows to form a visor-like edge.

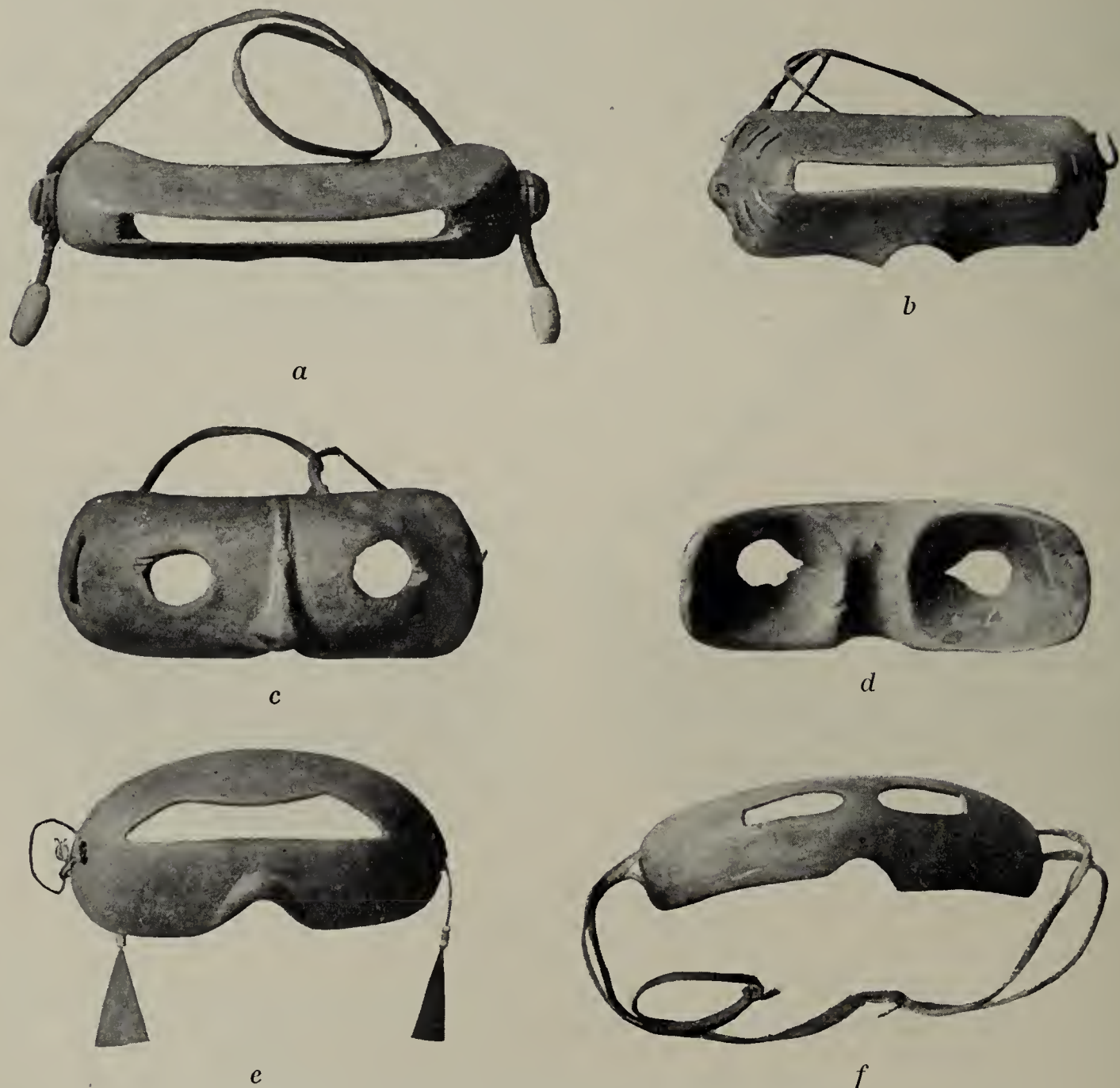


Fig. 323. Snow goggles of wood. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.

This visor-like projection resembles the loose visor or peak mentioned previously; in this type peak and goggles seem to be combined and cut out of one piece. — From Resolution Island in Hudson Straits Ellis mentions snow goggles made of ivory (with two narrow eyes) besides the usual wooden ones²).

During the year we stayed at Ammassalik several, especially the

¹) Boas (1888) p. 576, fig. 529—530; (1901) p. 109, fig. 159; Nelson (1899) pp. 160—170 and Pl. LXIV.

²) Ellis (1750) p. 143, Pl. VI.

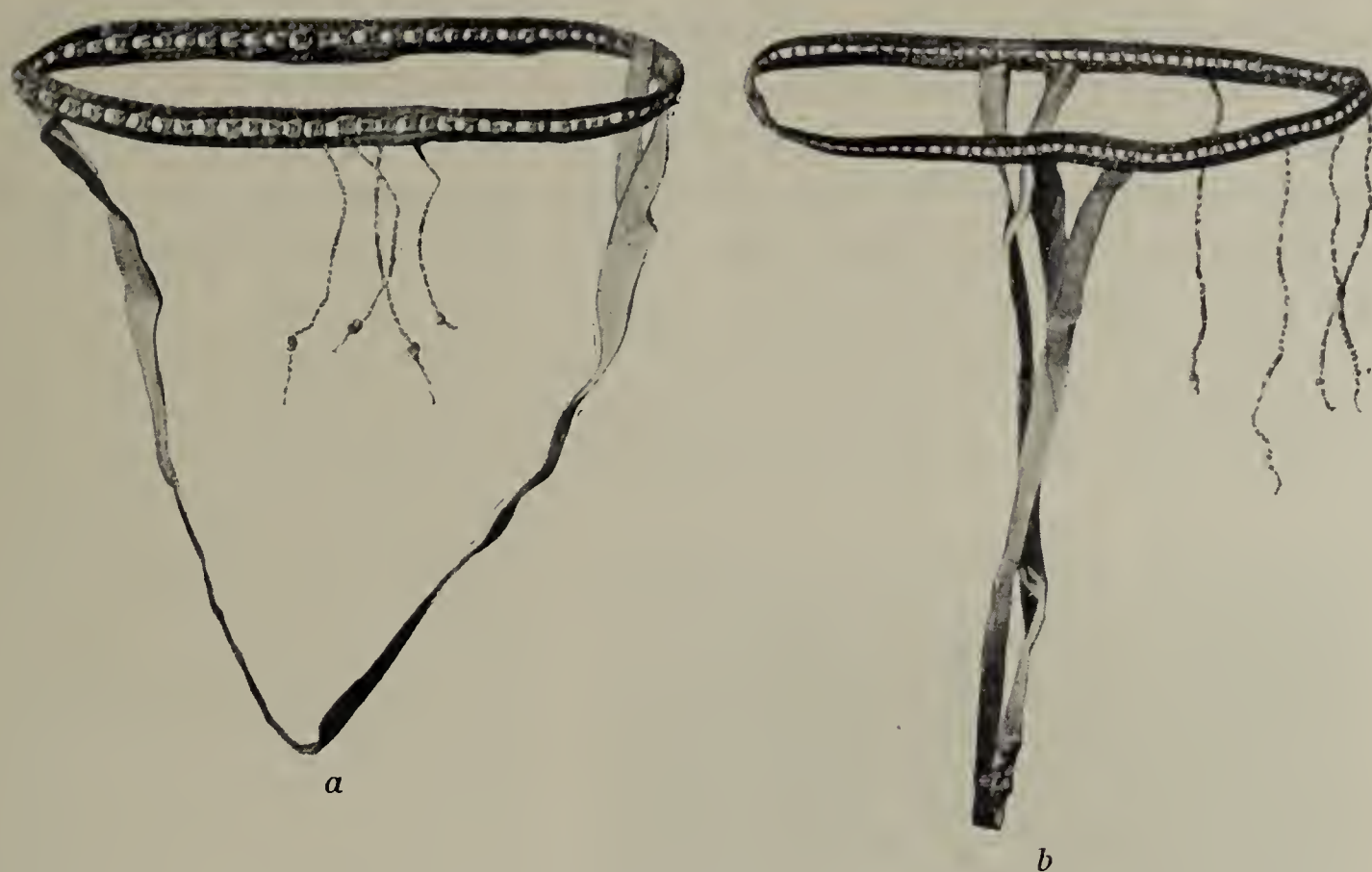


Fig. 324. Men's hair-halters. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.



Fig. 325. Women's necklaces. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

young people, were attacked towards the spring by snow blindness from imprudently going without snow-glasses or goggles. The attack begins with severe pain in the eyes or head and a weakening of the eye-sight, forcing the person to lie down with closed eyes; on resting in the hut for three or four days in the greatest darkness possible, the pains generally disappear.

MEN'S HAIR BANDS (*soonიაqitaat*) AND HAIR DRESSING (p. 32). — These bands mainly consist of a row of beads (*niwiṇalertaat*) fastened between two narrow skin-borders. Previously the most com-

mon beads were various small bones in the paws of the seal or the foot of the fox, and the smallest ones used were the dorsal vertebrae of caplins (cf. p. 34); the latter are seen in fig. 324, where they are strung on the single strings hanging down from the hair-band over the front hair. Sometimes they string the beads on single hairs of their own. The fish-heads have been replaced in recent times by red and white glass-beads from Europe. Fig. 326 *a—b* shows how the men used the hair-bands round the long hair so as to keep it tidy on the head.

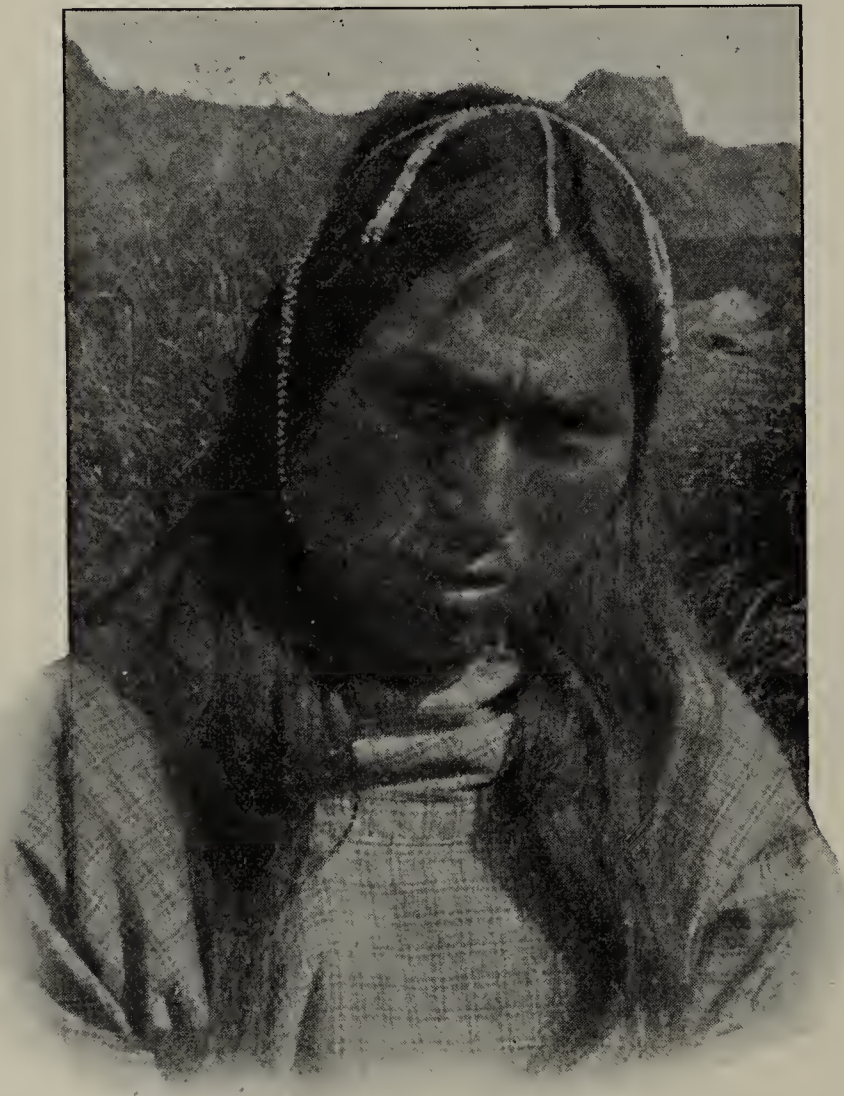


Fig. 326 *a*. Ammassalik man with hair-halters,
(Johan Petersen phot.).

most all the men had long uncut hair and many of them used hair-bands to gather it round the crown of the head and the back of the neck, while the loose ends fell in profusion down over the shoulders. Some of them however had another mode of dressing their hair, this having been clipped round by their mother when they were quite young, probably for religious reasons (cf. *piaarqu-siät*, p. 588); these kept their hair cut in this way all their life, so that without being quite long or quite short it formed a kind of cap round the head. Now that many of them have become baptized by the missionaries the men have cut their hair quite short in order

During the winter we stayed at Ammassalik al-

to resemble the white men (a tragic sight) and all are undoubtedly now short-haired at Ammassalik.

Unknown in Greenland is the circular tonsure with quite a bare patch on the crown of the head, mentioned as universal from Alaska to Mackenzie River and traced eastwards to Iglulik (cf. Murdoch)¹⁾ or with a single tuft left, as mentioned from Labrador by Cartier and Charlevoix²⁾.

I insert here one of the first descriptions we have of the appearance of the Eskimo which were met in 1534 by Jacques Cartier in the St. Lawrence Gulf near the coast of Newfoundland (on 47° N. lat.)³⁾: "Then he was gladly welcomed of the Sauvages, singing, dancing and expressing other signes of joy . . . They went naked, sauing their privities which were couered with a skinne, and certaine old skinnes they cast upon them. Some they saw, whose heads were altogether shauen except one bush of haire which they suffer to grow upon the toppe of the crowne, as long as a horse-tayle, and tyed up with leather-strings in a knot."

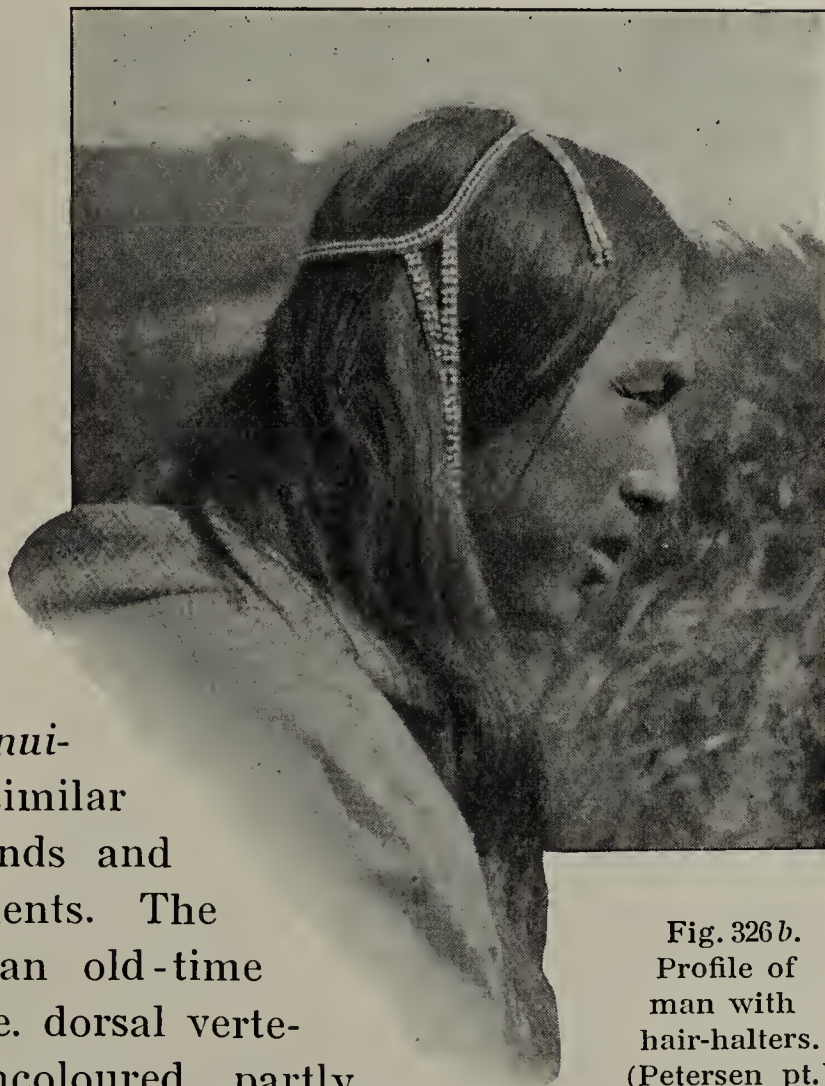


Fig. 326 b.
Profile of
man with
hair-halters.
(Petersen pt.).

WOMEN'S NECKLACES (*nui-serqat*, p. 33) are made in similar style to the men's hair-bands and have the same pearl ornaments. The band seen in fig. 325 a is an old-time necklace made of beads, i. e. dorsal vertebrae of caplins, partly uncoloured partly coloured in blood; *b* is almost of the same kind except that the beads are of bone or glass; *c* is a fragment consisting of several heterogenous parts among which larger kinds of beads, at the end two interlinked ivory beads. A more modern hair-band made of glass-beads is seen round the neck of the woman in fig. 302. — According to Kroeber the women of the Smith Sound Eskimo wear necklaces of skin to which several drops or pendants of ivory are attached³⁾.

Outside Greenland I can find no mention of the use of necklaces by women in the central regions north of Hudson Bay. On the other hand, the women here wear fringes consisting of strings of

¹⁾ Murdoch (1892) pp. 140—141; Nelson (1899) p. 57.

²⁾ Jacques Cartier (1617) p. 931; Charlevoix (1744) p. 180, cf. citation in this book p. 573.

³⁾ Kroeber (1899) p. 291, fig. 38.

teeth, sometimes many hundreds in number, round the lower edge of their frock¹⁾. In Alaska the women have necklaces made of strings of beads²⁾.

WOMEN'S HEAD-KERCHIEFS (*qaaruän*, p. 33) made of skin ornamented with embroidery and meant to tie round the neck were used



a



b

at Ammassalik before the arrival of the Europeans and were then replaced by coloured cottons. Fig. 327a is made of light seal-skin with two white edge-folds embroidered all over with darkly coloured strings of skin in different patterns. b is made of black seal-skin eked out at the back by two flaps of shark-skin; like a it had two white edge-folds and is otherwise ornamented by square strips of skin in a regular arrangement. A third head-dress (not illustrated here) is made of the hairy side of a seal-skin scraped thin and smooth and pliable as wollen cloth. These head-dresses are undoubtedly peculiar to this part of Greenland and unknown outside this place. I should certainly have referred them to the earliest connection with the Europeans had I not found an illustration in Parry of a

Fig. 327. Women's kerchiefs of skin. (Holm coll.). ¹/₄.

hair-band of skin from the central regions (Iglulik) very beautifully ornamented and used, unknown on what occasions, by men and perhaps also by women³⁾.

¹⁾ Parry (1824) p. 497; Lyon (1824) p. 120. At the Skærgaard Peninsula, Amdrup found 53 perforated teeth undoubtedly belonging to a belt or necklace. Cf. what I have written about this question in my paper (1909) pp. 417—419.

²⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 148. ³⁾ Parry (1824) p. 498 and fig. 7.

WOMEN'S HAIR-BANDS AND HAIR-DRESSING (*qaleq*, p. 33). — The Ammassalik women gather their hair onto the top of the head with a narrow skin-band (*qalia*), which keeps the top-knot (*qalicaq*, fig. 11) firm. Fig. 328*a* shows one of unhaired skin ornamented with light dots; *b* and *c* represent two other hair-bands with the hairy side turned outwards and ornamented with stripes (*titarneran*). In front they are all hung with aminassät-beads (dorsal vertebrae) drawn on strings. The hair-band may also be made of bird's feet sewn together (especially the feet of the black guillemot, which are red) or of red-coloured skin. Sometimes they are adorned with beads cut from ptarmigan-wings. The distinction made by the West Greenland women with regard to the colour of the bands of married and unmarried women (a married woman has a blue band, an unmarried a red unless she has a child, in which case she wears a green) is unknown at Ammassalik. It is a custom introduced by the Europeans.

To dress the hair in a single bunch or 'tuft' is common to all parts of Greenland and a characteristic feature of the Greenlanders. On the east coast this custom had been imitated on a girl's doll found by Nathorst at Cape Franklin (73° 30' Lat.) near the entrance to Franz Josephs Fjord¹). On the west coast it can be traced to Cape York²). Lyon mentions that this Greenland style of dressing the hair is also found in the Hudson Straits where the women

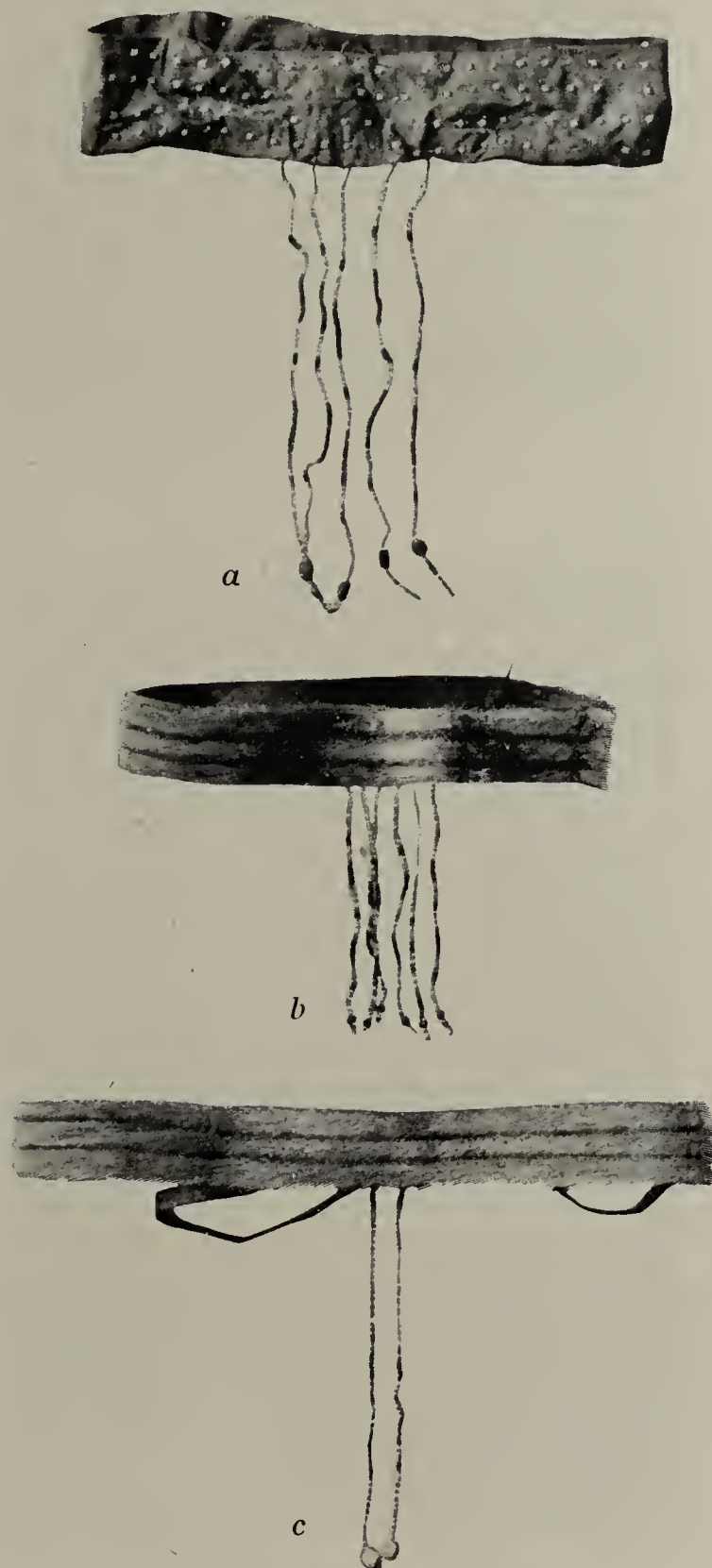


Fig. 328. Women's hair-bands.
Holm coll.). 1½.

¹) Stolpe (1906) Pl. VI, fig. 19. As for the southern part, see Graah (1832) pp. 119—120; as for the West Greenlanders, H. Egede (1829) p. 30.

²) Steensby (1910) figs. 32, 83 etc.; Mylius-Erichsen and Moltke (1906) pp. 235, 338, 358, 454 etc. (figures).

tie their hair in one large bunch on the crown of the head, and Boas speaks of the same mode from Southampton Island¹⁾.

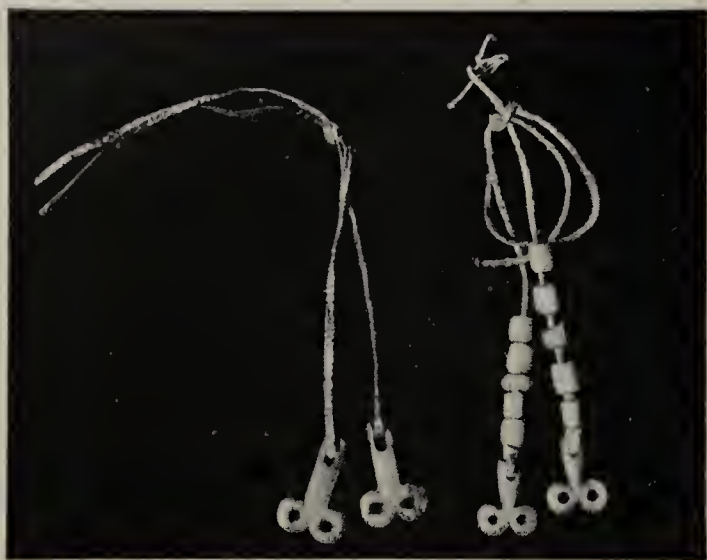


Fig. 329. Women's ear-drops of ivory.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.



Fig. 330. Women's triangular ear-drops
of bone and tin-plate. Three pairs.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

At Baffin Island and on the western side of Hudson Bay it is the custom among the women to part the hair into two or several bunches, e. g. one larger arranged in a knot protruding from the back of the head and two smaller plaited and folded over the ears joining the knot behind (Baffin Land)²⁾, or to make two long braids ("mighty pigtails," Lyon) hanging down over the shoulders and breast (Iglulik, Aivilik etc.)³⁾. At Alaska the same mode prevails; the women arrange their hair in two pendent braids or club-shaped masses behind the ears, which they let hang down over the breast. These braids are often twisted with strips of fur or strings of beads with ivory ornaments attached⁴⁾.

The curious hair ornaments of bone mentioned by Boas from Southampton Island are unknown from Greenland⁵⁾.

EAR-DROPS OR PENDANTS (*orceetän*, p. 33) are a common ornament for the women. The old-fashioned shapes from Ammassalik are seen in the illustrations; those in fig. 329 are called *awatarpaak* (also used as

pendants on a needle-skin, see fig. 42) while the triangular seen in

¹⁾ Lyon (1824) p. 318; Boas (1888) p. 559. In Labrador, the *tuglit* of the vocabulary (Erdmann) seem to indicate that the women wear two hair-tufts on their head.

²⁾ Boas (1888) p. 559. ³⁾ Lyon (1824) p. 318; Parry (1824) p. 493; Boas (1901) Pl. III.

⁴⁾ Nelson (1899) pp. 57—58; Murdoch (1892) p. 141.

⁵⁾ Boas (1901) p. 75, fig. 102; pp. 417—419, fig. 217. Such hair ornaments are used in Alaska (Hoffmann, 1897, Pl. 42) but I have found no reference to them by Lyon and Parry.

fig. 330 are ordinary typical *orceetän*¹⁾. They are also mentioned from Alaska but the shapes are different there²⁾; from the regions of the Central Eskimo they have not been heard of.

BRACELETS³⁾ (*ciaawtaa*, pp. 32—33, fig. 349) are used by Eskimo men as well as women, thus forming an essential part of the individual's dress; they are known from all regions where these people live (see also under amulets).

COMBS (*ittaarutin*, p. 34). The combs known from Ammassalik are all cut according to the simple square type, flat or slightly curved with flat parallel teeth. Peculiar to the combs in this region is the seal-tail ornament carved on the upper edge of the haft and seen in many other of the utensils of the Ammassalikers (cf. p. 617) but not outside this region⁴⁾. In shape these combs mostly resemble those known from the west coast of Hudson Bay⁵⁾; they are naturally also found in West Greenland, but other shapes are more frequent here,

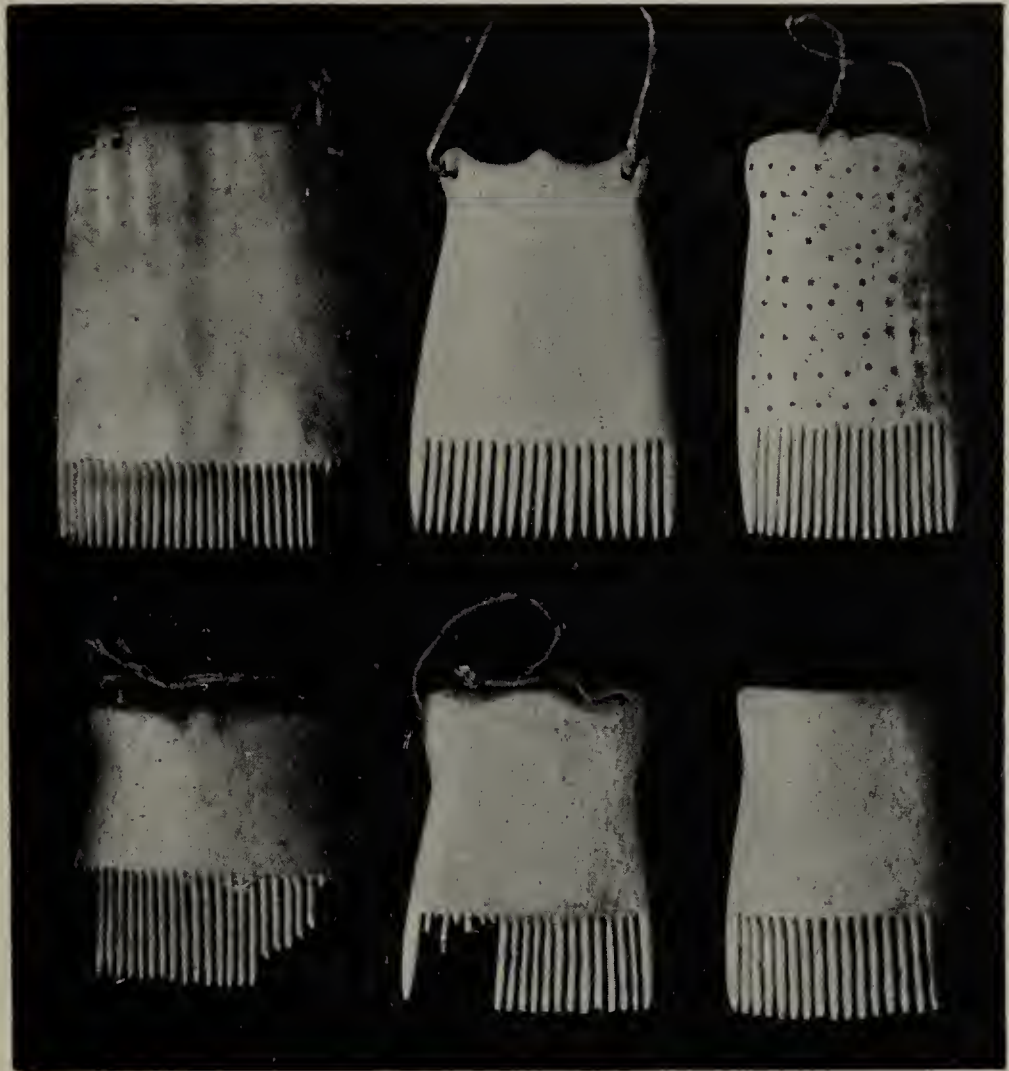


Fig. 331. Combs made of bone. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

as e. g. combs with long handles sometimes with a head carved at the top, sometimes with longer teeth, which are cylindrical in shape like bodkins⁶⁾. The ornamentation on the other hand is of no importance in West Greenland as is the case with the combs further west⁷⁾. But from East Greenland we have a strangely orna-

¹⁾ The triangular ear pendants are mentioned by Graah (1832) pp. 119—120.

²⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 142, fig. 90.

³⁾ Parry (1824) p. 560 calls bracelet *seappanga*, which is evidently related to the Greenland word. Cf. Lyon (1824) pp. 74 and 110; Nelson (1899) p. 58.

⁴⁾ An approximation to this ornament is seen in a comb from the west coast of Hudson Bay illustrated by Boas (1901) fig. 156.

⁵⁾ Boas (1901) p. 107.

⁶⁾ Pfaff's coll. (Stockholm Riksmuseum); Kroeber (1899) fig. 37; Greely (1888) Pl. II.

⁷⁾ Parry (1824) fig. 12; Boas (1888) fig. 513, (1901) figs. 103 and 156; Nelson (1899) fig. 16; Murdoch (1892) fig. 98.

mented comb found by Amdrup on Dunholm (cf. my description)¹⁾; in shape it resembles the bipartite type from North-west Greenland but not the Ammassalik type. At the "dead house" (Nualik) Amdrup found 13 bone-combs of the type seen in fig. 333; so many at least have belonged to the ca. 30 persons living up there.

Fig. 332 shows a peculiar comb from Ammassalik belonging to the Petersen collection. It is made of quills inserted through a slit into a wooden handle so as to form the teeth of a comb. Similar combs have now and then been found on digging out old houses but they are now out of use.



Fig. 332. Comb made of feathers stuck in a wooden handle. (Petersen coll.). $1\frac{1}{2}$.

LICE-SCRAPERS OR BACK-SCRATCHERS (fig. 334) consisting of a wooden stick with a square piece of bone fastened crosswise at the one end are very common among the East Greenlanders. Among the Smith Sound Eskimo a somewhat different type is used, having a tuft of long-haired bear-skin fastened to the end of the stick (they call them *kumakssiut*)²⁾. While the latter seem to be used mainly as a kind of hunting implement to catch the lice by inserting the stick between the anorak and the naked body, the first-named are specially suited to scratch the spot attacked by the animals, especially the back between the shoulder-blades. Amdrup found two specimens at the "dead house" (length 36 cm. and 41 cm. respectively). Back-

scratchers are mentioned both from Baffin Land and from Alaska³⁾.

TOILET (p. 34). — In addition to the dressing of the hair the tattooing of the body might also be mentioned here but I prefer to defer this to the section on ornamentation. The women's washing of the head even their whole body in urine has been mentioned previously (pp. 34, 60 and 178)⁴⁾. Water baths are not used nor sweating baths as in Alaska.

They do their daily necessities outside the house, generally at the back wall. The signs soon disappear thanks to the loose dogs

¹⁾ Thalbitzer (1901) pp. 466—475 and figs. 55—56.

²⁾ Kroeber (1899) pp. 289—290, fig. 36; Steensby (1910) p. 337.

³⁾ Boas (1901) p. 48, fig. 66; Nelson (1899) p. 310, fig. 98. Cf. inv. Jacobsen (IV α 2787/88) from Alaska in Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

⁴⁾ Graah (1832) p. 119.

(the bitches with puppies are allowed to run loose) that follow them out to the place and devour the excrement. The dogs act as scavengers to the people, but dog excrement lies everywhere round the house. The use of toilet moss has been mentioned p. 527.

The hair-cutting of the few men who had their long hair cut short was in earlier times accomplished by means of knives made of sharks' teeth (fig. 187). The beard is generally pulled out (shaving is unknown) but some men neglected this and had a thin beard under the nose and round the chin¹). Further south on the same coast Holm met the strongly bearded Navfalik (fig. 60).



Fig. 334.

Back-scratcher.
(Holm coll.). ¹/₆.

Outside Greenland bearded, often strongly bearded Eskimo are mentioned by many authors from earlier and more recent times. I may cite here Charlevoix's description of the Eskimo he saw in 1720 on the south coast of Labrador, who probably just on account of their thick beard impressed him as being very wild²).

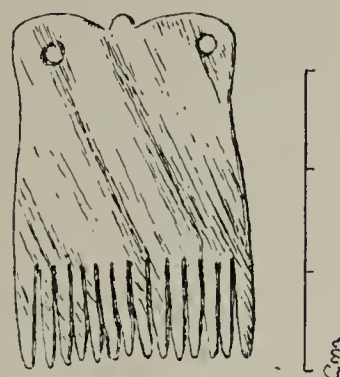
"Il est presque le seul de tous les Peuples connues de l'Amérique où les Hommes ayent de la Barbe, & ils l'ont si épaisse jusqu'aux Yeux, qu'on a peine à découvrir quelques Traits de leur Visage. Ils ont d'ailleurs je ne sçai quoi d'affreux dans l'Air, de petits Yeux effarés, des Dents larges & fort sales, des Cheveux ordinairement noirs, quelquefois blonds, fort en désordre, & tout l'exterieur fort brute."

Regarding the beards of the western Eskimo I may refer to Parry, Lyon, Kirby, Richardson etc.³).

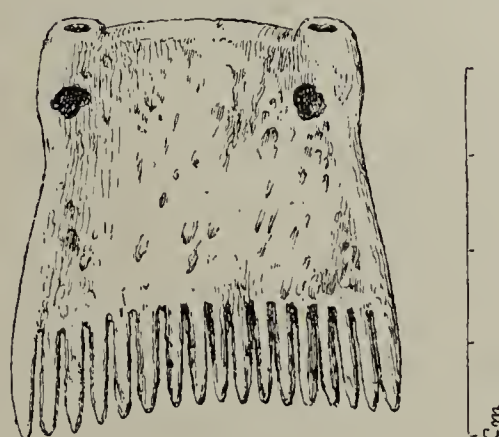
¹) Graah (1832) p. 119.

²) Charlevoix (1744) p. 178—179.

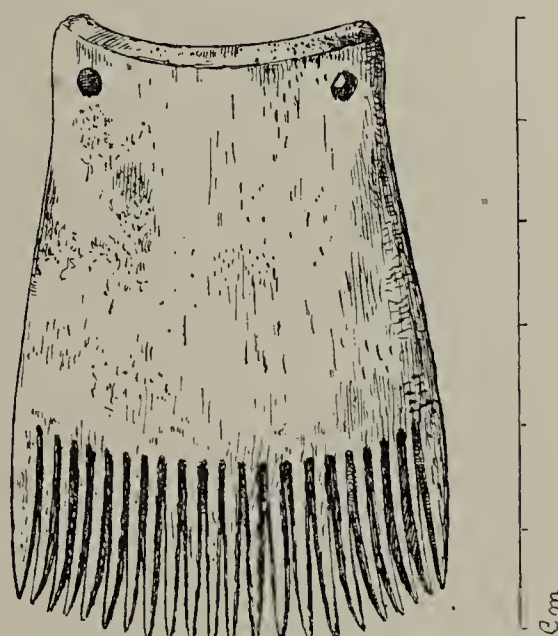
³) Parry (1824) p. 494; Lyon (1824) p. 40. Cf. also Bancroft, Native Races I, p. 47; A. E. Nordenskiöld (1885) p. 461.



a



b



c

Fig. 333. Three bone combs from Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

ORNAMENTAL ART AND CARVING.

TATTOOING (pp. 28—29, figs. 11—13 and 302). — The woman is tattooed at the age of 13 to 15. Her mother or a friend assists her and by means of an ordinary sewing needle the sooted sinew thread is drawn through the skin of the chin, arms, legs etc. The men are rarely tattooed. The angakoq Mitsuarnianga, when young, himself tattooed 6 black dots on his arm. The Ammassalikers call the tattooings *kakineen* 'stung things, stitches.' I obtained no new information with regard to the original reasons or explanation of the tattooings. Since the arrival of the missionaries this custom has ceased.

Graah states with regard to the old East Greenland that "the native women are all artificially tattooed on arms, on hands, the chin and breast." Graah also met two men with tattooings on the arms¹⁾. With regard to the West Greenlanders the tattooings are mentioned by many of the older authors. Hans Egede mentions the women's "black stripes on the skin between the eyes, on the chin, the cheeks and ears" and adds that "the head of the woman whose face is not ornamented in this way shall after her death become a dripping bowl for seal-oil to be placed under the lamp when she comes to the land of souls."²⁾ Glahn states that the women in the south are more richly tattooed than those in the north; they are all tattooed on the chin, cheek, hands, knees, feet and here and there on the body they sometimes make a line or circle³⁾. Circles or rather square figures with a dot in the middle are also known among the Ammassalik tattooings. Egede's reference to tattooed lines between the eyes was confirmed by Johan Petersen, who told me that in his youth he had seen an East Greenlander over on the west coast who was tattooed between the eyebrows "in order to prevent a shark he had once harpooned from recognizing and pursuing him; in West Greenland namely the shark is considered as a specially sagacious animal."⁴⁾

A detailed description of tattoo markings, seen on the last of the southern East Greenlanders who immigrated to the west coast, has been given by Doctor Meldorf who visited these people (38 individuals in all) to examine their state of health and to vaccinate them⁵⁾. 8 women out of 16 were tattooed; only one of these was 12 years old,

¹⁾ Graah (1832) p. 119.

²⁾ H. Egede (1729) p. 30, (1741) p. 74 and (1737 in the mission history) p. 73; Cranz (1770) p. 185.

³⁾ Glahn (1771) p. 193.

⁴⁾ P. Egede (1788) p. 154 mentions an angakoq having a shark as assisting spirit.

⁵⁾ Meldorf (1902) pp. 32—34.

the others above 12. Of the grown-up women 4 were without markings. Of the men only one was tattooed, having two patches on the upper part of the right arm. Strangely enough none of the women had tattooings on the face or breast, but these were present on arms and hands (about the legs nothing is reported) and consisted mainly of bluish-black dots arranged in straight rows or circles. One of the most tattooed women had on the back of the four fingers of each hand a row of narrow, short, transverse lines arranged longitudinally; on the back of the hand down from the same fingers were three circles of close, roundish patches and continuing from there up along the arm to the elbow were five rows of dots ending in a transverse line near the elbow. On the outer side of the upper arm was a single row of thick, quite short lines, one above the other. — In spite of the differences a close relationship can be traced to the tattoo designs from Ammassalik, as seen from the figures in this book; the squares of the latter enclosing a dot are not mentioned in Meldorf's descriptions, nor are the lines crossing each other like lattice or net-work or the ring-shaped lines round the lower arm; but the rich use of regularly arranged dots is common to all these east coast dwellers. The dots are probably only substitutes for the short lines arranged in rows as mentioned by Meldorf.

These dots and lines on the arms I have only found again in tattooings from the western side of Hudson Bay (Aivilik and Iglulik) illustrated by Boas¹⁾; here we also find ring-shaped lines round the arm and shoulder-tattoos like those from Ammassalik (figs. 12 and 302). Otherwise tattoo markings on women's arms are only mentioned from St. Lawrence Island in the Bering Straits where the pattern is formed by long lines (not short ones or dots).

Tattooings on the back of the hands and on the fingers (Graah, Glahn) are seen in the above-mentioned illustration from Hudson Bay and on another from Cumberland Sound in Baffin Land (both in Boas). The Iglulik women marked their faces, arms, hands, thighs and some of them their breasts, according to Parry²⁾. Outside these regions hand-tattooings do not seem to have been used.

The tattooing of the face on the other hand is universal among the Eskimo women. Egede's above-cited description of the old-time face-tattooing in Greenland seems to be in full agreement with the designs from Baffin Land and Hudson Bay given by Boas, where the woman's face has two lines between the eyebrows and up on the forehead, two or three curved lines crossing the cheeks between the nostrils and the ears and 6 to 8 lines spread out like a fan from the lower lip over the chin. From Alaska Nelson describes tattooings with illustrations and states, that the women here

¹⁾ Boas (1901) p. 108, fig. 158. The standard description of the tattooing procedure is given probably by Lyon (1824) pp. 121—122 (*kakeen*).

²⁾ Boas (1888) p. 561, fig. 516 and (1901) fig. 158. Parry (1824) p. 498. See also Stolpe (1896) pp. 19—20; Godfred Hansen (1912) fig. 21.

have hardly any other markings than those on the chin, i. e. from 3 to 6 lines arranged in the just-mentioned way (sometimes only one broad line). From St. Lawrence Island a woman is also depicted with curving tattoo markings on the cheek near the ears¹).

Regarding the importance of the women's tattooings the above authors have very little to say. From Ungava Bay on the northern side of Labrador (where tattooing has in comparatively recent times been forbidden for religious reasons by an *angakoq*) Turner states that "when a girl arrives at puberty she is taken to a secluded locality by some old women" who in the course of four days tattooes her there, "when the girl returns to the tent it is known that she has begun to menstruate" and during the time of menstruation she has to submit to certain customs, as for example that she must not cover the first two joints of each finger but must only use half-gloves²).

From Alaska and far eastwards we hear of men tattooed with lines or dots forming a broad band across each cheek between the mouth and the ears. According to Murdoch this is a mark of distinction which means that the man has captured many whales. The statements vary however and another explanation is to the effect, that the marks indicate that the man has murdered one of his fellows (*Petitot*)³). It is not improbable, that different explanations are required for the various cases but they probably all refer to the souls of the deceased (human beings or animals) or to other common reasons.

PAINTING AND DYEING. — It has already been mentioned (p. 506), how the Ammassalikers used to dye white skin red by shaping it like a bag and filling this with a kind of bark, which stained the skin red when chewed to pieces and left in the urine tub for some days. They also used blood for dyeing purposes (e. g. beads, see p. 34). Finally they used a kind of red clay, e. g. for dyeing their eye-shades (mentioned p. 21). Unknown among the Eskimo is the painting of face and body known among the Indians.

BUCKLES, BUTTONS, BELTS AND BEADS. — The ornamental dark dots are characteristic not only of the tattooings of the Ammassalikers but also of their ornamentation on many small objects carved in ivory. On the ivory objects these dots are made by means of a putty-like mass of oxidized blubber and soot filled into deeply bored holes. The Ammassalikers' taste for fine shapes and patterns is evident in these objects, which form a considerable part of their dress as buckles or are used as playthings for children (fig. 374).

Figs. 335 *a* and *b* are buckles belonging to the dress of the *kaiak*-man and are used in fastening the toggle-buttons of the two braces which support the *kaiak*-skirt round the body; these braces are either arranged so as to be drawn through two separate buckles

¹) Nelson (1899) pp. 50—51, figs. 11—13. Cf. also Murdoch (1892) pp. 138—140; Jacobsen (*Woldt* 1887) p. 288; Hoffman (1897) pp. 781—782; Amundsen (1907) p. 143; G. Hansen (1912) p. 77, fig. 20.

²) Turner (1894) pp. 207—208.

³) Murdoch (1892) p. 139 and note.

of the *a*-type attached to the upper edge of the skirt on each side of the median line; or they are gathered in a single buckle of the *b*-type which is provided with two neighbouring holes (as seen in fig. 299 *a*), Near Cape Tobin Amdrup found a buckle belonging to the *a*-type but of a special "north-east Greenland" shape, namely with an outline like a lyre¹). Fig. 335 *c* is a buckle which has possibly been used for holding together the two parts of the brace



Fig. 335. Ornamented buckles; *d* fragment. (Holm coll.). *a* $\frac{1}{2}$, *c*—*d* $\frac{2}{3}$.



Fig. 336. Hand toggles and carrying strap for lifting large tubs. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.



Fig. 337. Hook and button for the ends of a lace. (Holm coll.). $\frac{2}{3}$.

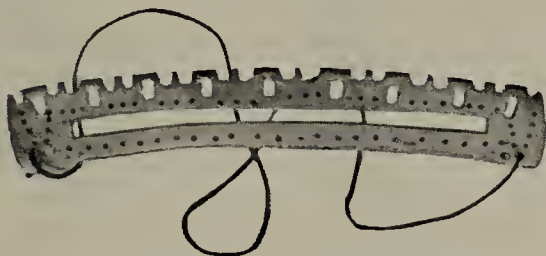


Fig. 338. Bag handle. (Holm [?] coll.). $\frac{1}{3}$.



Fig. 339. Buttons for lace ends. (Holm coll.). $\frac{5}{8}$.

lying over the one shoulder in order to tighten the lower part of the kaiak-coat (p. 30 cf. the buckles in fig. 42).

Fig. 336 is a carrying strap, consisting of two bear's teeth connected by a piece of seal-skin and is used when the arms are not long enough to span round large tubs and other objects.

Fig. 337 is a hook and button which have probably formed the ends of the two draw-strings on the hood of the waterproof outer frock of the kaiak hunter. By buckling these draw-strings to-

¹) Inv. Amdrup no. 85, see Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 464—466, fig. 54.

gether the hood is kept tight round the face so that no water can penetrate through it (p. 30).

Fig. 338 is a rare object and I have seen no other specimen like it in the collections from Ammassalik. It resembles the bone-handle of a game-bag I have seen from southern West Greenland¹⁾ and which is in agreement with similar handles from Alaska (bucket,

box and bag handles)²⁾ and from the north-western part of Hudson Bay, where they are said to have been used as quiver handles³⁾. This opens up the possibility that we have to do here with an old bag or quiver handle, if so, this is the only relict found as yet at Ammassalik of the former use of bows and arrows.

Fig. 339 shows two small bone-buttons, cylindrical in transverse section and provided with a groove for the line and

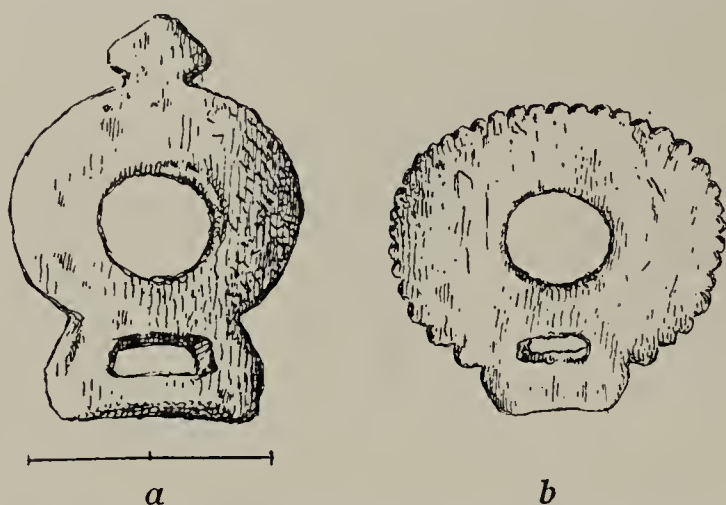


Fig. 340. Buckles for kaiak skirt. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

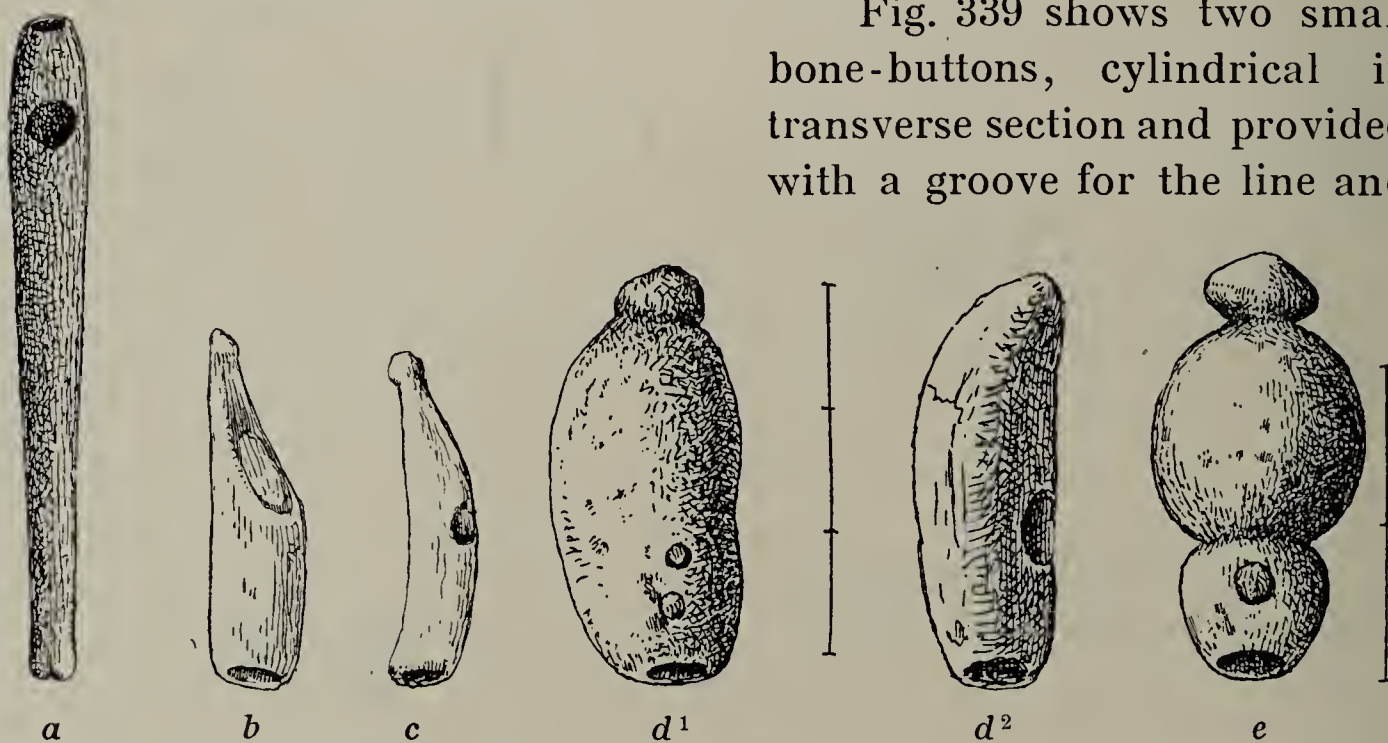


Fig. 341. Buttons for kaiak dress. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

with a short, curved hole opening at the base and ending upwards on the side in a countersinking. On p. 443 I have mentioned them as belonging to the attaching strap of the throwing stick, by means of which the throwing stick when not in use is made fast on one side of the kaiak deck. But they are also found on other objects as buttons on the end of straps or laces.

¹⁾ Inv. Holst in Stockholm Riksmuseum; several specimens of the same kind are found in Pfaff's collection from North Greenland.

²⁾ Nelson (1899) Pl. XLIII; Murdoch (1892) p. 190.

³⁾ Boas (1907) p. 420, fig. 219.

Fig. 340 shows two buckles from the "dead house" of the same kind as the one in fig. 335 *a*.

Fig. 341 shows various buttons belonging to the waterproof and the combined outer frocks of the kaiaker. *a* is a kind of long button which forms the end of the bead-studded braces which keep the kaiak-skirt up; or it may belong to the brace which from the top of the left shoulder tightens the lower part of his waterproof kaiak-frock in order that the water may run off; the end of the brace is stuck into the hole in the top of this oblong button and fixed in the countersinking for the knot on the one side. *b* and *c* are among the 5—8 toggle-buttons fastened spirally at intervals like the leaves on a stalk on the latter kind of braces, intended to be drawn through the buckle near the shoulder and catch hold there. *d*¹, *d*² show from two sides one of the end-buttons on the cord which binds the kaiak-skirt fast round the hoop of the man-hole. *e* is the end-button of the tightening cord at the back of the kaiak-man's hood (mentioned in connection with fig. 337). According to J. Petersen a buckle or ring probably also belongs to this button¹).

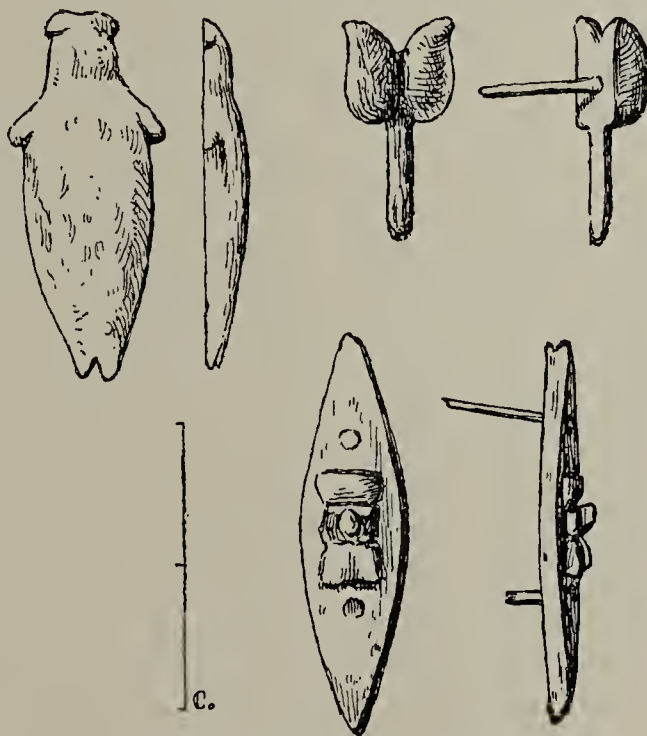


Fig. 342. Loose figures of ivory for relief ornament on wood. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

BEADS (*nuisätcät*, pp. 33—34), consisting of dorsal vertebrae or made of ivory, bone or stone in roundish shapes with a perforation, occupy an important place among the Ammassaliker's ornaments and trinkets. The women use them on the hair; strung on long strings they are sewn on to the toupee-band and hang down from there over the forehead; they also have them round the neck and in the ears, and coupled two and two in a string on the arms and breast of the anorak, in broad thick rows round the waist, in wider rows on the short inner breeches and round the pouches of the boots. The men often have beads in the hair above the forehead, strung on some of their own hair. There is naturally great variation among the different individuals in the use of beads, some never use them and the women do not always wear their trinkets. There is also a variation accord-

¹) Johan Petersen designated the double-ring of bone seen in fig. 240 *c* as a buckle of this kind. If he is right I have given an erroneous description to this illustration.

ing to the time of the year and the different ages; we meet with a display of individual vanity as well as a blasé contempt for any outward adornment.



Fig. 343.
Beads of bone.
(Holm coll.).
 $\frac{2}{3}$.

Before Europeans introduced glass-beads into the country, which very early reached up to Ammassalik along the coast by exchange and barter¹), the people here used either the small dorsal vertebrae of caplins (*ammassät*) or larger vertebrae of other fishes (salmon) or animals, or small balls and cylinders cut from the teeth of seal or bear or the tarsi of foxes, seals etc. or made of various stones²). Both kinds of dorsal vertebrae are seen here in figs. 324 and 325 a; the smaller ones of caplins are seen in the hanging bead-strings, the larger as a row of dark cross-pieces between the parallel, narrow skin-bands. White, round beads carved in varying shapes from bone or teeth are seen strung on whip-lashes (fig. 74), on the end-pieces of hafts of knives (figs. 182—184, 187), on the handles of drinking-cups (fig. 281 a, beads of fox-bone, cf. p. 551) and meat-troughs (figs. 286 e, h), on the carrying string of a needle skin (fig. 249 b), on the looped strings of ornamented eye-shades (fig. 317), in both ends of the snow-goggles (fig. 323), on the dresses and as pendants of hair-bands, necklaces, ear-drops (figs. 324—330) etc. being partly useful (cf. the bead-like decoys on the stone sinkers for fishing (fig. 173) and on floating snares for birds (fig. 178)), partly ornamental. On the wooden box in fig. 289 c we see four bead-studded strings one on each corner of the bottom as pendent ornaments. The lid of this box is provided with a lock in the form of a string of beads with

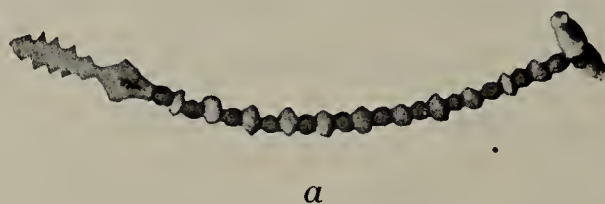


Fig. 344. Two strings of beads, a the lock for a case, b pendant of a necklace. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

¹) As evidence of the favour which these foreign beads ("Dutch beads" of dim or clear glass, white, red, yellow, blue in colour) quickly obtained at Ammassalik may be mentioned the names given them by the women there: *sikkulaarqat*, small globular beads; *suluarpalaat*, small cylindrical beads; *kittukkät*, thicker beads; *ajilertät* the thickest beads; *qiwnneetät*, spiral etc. These names probably originate from primitive bone beads of the same shapes.

²) Hanserak (Diary, Danish translation, pp. 68—69) states that in olden days the East Greenlanders got the material for their beads from a special kind of stone found near *Qoojootilik* north of Sermiligaq. The pieces that were broken off resembled "frozen (leaves of) leeks and looked very beautiful as ornaments for the head and temples."

toggle at the one end, reproduced here in fig. 344 *a*. Special dexterity is displayed in the carving of two oblong beads from one piece of ivory, provided with small eyes at the meeting ends, so that they remain connected as links, as seen in fig. 344 *b* (this being a magnified reproduction of the lower part of the thin bead-chain belonging to the necklace in fig. 325 *c*). A couple of similarly interlinked beads were found by Amdrup at the Skærgaard Peninsula, where he also found a set of three interlinked, clumsier beads. Similar discoveries have been made previously further to the north¹). They are also known from the northern part of the west coast and from Alaska where they are linked together as pendants to the needle-cases or bodkins of the women²). Lastly, I may note the oblong, thicker beads in the heavy chain of the necklace in fig. 325 *c*, which seems to be roughly carved from hollow bones. One of the middle beads is cylindrical in shape with a dilatation in the middle. These shapes are also known from the northern West Greenland (Pfaff's coll.). Cf. Ryder's discovery of a bead-necklace from Scoresby Sound³).

Beads consisting of whole teeth simply perforated cross-wise at the root have been superseded at Ammassalik by newer forms but have probably been used in earlier times. They were specially used for the fringe-like ornaments along the lower border of the outer frock and were suspended in a belt round the waist.

Strings of beads are still used as ornament not only on the hair, forehead and necks of the women but also on the lower edge of their frock, where they form a fringe right round the body to conceal or to emphasize the naked thighs (see fig. 28).

The embroidered, motley-coloured SKIN-BELTS which the West Greenland women sew nowadays have been influenced by the Europeans, but the patterns may have retained some of their primitiveness. The East Greenlanders have also begun to sew such belts but only use patterns in black and white. (The belts from West Greenland have in later years been introduced for sale in Copenhagen).

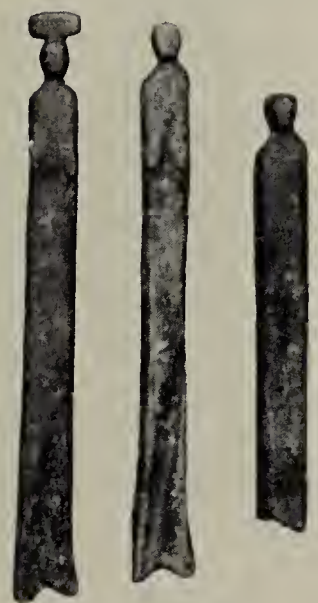


Fig. 345.
Loose pendants of
ivory, belonging to
a needle-skin.
(Holm coll.). ²/₃.

¹) Inv. Amdrup, nos. 59—60, see Thalbitzer (1909) figs. 31 *a* and *b* and p. 420.

²) Ibid. and Pfaff's collection in Stockholm; Nelson (1899) pp. 56—57; Pl. XLVI, 4, 10 and LII, 16.

³) Ryder (1895) p. 328, fig. 39. A necklace(?) from West Greenland consisting of perforated teeth was seen by me in our National Museum in case no. 77.

It must be supposed that belts have been used in earlier times in Greenland because we find a word for them, namely *tavsik* (Fabricius), which according to the old dictionaries means 'belts, especially skin-belts round the waist in which amulets are kept.' The word agrees with the form and signification of the western dialects; in the Alaskan (Point Barrow) dialect the word *tapsi* means 'a belt which is used to hold up the pantaloons or breeches' and 'a girdle which is always worn outside of the frock;' in the Labrador dialect *tapse* means 'a string to bind round the boot' etc., *tapserut* 'belt round the waist.'¹⁾ — The material seems to vary; from southwest Alaska up to the arctic coast we hear of a favourite waist belt worn by the women made from the incisors of reindeer. Similar teeth-belts have been found in use from the Bering Straits to the regions of the Central Eskimo, e. g. from Iglulik where Lyon describes them as follows.



Fig. 346.
Bear's tooth
worn for orna-
ment or charm.
Nualik. (Am-
drup coll.). ¹/₂.

"When a girdle is worn round the waist, it answers the double purposes of comfort and ornament; being frequently composed of some valuable trinkets, such as foxes' bones, those of the kableeaghioo [wolverine?], or sometimes of the ears of deer, which hang in pairs to the number of twenty or thirty, and are trophies of the skill of the hunter to whom the wearer is allied."²⁾

Also from Greenland we have some evidence that similar belts have been in use; at the Skærgaard Peninsula for example, Amdrup found a row of 53 teeth perforated at the root so that they could be drawn on a string³⁾

Besides belts of teeth (sewed along a strap of rawhide) we hear of belts from Alaska consisting of a strap of tanned seal-skin sewn with beads arranged in fantastic circles and lines (Nelson). From northern Alaska we have descriptions of belts for men woven from feathers and for women made of wolverine's toes, and also of more simple belts of deer skin or wolf-skin. On the woven feather belts a checkered pattern is obtained by the alternating use of white and black feathers (i. e. shafts of feathers)³⁾.

The belt is kept in place by means of the belt-fasteners carved of ivory in greatly varying shapes, such as buttons, toggles, hooks, buckles etc.⁴⁾. A bone-toggle found by Amdrup on the Skærgaard Peninsula is probably a belt fastener of a similar kind⁵⁾

ORNAMENTAL CARVINGS AND RELIEFS OF IVORY (pp. 115—120). — Pendants carved of ivory or bear-bone are found at Ammassalik especially in connection with the triangular needle-skins of the women (figs. 249—251). Besides the useful pendants mentioned already, i. e. thimble guards etc. (p. 520), there also exist some purely ornamental pendants, seen e. g. in fig. 249*b* and still better in fig. 42, and in fig. 345. As shown by G. Holm (see pp. 115—116) they are doll-like imitations of human beings that have been introduced as conventional

¹⁾ Murdoch (1892) p. 135; Erdmann, Eskimoisches Wörterbuch aus Labrador p. 314.

²⁾ Lyon (1824) pp. 315—316.

³⁾ Amdrup coll. no. 57; Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 417—419, fig. 34 (and 70*d*).

⁴⁾ Nelson (1899) pp. 59—63; Murdoch (1899) p. 138, fig. 86; Boas (1888) fig. 510.

⁵⁾ Amdrup coll. no. 54; Thalbitzer (1909) p. 412, fig. 30. Cf. Boas (1901) p. 19, fig. 14.

forms into the ornamental art of the Ammassalikers. In Alaska we find whole needle-cases of ivory shaped like human beings¹).

A still greater degree of conventionality has been imprinted on the Ammassalik art by their imitation of the body and especially the tail part of the seal. This specialization may have originated from the custom of carving certain parts of their useful implements as seals, e. g. the handles of the drag-lines used for hauling the seals over the ice or towing them after the boat (fig. 163 *d, e*), clasps and side-buttons for securing the coiled harpoon-line on the kaiak stand (fig. 92 *b*), buttons for keeping the cross-straps of the kaiak in their place (fig. 95 *h*), the ends of many weapons, of combs (p. 605) and other implements (fig. 43), sometimes probably also the harpoon toggle itself (fig. 133 *e*). In this connection the needle-cases of the women may also be mentioned, as from Alaska we know of several specimens of this implement carved like seals and other marine animals²).

The attached reliefs of ivory seen on many of the wooden implements of the Ammassalikers display the same preference for the marine animals, especially the seal, which again and again is evident in these reliefs; but human figures are on the other hand by no means uncommon. Further, we find various figures representing beings from the angakut's spiritual world. We know these relief ornaments from a large quantity of the wooden implements of the Ammassalikers, throwing sticks, eye-shades, tubs, drinking cups etc., on which they are only made for decorative purposes. — These carved figures which are flat on the under side are fastened on the wood by one or more, commonly two bone-nails driven through the horizontal plane of the figure. These nails are seen on some of the loose reliefs from the "dead house" shown in fig. 342.

Fig. 347 shows a small board (a lid?) with characteristic reliefs, which was excavated in the neighbourhood of Ammassalik. In the middle is seen a man standing on his house(?), on the left side is a demon (*aperqiteq*?), and a quadruped of unknown origin which is often present in the ornamental art of the Ammassalikers and also



Fig. 347. Relief decorations on a piece of wood.
(Petersen coll.). ²/₃.

¹) Boas (1908) Pl. XXIX, 1—2.

²) Id. *ibid.* Pl. XXX; (1901) fig. 136 *c*.

in the western regions outside Greenland, on the right side is seen a bird and on the empty place below has been a relief of a similar shape as the animal to the left but with a large upward bent tail (seen from the impression on the wood where the relief has been); below the man on each side of the house(?) are two boats and a whale (the whole picture possibly means an angakoq surrounded by his auxiliary spirits?).

Within the East Eskimo regions this kind of ornamentation is only known among the Ammassalikers of East Greenland; neither from the west coast nor from the southern part of the east coast do we know of any example of ivory reliefs¹). G. Holm was the first to give information about this art. Rink, who was the first to give (in *Geografisk Tidsskrift*) a summary and valuation of the collection brought home, expressed his admiration for the unique artistic taste displayed in the domestic industry of this most isolated group of people in this country. "We hardly find examples of such artistic taste before reaching the Bering Straits."²) He compares this branch of art with the Western Eskimo's ornamental engravings in ivory and wood; only few and primitive specimens of this art have been found within the regions of the East Eskimo. It has been discovered later, that the Alaskan Eskimo in certain regions also adorned various implements with ivory reliefs representing animals, especially their hunting helmets, which as already mentioned correspond to the ornamented eye-shades of the Ammassalikers³). It is still an open question, whether there is a continuity between the relief ornamentation of these two places lying far from each other. This can hardly be doubted however. The reliefs of the Alaskan Eskimo like those of the Ammassalikers are convex in the upper part but flat on the under side, often haut-reliefs approaching the shape of bas-

¹) It might be supposed that Graah had seen or even brought home with him ivory reliefs from the East Greenlanders, but as far as I know there is no sign of this either in his book or in the collection. The only passage in his book giving evidence of the East Greenlander's interest in ornamental art is the following, where Graah describes Kamik's house near Ikatamiut (63° 31' N. lat. on the east coast): "K. acted as a hospitable host and invited me to his house where I found the walls hung with numbers of pictures carved in black skin and representing seals, walrus, bears and Greenlanders, and I even found a representation of myself in this group of voracious animals. All the carvings had been executed by his children etc." Graah (1832) pp. 135—136.

²) Rink stated for example that a throwing stick from Ammassalik had 57 ivory reliefs on a surface of 290 cm.², a wooden cup 116 on 176 cm.² and a small box 96 on 55 cm.². Rink (1886) p. 141.

³) Nelson (1899) pp. 168—169 and fig. 45, Pl. LXIV, 18, 22. Several references in Holm's report in this book p. 124. Cf. Stolpe (1896) p. 13; Hoffman (1897) Pl. 53—54; Woldt-Jacobsen (1887) p. 195 (fig. 2).

reliefs. The figures are generally longer and larger in Alaska than in East Greenland and there are consequently quite few on each object. As in East Greenland they often represent conventionalized shapes of animals (seals, walrus, wolves, otter or birds) and geometric patterns also occur.

This old ornamental art with attached reliefs has reached over to the northernmost Atlantic coasts on East Greenland. It has now become extinct there together with the northern inhabitants of this coast but has remained vigorous until our days as far south as the fjords near Ammassalik and Sermilik. That it has occurred previously further north on the coast is proved by Ryder's discovery of a seal or fish figure of ivory in Scoresby Sound and by Amdrup's discovery still further north on Sabine Island (74° 45' N. lat.) of three small figures with nail-holes, flat on the under side and intended for attachment on the surface of an implement of wood¹).

Strangely enough no trace of this mode of ornamentation has hitherto been found between Greenland and Alaska.

SCULPTURE. — The Eskimo style and conventionality, displayed in their ornamentation, is also apparent in the Ammassaliker's sculptural carvings in bone (ivory) and wood. These objects not only represent human figures and animals of this world, i. e. from the Eskimo locality at Ammassalik, but also mythical beings from the spiritual world, which to any orthodox Eskimo is quite as real; we see the latter in the carved effigies of the sea-spirits (tornarssuk and aperqiteq) and of several auxiliary spirits and ghosts etc. visible otherwise only to the angakut. I may refer to the illustrations given here of some of these objects, both the ivory carvings in figs. 42—44, 48—49 and 374, which are all small owing to the scarcity of the material, and also to the larger carvings in wood (drift-timber) in figs. 354—355, 366—371 (cf. 350 *a—b*, 372 etc.).

The Eskimo carver does not exercise his skill for the sake of art alone; he likes to satisfy at one time his practical and æsthetical need by giving his implements an artistic shape, viz. by imitating the forms of the seals and whales (seal-tail ornaments etc.) probably led thereto by religious reasons. Even the majority of the carved toy figures of men and animals may originally have been connected with the religious side of life, even though they are now considered as mere toys.

The style of the objects is not ruled by any individual principles but by the traditions of the race. It may seem as if the an-

¹) Ryder (1895) p. 337, fig. 38 *c*; Amdrup coll. nos. 107—109, see Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 492—493, figs. 70 *a—c*.

imals are more realistically carved than the human figures, but as faithful likeness of the portraits is not intended they are only meant to represent the human shape in general, i. e. the Eskimo type according to the conventional view of their ancestors. In the Ammassaliker's representation of the human figure we note his predilection for emphasizing the shape of the breast and stomach, his tendency to neglect the back, his ability to give the right proportions to the shoulders and thighs, together with his superior neglect of the existence of arms and feet. While in the smaller figures the face is only marked by a flat facet, at the most a childish indication of eyes, nostrils and mouth, he often tries to characterize the larger figures by giving them a grotesque or appalling expression; in the masks they probably often imitated definite persons with tattooed faces.

While the masks are unknown from other regions in Greenland, carved wooden dolls have been found in northern West Greenland (Pfaff's coll.) though not in large quantities. With regard to the Smith Sound Eskimo Kroeber mentions that their art was not specially well developed, though by no means despicable. This is true especially with regard to the carvings of animals in ivory and bone¹).

DECORATIVE DESIGNS. — With regard to the decoration of their implements the Greenlanders are almost on a level with the other Eskimo east of Mackenzie River. The decorative patterns and ornamental carvings, which are only seldom found in Greenland, show the same designs as those made by the other East Eskimo, thus displaying a primitive and simple art. The Ammassalikers alone seem to take up a special position by virtue of their relief-ornamentation and sculpture in ivory and wood. We come to this conclusion by comparison with the highly imaginative and multifarious art in ornamentation and carving among the Eskimo near the Bering Straits, especially along the subarctic part of the Alaskan coast. Most of this richness in art is absent among the Central and Eastern Eskimo. Common to all Eskimo both there and on the northernmost shores of the Atlantic are, however, certain ornamental lines and designs first pointed out by Franz Boas, patterns which are characteristic for the Eskimo and which also occur in the north-eastern corner of Asia²). One of these is the alternate spur or zigzag design, the other the bifurcated or trifurcated line design with two short branches (Y-shaped).


I have pointed out that the West Greenlanders have known the first of these patterns on carved ivory, but they seem to have used it

¹) Kroeber (1899) p. 300, Pl. XIV.

²) Boas (1907) pp. 431—434 and 568; (1908) pp. 324—328.

very seldom, because on the whole there has been no frequent use of engraved ornaments. I have found it on a beautifully ornamented swivel and on some old-time needle-cases from central West Greenland (Pfaff's coll.). It is also seen on the edging of the ivory comb found by Amdrup further north in East Greenland¹). In the Ammassalik district itself this engraving pattern has not been observed and thus seems to be absent there; perhaps due to chance? The number of ivory objects from this place found in the collections is not overwhelming, and there are only few of the kind on which we might expect to find ornamental carving (combs, buckles, trinket-boxes etc.); as already noted, old-time needle-cases are not at all found near Ammassalik.

The other pattern, on the other hand, I think I am able to detect on a specimen in Holm's collection from Ammassalik, namely, the small ornamented snuff-box of ivory shown in fig. 287 *a* (cf. p. 558). On this we see distinctly that between the lines of black dots which cover the surface there is an encircling wreath of connected Y-shaped

markings in this style: . This is the only indication hitherto found in Greenland that this Eskimo pattern has been known there.

But besides these two patterns there is a third engraving design in ivory which seems to me to be characteristic of the Eskimo and common among the Central Eskimo near Hudson Bay, namely, the dot ornamentation. We find it in East Greenland partly as engravings on ivory objects, partly as tattoo markings on certain parts of the human body (pp. 122 and 608—609). (I am inclined to assume that the significance of this ornamentation is the same in both cases). On the ivory objects the dots are generally made by boring small holes in the surface which are then filled with soot or blood or some other dark dye-stuff, on the wooden objects by the inlaying (mosaic) of quite small circular pieces of ivory (figs. 181 *d* and 372 *d*); the dots are always arranged regularly, most often in parallel lines.

The dot ornamentation is used on the following objects illustrated in this book: on the haft of several men's knives of the pana-type (figs. 42—43, 181 *a, c, d*, 204 *a*), also on the bone haft of the pana knife in fig. 181 *d*, on some drag-handles used for dragging the dead seals after the kaiak (fig. 162 *b, c*), the end-knobs of a drill-bow (fig. 191 *f*), the haft of a woman's knife (fig. 223 *c*) and a couple of bodkins (figs. 230 and 236), on several sinew thread twistors (figs. 239 and 246), on rings and hooks of ivory (figs. 240 *a* and 242 *c*), a comb (fig. 331), a thimble guard (fig. 250 *c*), snuff-horns (fig. 287 *a* and *d*) and on the carved seals and a whale in fig. 374. Much further north on the east coast near Cape Franklin Nathorst (Hammar) found in a women's grave an ivory buckle ornamented with a row of black dots²).

¹) These objects are illustrated in my description (1909) pp. 469, 472 and 527.

²) Nathorst (1900) vol. 2, p. 364; Stolpe (1906) Pl. 6, fig. 19.

The dot ornamentation may be traced outside Greenland to the regions of the Central Eskimo north and west of Hudson Bay, where it is perhaps the most frequently used ornamentation, and from there westwards to Alaska. Sometimes we also come across a similar form-element but with a compound pattern, namely, small circles arranged in rows and with a dot in the centre¹). I have seen the latter variety from West Greenland on the bone-hafts of a couple of men's knives (with iron-blades) found in Pfaff's collection. On implements from Alaska we find both this and another still more complicated pattern consisting of 2 or 3 concentric rings round a central dot²). In several cases it looks almost as if the carver by means of the dots distributed over the body of the animal wished to imitate either the hair of the seal or the specific lines of the different species³). Small carved figures of fishes (and seals) have often a dotted line along the side of the body from head to tail. Ryder found a small carved fish (of wood) in Scoresby Sound with the same ornamental peculiarity, an interesting parallel to the Alaskan specimens, to which he also draws attention⁴). — A curiosity pointing perhaps in a different direction is a small carved ivory seal with ornamental dots, which was found among the results of some excavating work at Bergen in so deep a layer of soil that it must date from the period before the fire of this town in the year 1413⁵). The style of this figure is however somewhat different from the present carvings of the Ammassalikers. Yngvar Nielsen has put forward the supposition, that the object might originate from southern West Greenland and date from the time in the middle ages, when the merchants of Bergen traded with Greenland; in this case it would certainly be the earliest known ethnographical proof of the connection between Greenland and Europe.⁶)

With regard to the already mentioned patterns (the alternate spur; the bifurcated line and the dot designs) I have presupposed that we should only look for them on the ivory objects. It is how-

¹) In the collections from Southampton Island, Iglulik and the west coast of Hudson Bay described by Boas (1901—1907), these ornamental patterns are seen on combs (fig. 215), hair-ornaments (figs. 102 and 217), eyes for needle-cases (fig. 226), buckles, beads, buttons (figs. 218, 220, 261), on a marrow extractor (fig. 148 *a*); from Cumberland Sound it is found on an ivory bead (1888, fig. 509 *b*) and some toy figures (fig. 522) and on a swivel (1901, fig. 45 *e*).

²) Specimens of these patterns occur in quantities in Nelson and Hoffman, e. g. Nelson (1899) Pl. 34, 36, 44(!), 45, 46, 52, 56, 63, 64, 94 and figs. 40, 41, 45, 125; Hoffman (1897) Pl. 9, 25, 32, 56, 57, 61, 62, 63 and figs. 43, 44, 45.

³) See e. g. Hoffman (1897) Pl. 57; Nelson (1899) fig. 135.

⁴) Ryder (1895) p. 337, fig. 38 *c*. Cf. Murdoch (1892) fig. 413 *a*; Hoffmann (1897) Pl. 56—57. The same feature is seen here on a wood carving of a seal in fig. 372 *d*, likewise on several ivory carvings of seals in the Nordenskiöld coll. from the Chukchee (in Stockholm).

⁵) This discovery is mentioned (with illustration) in Koren Wiberg (1908) p. 151.

⁶) Yngvar Nielsen in Koren Wiberg (l. c.). The difference between the carvings of the Ammassalikers and the walrus found in Bergen consists partly in this, that the dots on the latter are leaf-shaped, whereas they are circular in East Greenland and that the claws of all four paws are distinctly marked, a feature otherwise only known from similar carvings of animals from Alaska and North-east Asia. Before drawing any far-reaching conclusions from this Bergen discovery with regard to the East Greenlanders we must await confirmation of the Greenland origin of the figure, which can only be obtained by some more discoveries.

ever easily seen that these patterns, at any rate some of them, are also used by the Ammassalikers for their skin embroideries (cf. pp. 527—530). The difference of material must naturally cause some alterations and has probably also caused new designs to be made; on the other hand, the fact that the ivory carvings are made by the men while the women perform the sewing work seems to have contributed less to any alteration of the style. The ornamental ideas have repeated themselves in the two different kinds of material. — The alternate spur design which easily turns into a continuous zig-zag line is in reality met with on the skin embroideries near Ammassalik as elsewhere, e. g. in fig. 51 (p. 123) on the two triangular needle-skins embroidered with dark on white ground. We have an excellent example of the same pattern on the upper white border of the sewing bag in fig. 50, where small transverse bars or spurs are sewn with white on black ground. The same pattern may now easily be traced again in the embroideries on the needle-skins in figs. 249—250 and the moss-bags in figs. 253—254. — The concentric circles are also frequently used as pattern in these East Greenland skin embroideries. As the concentric circles in the ornamentation of other peoples are often interpreted by experts as conventionalized eyes, it may be of interest in this connection to recall the fact, that the circular patterns just occur on the eye-shades and peaks of the Ammassalikers (fig. 51 in the middle and figs. 316 *e*, 320, 321 *a, b, d*, 322), where they must undoubtedly be considered as representing the human eye (cf. p. 120). — Now and then we find on the embroideries a row of short lines which sometimes may resemble the dots on the ivory objects, e. g. in fig. 253 *e*. — The rows of straight lines crossing each other so as to form a kind of network or lattice are seen on a needle-skin (fig. 249 *b*), on some of the moss-bags (figs. 253 *b*, 254 *a*, cf. 192 *b*) and the cap uppermost to the right in fig. 51. This is probably an isolated pattern from East Greenland only; elsewhere it is used in the Alaskan carvings as ground-work (shading) in figures of animals, houses, boats etc., thus it also occurs in the large cross-ornamentation on the often-mentioned ivory comb found by Amdrup on Dunholm¹). — The simple crosses found embroidered on several of the skin-objects mentioned here are seen on the bottom of the skin bag lowermost on the left in fig. 51 (cf. fig. 253 *f*) and on the side of the bag in fig. 253 *c*; they are of course only conventional shapes but I discovered that the Ammassalikers consider them as “flying birds” (see p. 530) like the Alaskan Eskimo. — A prominent place among the skin embroideries in East Greenland is taken by the wavy lines,

¹) Amdrup coll. no. 86 described by me (1909) pp. 466—475.

partly converging, partly diverging. I do not know these lines from the Western Eskimo but on the other hand the double curve motive is mentioned as being very common in the Eastern Algonkian art, i. e. among the neighbours of the East Eskimo from whom it may have reached the Eskimo¹). The Ammassalikers call the curved or wavy lines *caṇiaai^wn* i. e. 'rivers having fairly equal undulations in their course,' and the encircling straight lines *sannaat* 'their sides, the banks.' (See e. g. figs. 253*d* and 254*b*).

While all these patterns with exception of the latter are known from the ivory engravings and have possibly been transferred from the hard material to the skin embroideries, I have not been able to trace the characteristic bifurcated (Y-shaped) or the trifurcated pattern²), which does not seem to have played any important role among the Greenlanders. In the central region this design is found, however, on the skin of the human body where it is tattooed on hands, arms and shoulders, with the single line turned upwards, the short branches downwards as on the needle-cases³). This fact lends some support to the supposition, that the tattoo patterns are in the main the same as those carved in ivory and sewn on skin. The Ammassalikers' square or round figures tattooed round a dot on arms and legs are the same designs that have developed into concentric rings in the ornamentation of the implements, and the lattice or network pattern is also used in both cases. There is some reason to believe, that to begin with the ornamentation of the implements and the human body have been based upon the same principle.

The seal-tail ornament carved in wood or ivory, whose development into a conventional shape has been described previously by G. Holm (see pp. 116—120), is seen e. g. on the following objects illustrated here: the heavy bone (ivory) ends of knob and feather harpoons (fig. 43, cf. 116), the upper bone pegs of a kaiak-stand (fig. 92*b*), several kaiak buttons (figs. 95*c, g, i*), drag line toggles (figs. 162—163), hafts of men's knives (figs. 204*d, e*), sinew twisters (figs. 239, 243, 246), toggles (fig. 242*a, 244*), thimble guards (figs. 249*a, b*), a large scraping-board (fig. 226). Several of these objects, e. g. the last-mentioned and the sinew twisters, are shaped entirely like a seal. In the collections described by Boas from the central regions there is a number of "hand-supports for harpoon-shafts" partly from Cumberland Sound on the south-eastern side, partly from Ponds Bay on the northern side of Baffin Land, all of which in their upper part have quite the same ornamental carving as the final conventional shape of the seal-tail ornament known from Ammassalik⁴). If the theory, that the latter form (in fig. 43 seen on the figure marked

¹) F. G. Speck in the *American Anthropologist* 1911, p. 118.

²) I think it preferable to distinguish between these two designs (taken as identical by Boas), also on account of the interpretations by Hoffman, Murdoch and others with regard to these and other patterns. Hoffman (1897) pp. 800—808 and 928—938. According to Nelson and the latter the trifurcated line indicates "the raven totem," cf. Nelson (1899) pp. 324 and 426 and figs. 114—116 and the bifurcated line probably "whale-tails" (Hoffmann, l. c. pp. 929 and 937), and a row of single crosses "flying birds," cf. Wilson (1896) pp. 937—938.

³) Boas (1901) p. 108, fig. 158.

⁴) *Ib.* idem. fig. 11*a—j* and 1907) fig. 222*a*. Cf. fig. 136*c*.

g and *h* and the two smaller above) is the final result of the development, is correct, we may draw the conclusion, that this development has already taken place outside Greenland possibly in the regions immediately west of Baffin Bay and the Davis Straits and shortly before the immigration to East Greenland.

Among the other ornamental shapes that attract attention I shall only mention here the serrated edge of a buckle seen in fig. 340*b*. From Baffin Land Boas mentions some buckles or "eyes for needle-cases" of quite a similar shape, with serrated edges, the majority from Cumberland Sound and a few from Ponds Bay¹).

OBJECTS OF RELIGIOUS IMPORTANCE, AMULETS, DRUMS ETC.

MEN'S AMULET STRAPS (pp. 32 and 85; figs. 18, 62, 348). — The men wear these harness-like skin-straps in such a way, that the two uppermost loops hang on the shoulders close to the neck, uniting on the middle of the chest and back, the lowermost sloping out from the same points towards the sides. They are never taken off. For this reason I have entered them among the components of the house-dress (p. 561). Fig. 348 shows three harnesses of this kind, *a* and *b* with amulet pockets at the centre; these consist of two skin-bags, the one hanging on the breast, the other on the back. The amulets placed in them are wooden dolls, one representing a man, the other a woman. In *b* the bags are very short and below them are two pieces of skin, sewn in between the straps as a continuation of the bags, in such a way that there is a space between bag and continuation. To judge from its form the figure furthest to the right in fig. 348*b* represents a tornarssuk. In *c* instead of the skin-bags we only have two short rows of beads (of dorsal vertebrae) between the straps; without doubt amulets are or have been attached there. The main object of these straps is, naturally, to be the bearer of the man's protecting amulets on both sides of the body in its upper part, so that no evil spirit may be able to penetrate to his soul within. Similar straps have been noted among the West Greenlanders by Dalager, who describes them so incompletely however, that we do not know, what they were like²). But the amulet straps of a man from the Bering Straits (Sledge Island) described by Nelson³) were undoubtedly of exactly the same type as those of the Ammassalikers

¹) Boas (1888) fig. 514*b*; (1901) fig. 14*i, j, k*; (1907) fig. 226*e*.

²) Dalager (1752) p. 79.

³) Cf. G. Holm's reference in this book p. 32.

and were meant to protect him against the blood revenge by relatives of the man he had killed ¹⁾).

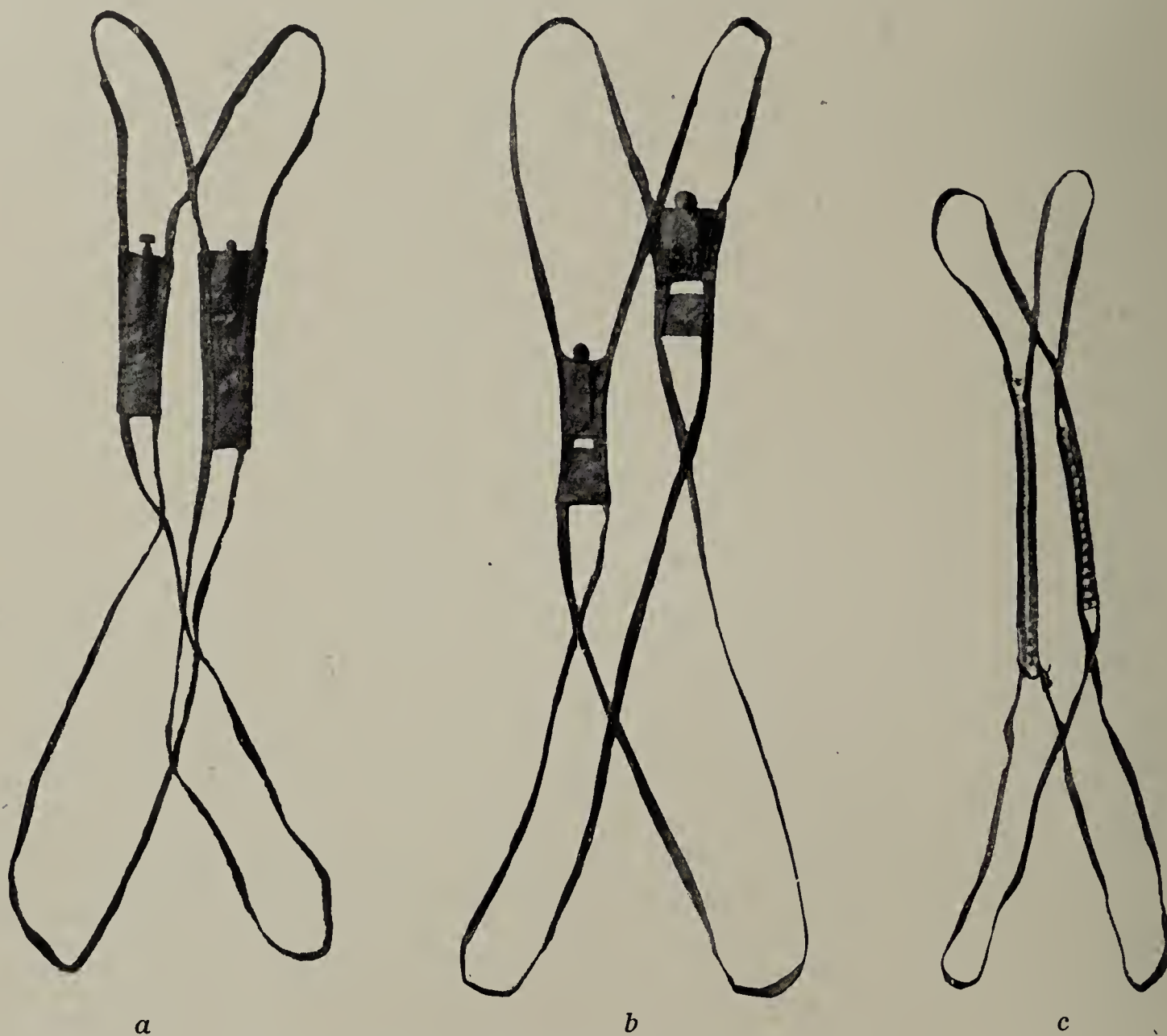


Fig. 348. Men's amulet harness. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.

ARMLETS AND ANKLE-BANDS (p. 33). — These objects also contain or act as amulets. The armlets (*teaawta*, fig. 349) are worn both by men and women, but not by everybody. The women wear their armlets round the right arm or wrist, the ankle-band round the ankle of the left foot; the men use two armlets, one on the upper part of each arm. Fig. 349 shows an armlet made of a thin strip of seal-skin plainly sewn and ornamented by



Fig. 349. Armlet. (Holm coll.). $\frac{4}{9}$.

¹⁾ Graah (1832) p. 119 mentions these straps, which are worn cross-wise over breast and shoulders, from southern East Greenland; he explains that they are for the purpose of showing if the man decreased or increased in fatness, probably a misunderstanding arising from the fact that this is the explanation given by the natives with regard to their armlets. In Dalager (1752) p. 80 we find the same explanation with regard to the latter objects.

two encircling rows of vertebrae beads. Similar objects are known from the other Eskimo regions¹⁾.

AMULETS IN DRESS AND ON IMPLEMENTS (pp. 85—86). — There are three aspects of the amulets from which they can be classified: the purpose, the position and the material. It will suffice to draw attention to this; here I shall not confine myself to any classification, but merely give the information obtained from the natives in Ammassalik and connected with the illustrations here.

It is already evident from the amulets just mentioned, that the main thing is to place them on the body of the person, either on the garments or if possible on the body itself. Ajukutooq told me that the nail of a dead man's great toe might be used as amulet for a child; it had to be sewn round the great toe of the child, when even the slightest kick by the foot would cause the assaulted enemy to be swollen on a part of his body or make an approaching tupilak take to his heels. The nail on the fourth finger of a dead man might also be used as amulet if placed on the breast or back; on the approach of a disease during sleep, i. e. the attack of an evil thought or spirit, the nail grows unseen and on account of its hardness and sharpness prevents the disease from penetrating within. Tättaqujuk (*tät^wtaqujuk*) an old woman, told me that by kicking with the foot one may make an approaching spirit (e. g. an angakoq's assisting spirit) beat a hasty retreat if the kamik sole is greased with blubber and this acts as an amulet²⁾. Tättaqujuk also told me that when people become ill, one may help them by putting into their amulet-harness, armlets or hair-tops, certain small Crustacea (*eqitartin*) from the beach or bees. Women who are plighted to taboo observances (*paqin^wnertikajeät*) owing to the death of a near relative insert amulets under the armlet or ankle-band, either the dried gum from a fox's jaw or whiskers of foxes. Against evil words or slander they also use amulets which are stuck into the hair-top or carried inside the anorak, e. g. rosemary heath (or rhododendron?); the person attacked by the slander generally falls into a swoon and the one who sticks the heath into the fainting person's hair-top or anorak-sleeve must first lick the plant with his tongue. When a woman is with child an amulet is inserted right above her vulva in order to protect the child; as amulet may be used e. g. a round stone (*kalilerneq*). When a girl is born, an amulet is placed on the anorak of the baby either on the hood or on the flap, e. g.

¹⁾ Nelson (1899) p. 58, Pl. XXV, fig. 5; Murdoch (1892) p. 148.

²⁾ In Povl Egede (1740) p. 30 it is mentioned that an angakoq tried to get a sick man his lost soul back again by pressing a sole against his head.

a carved wooden figure of a man, in order that she may in course of time give birth to male children¹⁾).

When in the tale of the Foster-children the sister threw her bear-skin boot against the hostile person and thereby killed him¹⁾, the power of the boot may undoubtedly be ascribed to the fact that it contained an amulet. This is not mentioned on that occasion but in the tale about Navagijak, the bear-skin boot and an amulet are spoken of in the same breath as if they belonged together²⁾).

In the boats and on the harpoons the amulets are used partly to enhance the prospects of the hunt (luring the animals and securing a good harpoon-shot), partly to protect against the perils of the sea or human assailants. To secure a good capture a seal carved in wood is placed under the deck of the kaiak where the receptacle for the harpoon line is found (immediately in front of the man-hole), either stuck in between the cross-pieces in the framework of the deck (*ajaajät*) or down at the bottom on the keel-piece. Sometimes they use as amulet a miniature-kaiak placed in the space behind the kaiak-man³⁾. The umiak has generally two amulets, namely, a woman-doll of wood nailed onto the inner side of the bow and a man-doll fastened on the middle of the inner side. Besides these we often find in the far end of the stem, i. e. the upturned keel-beam, the two eye-teeth of the harbour seal with their points turned backwards: they are meant to keep away any invisible, pursuing enemy. The rawhide line (*noqaa^wtaa*), by means of which the umiak is moored to the land, is also provided with an amulet, the nail of a bear's claw being fastened to the end on land.

Keersagaq's harpoon was provided with an amulet (a piece of lead shot) at the place where the wooden haft was connected with the loose bone-haft. On casting the weapon the kaiak-man murmurs a charm.

Amulets are found in houses and tents; they are fixed in the beam of the house roof quite close to the platform or in the skin on the platform.

A summary of the common tent amulets was given me by Ar-ganaatsiaq. On the top-stone over the entrance are placed the jaws of a fox, which will bite the pursuing enemy if he enters the tent. Under the place where the middle tent-pole is fixed erect a tern is

¹⁾ H. Egede (1741) p. 116 mentions the use of shoe-soles as amulets for making unpregnant women pregnant. In his *Dictionarium* (p. 75 under *kellikpik*, undoubtedly the same as Fabricius, *Grammatica* 1801, p. 69 calls *kelikpák*) Povl Egede mentions an amulet that has to be placed between the eyes, without giving further information. Perhaps a bead(?).

¹⁾ Tale no. 19 in this book, p. 270.

²⁾ Tale no. 22 in this book, p. 273.

³⁾ Dalager (1752) p. 78 mentions the same custom from West Greenland.

placed for the purpose of driving away all intruding illness. At the foot of the same tent-pole a bee has to be hidden; if now a hostile angakoq or his spirit approaching under the earth approaches the tent to rob the soul from the sleeping inhabitants, this amulet would go out to meet him and force him to retreat. On the lower prop supporting the platform of the tent under the head of the sleeping persons they put mica which makes them invisible to any pursuing enemies.

It is a peculiar fact, also mentioned by Fabricius in his *Greenland Dictionary*¹⁾, that the word *arnoq*, which means amulet in general, may also have another meaning, i. e. a piece of skin or other material rolled together almost like a ball and sewn fast to (a corner of) the fore-curtain of the tent, to be thrown over the nearest sloping tent-pole, in order that the curtain may fit quite close and not be blown away. This ball is probably the *arnoq* par excellence of the tent.

A drum provided with an amulet, says Kunnaq, is to improve the voice of the man when he is singing; the amulet consists of the "whiskers" of a raven (stiff feathers near the root of the beak) and is inserted under the lashing, by means of which the handle of the drum is fastened to the wooden rim.

The most comprehensive and detailed description of the amulets of the Ammassalikers is given by Rosing in the Greenland language and contains very interesting information, to which I hope to return some time. In this report I have only dealt with my own material. A description of the amulets of the West Greenlanders is found in Dalager; now and then they are also mentioned in Egede, father and son²⁾.

Teeth used as amulets do not seem to play any important role at Ammassalik but there is reason to believe that they may have been used here as elsewhere³⁾. The tooth shown in fig. 346 with a perforation close to the point may be explained as an amulet which has hung in a dress or needle skin. Further north Amdrup found single bear-teeth perforated near the point which must be considered as pendant trinkets or possibly amulets⁴⁾. According to Kumlien⁵⁾

¹⁾ Fabricius (1804) p. 52

²⁾ Dalager (1752) pp. 76—80. H. Egede (1741) p. 116.

³⁾ Dalager p. 79 also speaks of fox-teeth used as amulets.

⁴⁾ Amdrup coll. nos. 58 (Skærgaard Peninsula), 120 (C. Borlase Warren) and 110 (Sabine Island); see Thalbitzer (1909) p. 419, fig. 32 and p. 493, fig. 70d where also several discoveries from East Greenland of a similar kind are mentioned.

⁵⁾ Kumlien (1879) p. 45: "Another charm of great value to the mother who has a young babe is the canine tooth of the polar bear. This is used as a kind of clasp to a seal-string which passes round the body and keeps the breasts up. Her milk supply cannot fail while she wears this."

teeth are used as amulets on Baffin Land and the same was the case among the Scandinavian Laplanders.

With regard to the material it is seen that the amulets are either copies of human-figures (wooden dolls seldom animals) or even sometimes consist of parts of dead human beings, animals or plants or even the remnants of broken implements. Small dried animals or parts of animals, e. g. Crustacea, bees, birds, raven-heads, fox-jaws, whiskers, claws, nails, teeth, are placed on the body or the implements. A great many different things may evidently be used as amulets when they have some connection with the past of the human beings or fall under the symbolism of the amulet system, which in spite of many individual idiosyncracies is subject to certain principles of a general character. Amulets of stone are also by no means scarce¹⁾. Tåttaqujuk mentioned that people when they are ill sometimes use a hammer stone as amulet, probably because the noise of this stone when in use frightens the spirits so that they withdraw. The *kalilernerit* (bead-like stones, pebbles) are the most common stone amulets.

The effects of the amulets go partly in the direction of frightening or luring the spirits away or in other ways to avert the persecution of evil persons, partly in directly assisting the wearer of the amulet by giving him a vigorous growth and good hunting.

The amulet does more than merely represent the animal or human being which it imitates or by which it is made. The amulet is alive because it has been made during the recitation of a charm or spell, when the dominating qualities of the animal or the part of the body have been invoked; the power of these qualities is at any rate potentially present in the amulet. It evidently makes no great difference whether it is the thing (animal) itself or an imitation which is used as amulet; it has the same power. But there may be a shade of difference in the conception of the inherited amulets, which consist of discarded implements or utensils, often only the fragmentary remnants²⁾; here it is not the original qualities of the things that are of importance, as was the case with the animal amulets, where the sharpness of the claw, tooth or nail has to be considered, but rather its inherited qualities, good luck in hunting, for example, which has once followed the weapon when used by the original owner, and which is now the dominant power of the amulet.

¹⁾ From West Greenland stones are mentioned as amulets by Dalager (1752) pp. 78—79 ("small stones and chips"; "pumice"). Stone amulets from Baffin Land are mentioned by Kumlien (1879) p. 45.

²⁾ From Baffin Land Boas (1888) p. 604 also mentions that the amulets are often small pieces of the first garments used by the owner of the amulet when a child.

I cannot refrain, however, from dwelling for a little on the most interesting specimens of amulets mentioned in the tales from Ammassalik.

Amulets are consecrated with a spell. Kunuk's step-mother "sang over his anorak" to make him invulnerable before he went away to fight his enemy. Kaluluk's grandmother also sang her magic songs over three amulets, namely a water-scoop, a wooden peg and her own meat turner; the latter was a seal's rib which had been used by Kaluluk himself as a child; she gave him the things and told him to use them as amulets in accordance with their qualities, i. e. to point with the bone in the direction of his enemy, to insert the peg into the wound of the enemy, then to say: "now I dragged it out — then my enemy will die from loss of blood." This is undoubtedly meant to be an imaginary action; but in the tale we hear that Kaluluk actually performs the deed and wounds his enemy whilst using these amulets as weapons. The step-mother also sang over the water-pail and placed it where the hostile kaiakmen went on shore; in compliance with the spell of the water-pail they now made use of it to their own destruction¹). All amulets are undoubtedly consecrated by recitation of a spell or by singing over them²).

The amulets become living. Misana, Imerasugsuk's unhappy wife, filled her anorak with lamp-moss and put it in her own place on the platform with the back turned outwards, whereafter she hid herself. "When he stabs you, shriek!" she said to the anorak. And then it was really alive and wailed when Imerasugsuk stuck his knife into it. Another kind of living amulet is the premature embryo (*angiaq*) which accompanies Kaluluk. We have a specialized form of the same idea when the amulet is a knife or some other implement, which suddenly in the hour of danger begins to grow and effects the killing itself or covers the pursued person, as when the old hag hides herself under the wooden scoop, her amulet (in the tale of the Foster-children)³).

When the Moon in bear-skin attire descends to punish those who have overstepped the taboo-laws and approaches the house of the sinner, only the *angakoq* is able to help the unhappy ones against its attacks; but it can be chased away from the entrance of the house by means of boot-soles. Near Puolortuloq, where this incident took place, two amulets were placed up above the door opening, namely a hammer and a lamp foot-stool. When the Moon arrived these became living, the hammer made a noise and the lamp foot-stool tumbled down and buzzed round about on the floor⁴).

The amulet sometimes covers the person who wears it as a slough or changes him. In the tale about Kumagdlat and Asalok (in Rink) the first travelled in a umiak on which the skull of a harbour seal was placed as amulet on the stem of the boat; therefore his enemies on land thought that it was a harbour seal instead of an umiak, which was coming against them⁵). In the tale about Imerasugsuk the fleeing Misana is first transformed into a

¹) Holm's collection in this book, tale no. 4, p. 240 (Kunuk); no. 3, p. 239 with note 1 (Kaluluk).

²) "To sing over" the amulets only means that a spell is recited over them, which is always in a fixed form with traditional rhythm and accent.

³) Tale no. 2 Imerasugsuk p. 235; no. 3 Kaluluk pp. 237—238; no. 19, the Foster-children p. 269.

⁴) Tale no. 30 about the Moon pp. 284—285.

⁵) Rink (1866) p. 57.

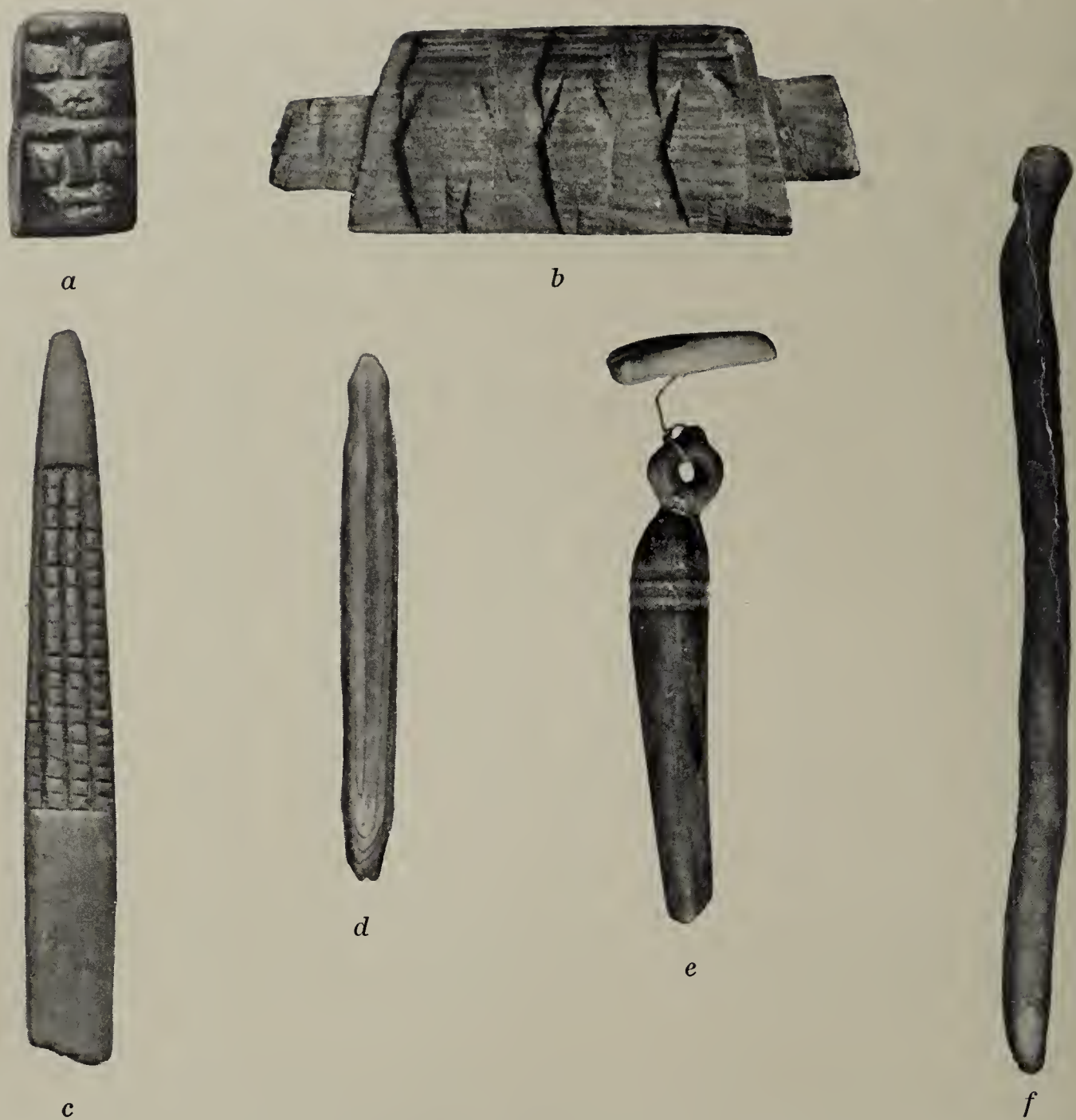


Fig. 350. Amulets made of wood. (Holm and later colls.). $a \frac{1}{2}$, $b \frac{2}{3}$, $c-f \frac{1}{3}$.

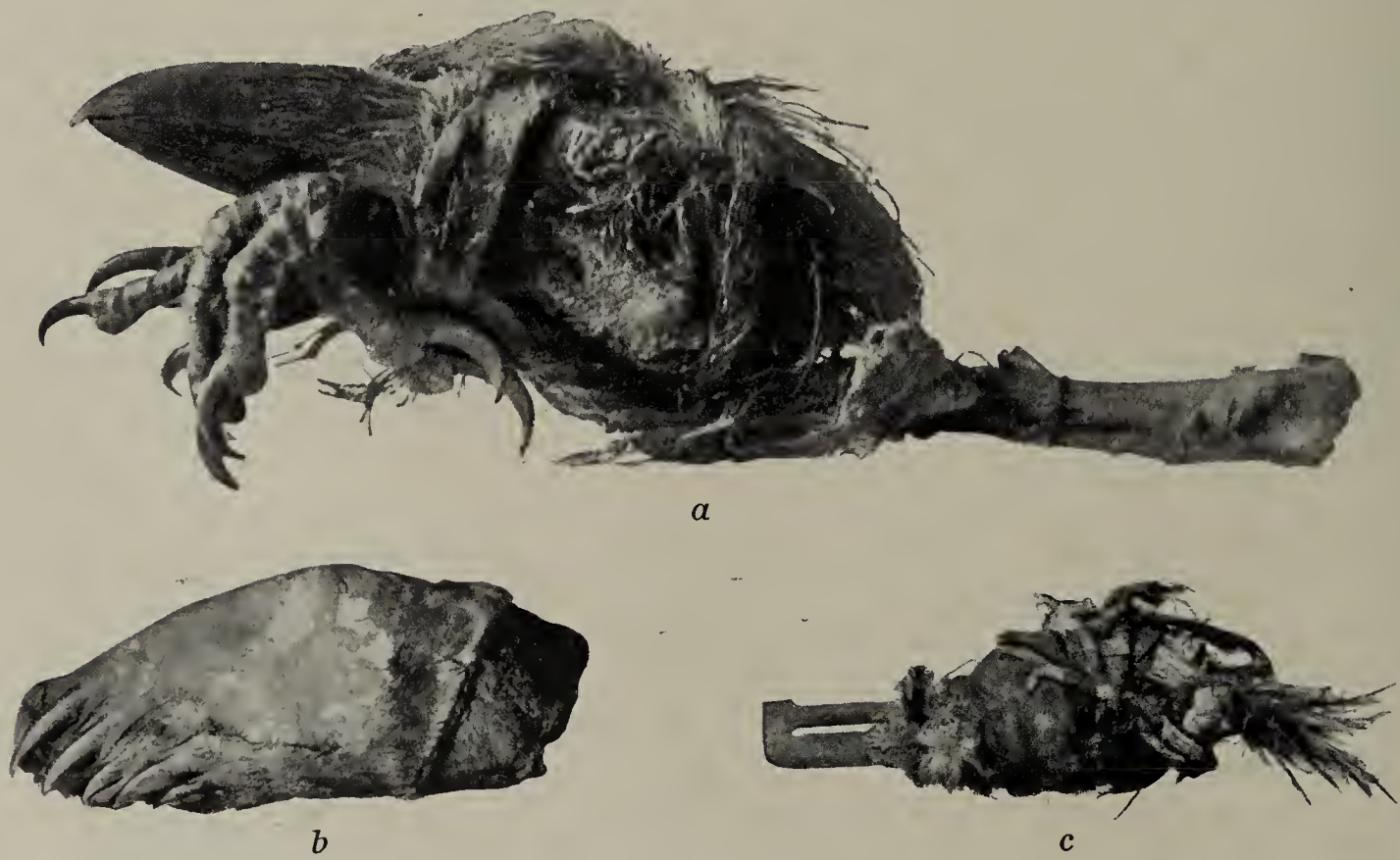


Fig. 351. Amulets made of parts of animals. (Holm and later colls.). $a \frac{1}{1}$, $b-c \frac{1}{3}$.

piece of wood and then into sea-weed, because she wears amulets consisting of this material; in this way she disappears from her pursuers¹⁾.

Uppermost in fig. 350 are shown two objects presumably amulets carved in wood; *a* is a block with six faces representing *innertiwin*, 'the fire people' from the beach among whom



Fig. 352.

Amulet made of discoid stones tied together with a skin strap. (Holm and later colls.). ¹/₃.

the angakoq often chooses his auxiliary spirits²⁾; *b* is a small, flat board with two thin wings at the ends, which looks as if it were intended to be inserted and fixed into a permanent bed; it has probably had its place inside a kaiak as amulet; the three figures carved on the front are almost certainly meant to represent tornarssuks.

Fig. 350 *c*—*f* are discarded implements which have been used as amulets; *c* is a fragment of a cross-piece (*nootaakitaa*, cfr. p. 386) used to secure the end of the kaiak-paddle on the deck, when the man lets go the paddle, and is the same kind of implement as is seen in seen in fig. 353; note the ornamentation. Fig. *d* is possibly a smaller specimen of the same implement, shaped like a seal at both ends; *e* is probably a fragment of a wound-plug (cf. p. 458), *f* a drum-stick. The two parts of a kaiak-stand illustrated in fig. 94 (pp. 388—389) have also been used as amulets. They belong to the same class as all these discarded implements used as amulets.

Fig. 351 *a* is the head and claw of a raven bound together by a black skin-strap. *b* is the fore-paw of a seal, *c* a group of different things, namely, an old half-broken thimble-guard, bird's feathers etc., wrapped in a piece of cloth which has probably belonged to some head-kerchief.

Fig. 352 shows two similar, disc-shaped stones with convex sides, resembling folded up shells (fossils of two shell fish?) bound together



Fig. 353.

Old appurtenances of kaiaks used as amulets (Petersen coll.). ¹/₃.

¹⁾ Tale no. 2 Imerasugsuk p. 236.

²⁾ The same object is seen in the illustration on p. 45.

with a skin strap. They undoubtedly belong to the kind of stone-amulets which the Ammassalikers call *kalilernerit* (or *katiternerit*). On p. 627 I mentioned such an amulet which had been used by a pregnant woman. Another specimen of this kind is seen in the *kalilernerq* which the sealer Kättuaraée showed me, and which consisted of a globular stone, (a rolled stone) found on a black earth-covered ice-floe in the sea; this amulet had been sewn into his *kaiak*-cover to ward off enemies.

Fig. 353 shows two old amulets which have been used originally as holders for the *kaiak*-paddle (*nootaakität* as also fig. 350c). Ac-



Fig. 354. *Tornasiwättiaq* demon carved in wood, *a* front, *b* back. (Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$

ording to Johan Petersen's inventory (no. 446) the reliefs seen uppermost on fig. *a* represent a seal, then come an *arrusaq* and *tornarsik*, both sea-spirits who guide the *angakoq* on his way, but it must be observed that the third figure has only a faint resemblance to the usual shape of *tornarsik*. Fig. 353 *b* is said to have been used for the same purpose as *a*, but has originally been made of the stave of an old water tub. It is ornamented with rows of inserted teeth.

The three wood carvings of religious figures seen in figs. 354—355 (Johan Petersen coll.) have probably not been used as true amulets; like the *angakoq* bear (fig. 355 *a*) probably found in a grave, they are old or modern imitations showing us the native artist's conception of the auxiliary spirits of the *angakut*. The shape which he

allows his phantasy to give these carvings is in accordance with the Ammassaliker's conventional conception of these. It is possible that these dolls are old idols, or that like the wooden masks they are the last visible remnants of a religious cult long forgotten.

Fig. 354 represents the angakoq Taqhisima's auxiliary spirit *Tornarsiwättiaq* ('the minor tornarsik') seen from in front and from behind. The name of the carver was Mikeeki. The mysterious figure of the sacred being is crooked-backed, concavo-convex with the long arms close to the body which tapers downwards and ends in a couple of truncate knobs instead of legs. Seen from behind

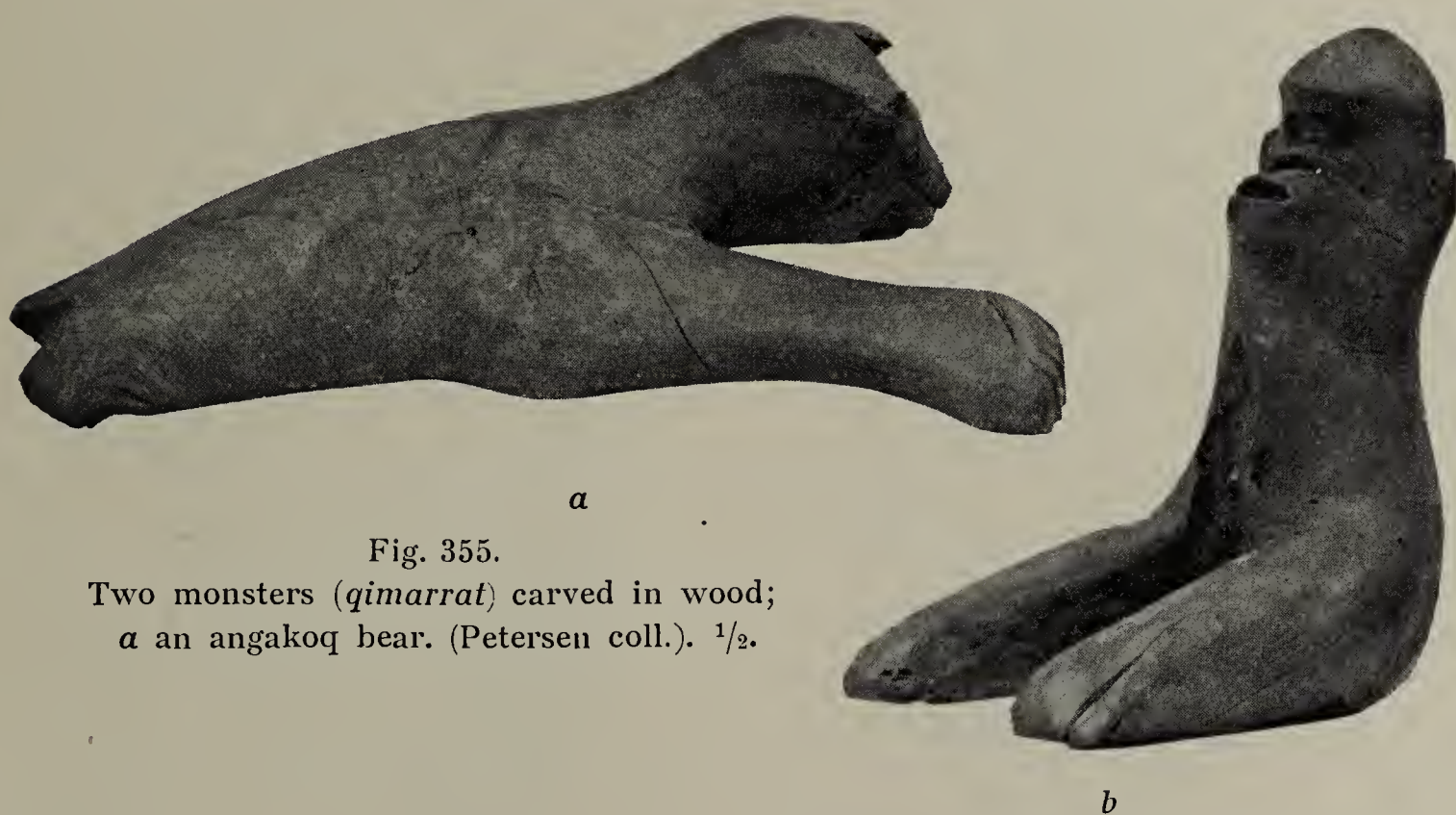


Fig. 355.

Two monsters (*qimarrat*) carved in wood;
a an angakoq bear. (Petersen coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

this figure has some resemblance to the tornarssuk figures, e. g. in figs. 48—49, cf. p. 119—120 and in fig. 350 *b*.

Fig. 355 *a* and *b* are wooden carvings of two different fear-inspiring spirits (*qimarrat*) in the service of the angakoq; the first is meant to represent a kind of mythic bear²), the other something between an animal and a human being, a sphinx-like figure with an appalling, deformed face.

From the 17th century we find in Olearius and Schacht a statement²), unfortunately rather short, from which it appears that in West Greenland idols were used for religious purposes. Some idols

¹) Compare the description in Holm of the angakoq's bear from the lake, in this book p. 284, note 6. According to what Johan Petersen has told me each angakoq has his own special bear; it creeps out of the water to him with the fore-paws drawn together and the hind-paws stretched out.

²) Olearius (1656) p. 178, Schacht (1789 but his Ms. written before 1700 when he died) p. 263. — The citations from Olearius and Schacht will be given among the notes and additions towards the end of this paper.

of this kind were brought to Copenhagen probably by the Dannell expedition in 1654. One of them is described as a wooden doll dressed in reindeer skin and adorned with birds' feathers and fish teeth. It was called by the natives *nalynguísang* which seems to mean 'an allknower, an oracle,' and they stated that the children used to dance round it. In the more competent main authors from the 18th century I have not however found any confirmation of this interesting statement¹⁾.

From Alaska (Yukon river), on the other hand, we learn of idolatrous use of dolls at the Doll Festival. This festival is characterized by the placing of a wooden doll or image of a human being in the "kashim" (which corresponds to the Greenland *qashse*, the assembling house) and making it the centre of various ceremonies, after which it is wrapped in birch-bark and hung in a tree in some retired spot until the following year. During the year the shamans sometimes pretend to consult this image to ascertain what success will attend the season's hunting and fishing. "If the year is to be a good one for deer hunting, the shamans pretend to find a deer hair within the wrappings of the image. In case they wish to predict success in fishing, they claim to find fish scales in the same place. At times small offerings of food in the shape of fragments of deer fat or of dried fish are placed within the wrappings."²⁾

The description of the Greenland doll and the dance of the natives round it has several features in common with the Alaskan doll and may refer to a very similar feast among the Greenlanders of former days.

MASKS. — Fig. 356 shows the front and back of a wooden block carved like a head with two faces. The too narrow neck was broken off, uppermost on the head is a deep socket-like hole. I imagine that the carved furrows of the faces are meant to be tattoo markings³⁾; in this case *b* must be considered as the face of a women; if *a* is meant to be the tattooed face of a man, it does not at any rate have any of the men's tattooing designs known in more recent times. This block was found in a grave in the Ammassalik Fjord and as it is the only, really old evidence of the occurrence of masks or mask-like objects in Greenland, it is a discovery of great interest. Whether it has been an amulet or has been used in any other way is unknown. It may probably have been a memorial image like

¹⁾ A distinct reminiscence of the use of such oracle-like dolls is found in a version of the South Greenland tale about the last chief of the old Northerners, Ungortok (see Pingel, 1838, p. 240). When he had fled, his Eskimo enemies discovered him by means of one of the wooden dolls, which an angakoq had planted on the gull dung-hills in the mouths of the fjords. One of the dolls, namely, had turned in the direction of Ungortok's hiding-place.

²⁾ Nelson (1899) p. 494, cf. p. 379.

³⁾ Besides the patterns of Eskimo tattoo-markings described on p. 609 I may mention the marking cited by Hoffman (1897) p. 782 from Mac Clure: "a blue line drawn across the bridge of the nose." This trait fits in well with the fact that several lines are cut across the nose on the masks from East Greenland.

those known from Alaska¹⁾ belonging to a grave and representing the deceased sealer and his wife.

Figs. 357—358 show four masks (*keeapaait*)²⁾ of the kind which certain old men (especially Akernilik) as late as 1906 knew how to carve in wood in imitation of their ancestors, but without knowing anything about their original use. Kruuse was the first (in 1900—1901) to give us surprising information about the occurrence of these remnants of a religious cult in this part of the Eskimo world, but he also states that near Ammassalik the masks are now



Fig. 356. Double-faced head carved in wood, front and back. (Petersen coll.). ³/₄.

only used as “toys for frightening the children.”³⁾ Among the masks he brought home with him only one could be designated as really old; the others were new carvings. From Ammassalik some more masks were later sent to the collections in Copenhagen and from there a few specimens reached to the museums of other countries⁴⁾. Among the masks I received myself from Akernilik were also a

¹⁾ Nelson (1899) pp. 317—319.

²⁾ Word derived from the same word stem as the Alaskan Eskimo *kenakok* ‘wooden masks used as festivals’. Barnum (1901) p. 343.

³⁾ Kruuse (1912) pp. 44—46.

⁴⁾ I have seen some East Greenland masks in the Hofmuseum in Vienna. They are reproduced in Trebitsch’s book (1910), Pl. XXVII.

couple of female masks with the hair-tops wound round with skin-bands from which a couple of fish bead-strings were suspended. They



Fig. 357. Wooden masks representing men (Greenl. Administration coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.



Fig. 358. Wooden masks representing women. (Thalbitzer coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

all have deep furrows across the face, the smooth intervals are blackened, whereas the bottom of the furrows is uncoloured, white as the natural colour of the wood, so that the furrows show out against the dark surface. A carrying-strap to be laid round the back of the head of the wearer is fastened in the ears of the mask.

Besides these wooden masks I received a somewhat larger mask made of shark skin with a piece of skin sewn on as nose and the rims of mouth and eyes roughly seamed with small tranverse strips of a lighter colour.

Fig. 359 shows the only one among the many wooden dolls found in the collections from East Greenland which has a face with carved furrows like the masks. As usual, arms and legs are passed over whereas the protruding abdomen and the sexual organs are carefully emphasized as also the different parts of the face. Very characteristic also is the sitting position.

Several of the dolls illustrated in the following section (figs. 366 *a, d, e*, 367, 368), on which the same features are found, must undoubtedly be considered from the same point of view as the above-mentioned doll with the tattooed face. This kind of doll probably originally served for some cultic purpose or other, even though now only spoken of as toys for children (cf. p. 636).

Aleqajik (old woman) told me that before the arrival of the Europeans the masks were often used in the house-games (*uaajeertut*) when they tried to represent the spirits of the *angakut*. The *angakut* themselves did not use them during their ceremonies. When worn out they were not preserved but thrown out on the refuse-heaps.

Akernilik told me that his father had been a skilled carver of wooden masks. An other old man who carved masks was Nataaq. They used their masks merely for fooling or frightening the children, and when they died the masks were thrown into the sea together with their corpses. The masks brought me by Akernilik represented certain deceased persons whose names he gave me.

These masks from Ammassalik are the only remnants found in Greenland of the western Eskimo's variegated world of cultic masks. From Baffin Land we have in Boas some illustrations of masks, both of wood and skin, which bear a strong resemblance to the East Greenland ones¹). They are used at the great religious festivals in autumn and winter in these regions, when Sedna and her servant Qailertetang visit the people; the latter wears a mask of sealskin. The masks of the Baffinlanders are tattooed and these as well as



Fig. 359. Image of a man with mask-like face carved in wood. (Petersen coll.) ¹/₂.

¹) Cf. Holm in this book, pp. 128—129. Boas (1888) fig. 535, pp. 604—608 and 669, (1901) fig. 169, pp. 138—142; Preuss (two masks of skin in the Hantzsch collection from Baffin Land) (1913) p. 124.

the cultic games there bear a great resemblance to the Ammassalikers' masks and to their *uaajeertoq*-games, in which the persons taking part are disguised and blackened in the face. The furrows on the Ammassalik masks are undoubtedly meant to be tattooings. From West Greenland we know nothing of the use of masks in olden times nor much about these games, which however have probably also once been known there¹).

The inland American neighbours of the Eskimo also use masks at their religious festivals. Petitot mentions them as being used by the Tinnéh Indians both in the games and at the interment of the dead²). Boas refers to the Thlingit Indians, but there is hardly more reason to believe that the Eskimo have copied their art of masks for cultic purposes from these people rather than the reverse³).

DRUMS (pp. 125—129, fig. 360). — At Ammassalik the only material used for the hoop of the drum is wood, namely a long narrow strip bent into the shape of a circle, sometimes a rather flattened circle; the ends of this strip, folded and nailed together so that they cover each other, are inserted into a transverse slit carved in the thick part of the short handle. Besides the handle is lashed on to the hoop⁴). Over the hoop is tightly stretched the stomach-skin (peritoneum) of a polar bear which is considered to be the best or of the bearded seal, the crested seal and even the shark. The skin is fastened round it by means of a tightly bound, thin line of raw-hide lying in a groove outside the hoop. The handle is sometimes of wood sometimes of bone, sometimes with a carved face on the end (fig. 362), or ornamented in other ways⁵).

The drumstick (fig. 361) consists of a flat wooden stick generally pointed at the thicker end, which is shaped like a roughly carved head of a human being or animal. When the drum is not being used, the stick is generally inserted into the loop of the strap in which the drum hangs and which is made of the end of the line lashing the skin round the drum. — The Eskimo never drum against

¹) Cf. my remarks in the H. F. Feilberg Festschrift (1911) p. 88, and A. Berthelsen in Bibliotek for Læger (1907) p. 30.

²) Petitot, Vocabulaire (1876) p. XXVI.

³) Boas (1901) p. 368.

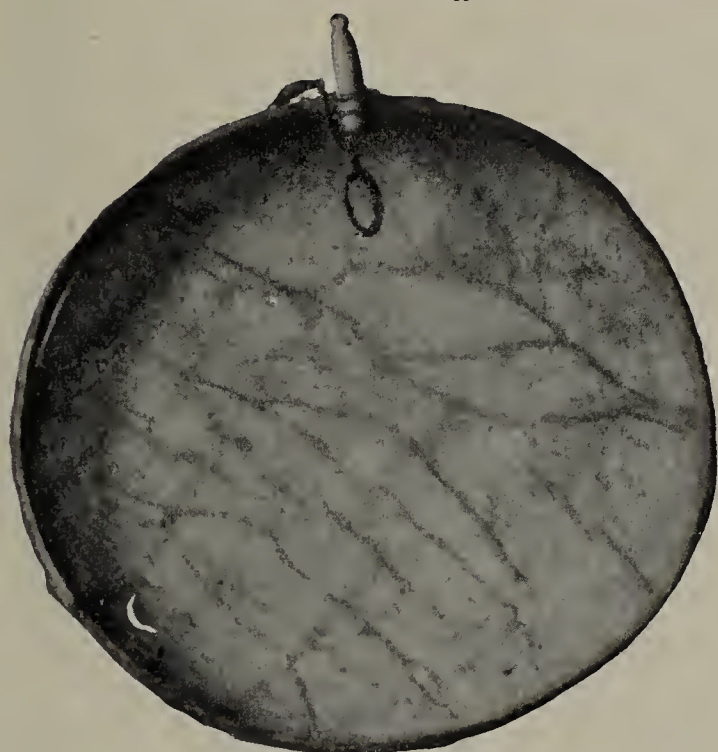
⁴) A groove which formed a bed for the lashing round the under side of the handle is seen in fig. 362 *a*, but not the slit in the upper side for the inserting of the hoop, this part of the handle having been broken off.

⁵) Cf. the two probable drum-handles of bone found by Amdrup (inv. Amdrup 55—56) on the Skærgaard Peninsula, described by me (1909) pp. 412—416, figs. 29 *a* and *b*. They have grooves for the fingers and ornamental furrows. They have possibly been knife-handles not drum-handles.

the skin itself, which probably would not be able to stand this treatment for a very long time, but only against the lower border of the wooden hoop¹).



a



b

Fig. 360. Two drums. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{6}$.



a

b

Fig. 361. Drum-sticks
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{7}$.



a



b

Fig. 362. Handle of a drum.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{2}$.

Technical names. — *qilaaⁱn* drum, (specially the wooden hoop of the drum); *isia* the skin of it; *kittigaa* the string tightened round it; *kilikirpia* the groove for the string round the hoop; *kattälua*,

¹) With regard to the rhythm of the drumming and the song and dance I may refer to Hjalmar Thuren's and my own work on the Eskimo music in Greenland (1911) p. 12—14 etc. Illustration of the drum and drumming men figs. 2—4. Cf. Kruuse (1912) figs. 2—5.

kalilua the handle, grip; *kättiwa* the drum-stick; *kalittor* beating the drum.



Fig. 363.
Drumstick.
(Greenl. Administration
coll.). $\frac{1}{6}$.

In West Greenland the hoop of the drum according to Hans Egede was made either of whale-vertebra or of wood¹⁾. With regard to the skin, the gastric peritoneum of the bearded seal was preferred²⁾. According to Kroeber seal intestine stretched over an elliptical bone frame is the usual material for the drum near Smith Sound; it is beaten with a walrus-rib³⁾.

Outside Greenland the drums are on an average larger than the specimens known from this country. Closely related forms of drums are met with both among the Indians and among all the North Asiatic people, where shamanism is or was prevalent, even as far as the Laplanders. The Eskimo are probably the only people who beat only against the border of the drum, the others beat the skin. Lyon describes the drum from Iglulik north of Hudson Bay exactly as the Greenland one⁴⁾. "The drum of which I have spoken is formed of whalebone, and over this a thin skin or bladder is stretched. It is played on by being beat on the lower edge, and not the skin, and sounds like a bad tambourine. I saw two only of these instruments, both of which were children's toys."

From the beginning of the 18th century the Eskimo drumming and dancing was mentioned from the north-eastern corner of Newfoundland by the first missionaries who landed there⁵⁾.

Fig. 364 shows two small implements, belonging to the function of the *angakoq*, namely his beating-skin (*mak-kortaa*) and beating-stick (*anaalutaa*). The latter is probably nothing else but an ordinary drumstick, the first is a small, round piece of skin, so small that it can easily be kept in the hollow of the hand. The *angakoq* uses it to produce a continual beating noise, whilst he conjures his spirits into the house. In tale no. 30 in Holm's collection (p. 285) we hear of an *angakoq* on the point of using this small implement.

TUPILAK (pp. 100—103, fig. 365). — In contrast to the amulets, which are used to protect and strengthen the wearer, tupilaks are made for the purpose of injuring enemies. Like the amulets they are also made living by the solemn and mysterious recitation of a spell over them, after which ceremony they are sent



Fig. 364.
Angakoq's rapping
stick and skin.
(Thalbitzer coll.).
 $\frac{1}{3}$.

¹⁾ H. Egede (1741) p. 85.

²⁾ Glahn (1771) p. 272. Against Cranz' statement, that the skin of the tongue of the whale might be used for this purpose, Glahn remarks, that this is "a fable which has been palmed off upon the author."

³⁾ Kroeber (1899) p. 303.

⁴⁾ Lyon (1824) p. 144; cf. Amundsen (1907) p. 261.

⁵⁾ Cranz (1771) III p. 296.

off, e. g. by being pushed out to the sea and they are now supposed to make their way towards the person to be attacked or injured.

Mitsuarnianga told me that the tupilaks may have very different shapes: i. e. they are shaped like human figures (dolls) or birds, seals, dogs, etc., often only a part of an animal e. g. the head of a dog. But a man may also, especially if he is *iliseetsoq* (versed in witchcraft), pursue his enemy by means of a simpler medium, namely by placing a strip of seal skin of only a finger's length, loaded with imprecations, under the foot of the person pursued; if his enemy by accident places his foot on this strip, it will injure him, possibly even kill him. Still

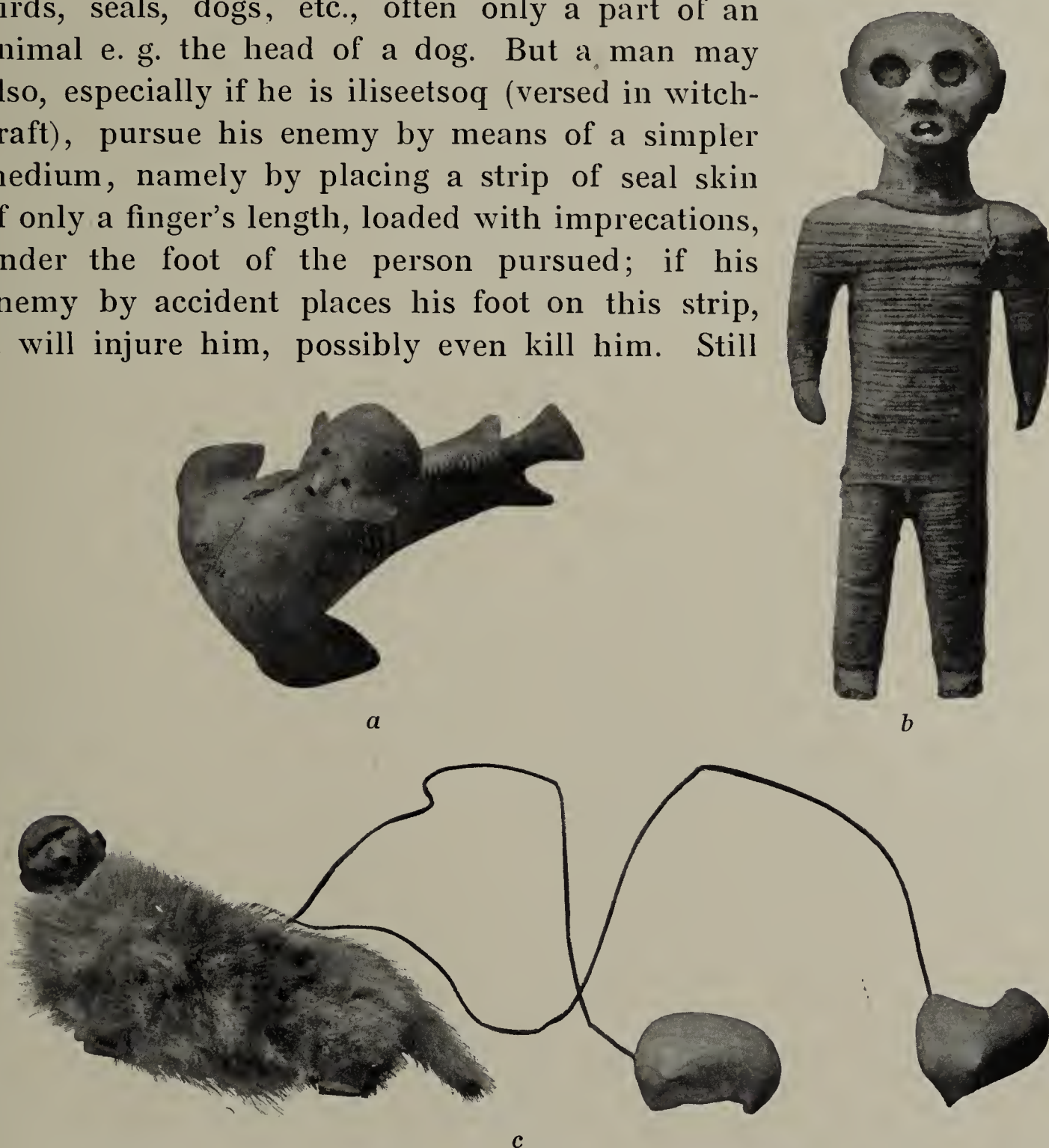


Fig. 365. *Tupilak* monsters (Petersen and Thalbitzer colls.). ²/₉.

better than the seal-skin is however a piece of skin from the crown of a dead man's head. Aleqwajik (old woman) added to the above-mentioned kinds of tupilak the following: the after-birth of a delivered woman, or a still-born child (*anïaq*).

Fig. 365 *a* is a wooden model of a tupilak, which Mitsuarnianga had once made himself and which he assured me in good faith, that he had seen later moving or creeping across the water in the neighbourhood of Qernertuartiwin in the Ammassalik Fjord. The real tupilak which in his capacity of *angakoq* he had created and made living in the usual way (see p. 100) was a sandpiper (Trinca

maritima), on which he had placed the head of a dead child; in the wooden model here these parts are carved all in one piece.

Fig. 365 *b* is another model made by Mitsuarnianga from a tupilak he had "once seen in a dream." It is a large wooden doll in the open mouth of which are inserted two teeth of a child, and the eyes of a dead child are stuck into the deep orbits. The whole body of the doll is wound tightly round with a strap of raw-hide; this is probably not quite an original invention of Mitsuarnianga's phantasy but is connected with traditional ideas¹).

Fig. 365 *c* also shows a wooden model of a tupilak made by Mitsuarnianga, who himself was sure that he had seen it alive. The real tupilak consisted of the body of a dog with the legs of a fox and a human head. It had originally been made by a man called Piginak who had been dead for several years when Mitsuarnianga and his companion Perqilaak suddenly one day caught sight of the tupilak while they were rowing along the foot of the Angeen mountain in Sermilik. The tupilak was then on the point of creeping on shore dragging behind it two inflated sealing bladders, which were made fast on its back by means of long lines, because it had once been harpooned, unknown by whom.

In the tales tupilaks are often mentioned. In G. Holm's collection (pp. 280—283) we hear of two old people who made a tupilak of a dead child; they took the jaws of a fox and a ptarmigan, bound them to the child and covered its head with dog-skin, whereafter they "made it living"; on its approach through the house-passage it was therefore sometimes shrieking like a fox sometimes like a ptarmigan. It was caught by the angakut present and proved to be red, as of dried blood, in the corners of the mouth "with the souls of the dead children it has devoured."²) Another time we hear of a tupilak shaped like a walrus and wearing women's breeches³).

A typical West Greenland tupilak has been described by Poul Egede as follows⁴): "made by a witch. She had been seen on the beach with a half-sleeve filled with hair, nails, grass and moss, over which she was murmuring some words. She said to the sleeve: go away and become a tupilak! The ghost immediately sprang into the water and she now used it whenever she wanted to take someone's life."

A bear carved in wood and designated as a tupilak is illustrated in Boas⁵) from the western side of Hudson Bay.

DOLLS AND IDOLS (pp. 63, 115—116). — As already mentioned the wooden dolls of the Ammassalik children must be considered in the

¹) One of the three dolls from Baffin Island, Frobisher Bay, illustrated in Boas and representing the masked figures of supernatural beings, is in the same way wound all over with ground-seal lashings. Boas (1901) p. 141, fig. 170 *c*.

²) Rink (1866) p. 103, in the tale about Tiggak an amulet full of blood is also mentioned.

³) Holm in *Geografisk Tidsskrift* VIII, p. 92.

⁴) P. Egede (1788) p. 218; cf. Glahn (1771), p. 351.

⁵) Boas (1901) p. 153, fig. 171.

main as toys but it is possible, that by the grown-up people they were formerly given a significance beyond their capacity as playthings¹). Further, it is probable that some of the grotesque larger dolls, which



Fig. 366. Dolls carved in wood. (Holm and later colls.). $a-i \frac{3}{8}$, $j-m \frac{2}{3}$, $n-o \frac{3}{8}$.

have been carved in a sitting position and provided with a carefully marked face (fig. 366 *a*, *d*, *e*, 367, 368) have been something more or something else than toys for children, having thus either served as amulets or been considered as idols. The couple in fig. 366 *f* con-

¹) Ryder (1895) pp. 139—140; Graah (1832) p. 101.

sisting of two small, chubby dolls, bound together with a short double skin-strap, have probably been used as amulets.

The absence of arms and feet on these dolls has already been mentioned (p. 115)¹). On the other hand the sex of the women dolls is very distinctly marked, partly by means of the hair-top partly by emphasizing the breasts and sexual organs (figs. 366 *b—e*, *g—o*). On the two dolls seen in fig. 369—370, found by Amdrup at the “dead



Fig. 367. Image of a man carved in wood.
(Thalbitzer coll.). Ca. $\frac{2}{3}$.

house” together with 12 other similar dolls, not only the hair-top of the woman but also the cropped hair of the man is distinctly marked. The eyes and mouth in the face of the woman doll are here marked by three almost uniform hollows, roughly carved and of unusual character; the navel is marked by a small hole, on the woman not on the man. — Two of the dolls brought home by Graah from the southern part of the coast have in the main the same features but the shape of the body is less carefully carried out, while on the other hand the different parts of the face are more distinctly marked²).

Several of the wooden dolls in fig. 366 are not un-

like those inserted in the men’s amulet-straps across breast and back and when lying loosely in the collections it is difficult in each single case to determine whether a doll has been used in this way or as a mere toy for children. The dressed dolls were used solely for the latter purpose. I saw myself how richly the small girls were provided with dolls and how they amused themselves by playing with them. Also some of the dolls carved in the sitting position were used as toys for children, being placed on the thwarts in their models of boats.

¹) The same features occur in the dolls from Alaska. Nelson (1899) pp. 343—344, Pl. XCIII. Also the dolls from the west coast of Hudson Bay greatly resemble those of the East Greenlanders; see Boas (1901—1907) figs. 166 and 252.

²) Graah (1832), Pl. VIII, fig. 3, cf. p. 101.

Fig. 368*a* is a fairly large doll evidently representing a woman in the sitting position without hair top, arms and nose but with nostrils and inlaid eyes in the orbits; the mouth is distended like the mouth of a person playing *uaajeertoq* and dark with blood. The doll probably represents some supernatural being or other and must be considered as male.

A strange feature is seen in the jointed puppet given in fig. 368*b* and named so just on account of its pliable joints. Is this doll possibly a variety of East Greenland origin? Among the Eskimo living outside Greenland this kind of doll has not been found so far as I know.

Fig. 368*c* shows an armless man in the sitting position, and *d* a woman in the sitting position whose only arm is unnaturally strongly curved and the hand pressed against the lower part of the stomach; on the back is a large hump evidently caused by a knot in the wood. She wears short house-breeches (*natit*) which are distinctly carved.

Fig. 367 is a large wooden doll found by me in the refuse-heap outside a house (near Taseesaq). Many similar dolls have been found and are also

represented in the Holm collection. We know very little of the importance of these dolls; it would be of interest to know whether they have been dressed and for what purpose they have been used.

The usual dressed dolls (*ineelwät*, fig. 366) which the young daughters of the Ammassalikers always have as toys in two or more couples, were offered to me in exchange for some other things over



Fig. 368. Wooden dolls representing three men and a woman (Greenland Administration coll.). Ca. 1½.

and over again when it became known, that I wanted to obtain some. Their young owners came with them and they were always

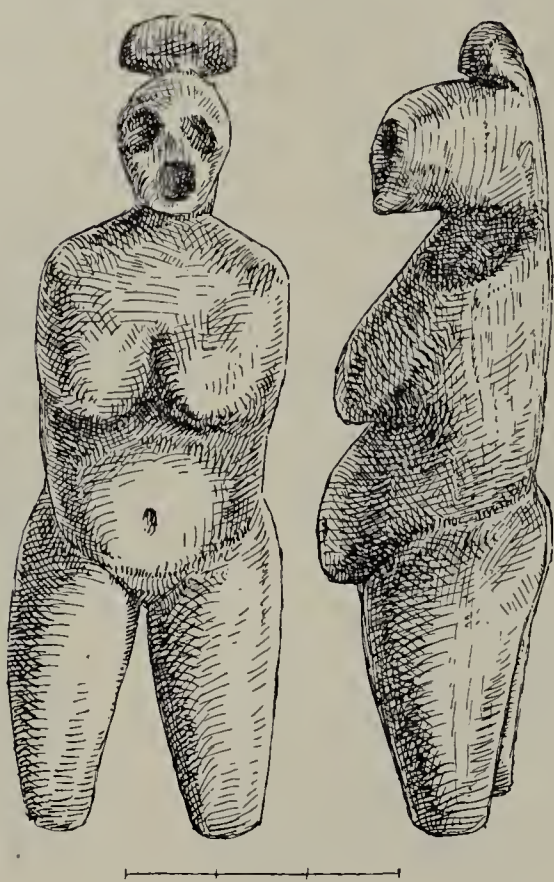


Fig. 369. Wooden doll representing a woman. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

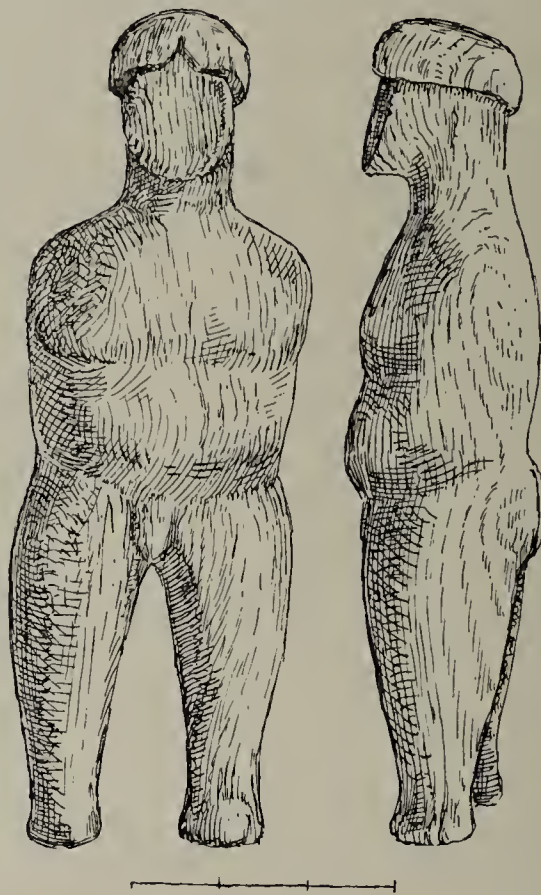


Fig. 370. Wooden doll representing a man. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

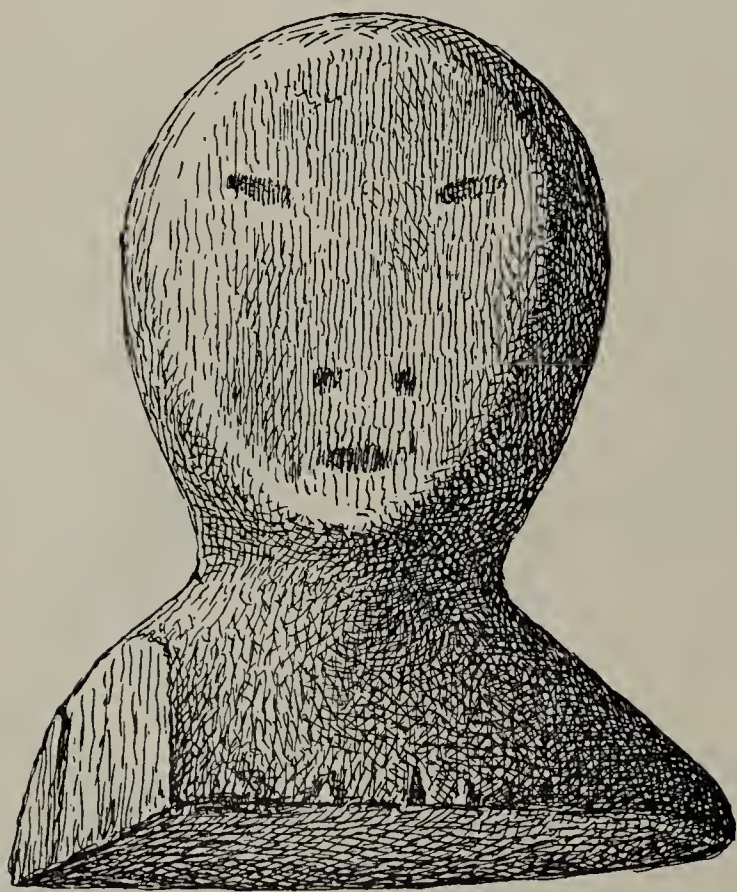


Fig. 371. Bust of a man carved in wood. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

ready to tell me which persons the dolls represented and who had made them. The girls get them as presents or by purchase as children; and the grown-up people teach them the names. The girls keep them till they are grown-up or even still longer. When playing they build houses for their dolls of the phalangeal bones of seals, placed on the ground in the shape of a large square cut across by a row of the same kind of bones, which is meant to represent the platform. Sometimes the children make sledges and dog-teams in the same way (but never or rarely tents). They also play with the dolls by letting them dance

drum-dances and sing which consists in twisting the body of the dolls into different positions (dance).

Like the children the dolls are often named after deceased persons, who have been known by the inhabitants and whose souls they want to honour or help by keeping alive the names. In consideration of the Ammassalikers' dread, which always results in a kind of taboo, of mentioning the names of the deceased and their belief that soul and name are in close connection, we involuntarily get the impression, that it was with some secret thought of religious purpose that these dolls were given to the girls to dress, to play with, and look after.

Kaakaa, Keerseraq's daughter aged ca. 15 years, brought me two dolls which she herself had played with as a child. The dolls represented a married couple who had lived near Ciorarteet. The man was Ningaanütaai; his wife Taqarqujuk and she carried in her amaut a girl child called Tongartingarneejuk which is now full-grown and lives near Ciorarteet, whereas the parents have died. The mother was the cousin of Kaakaa's mother.

Qianak, Akernilik's daughter (15 years), came to sell me four dolls which she had played with as a child, besides several other dolls. Those I obtained represent two married couples, the women with children in their amauts; two of them had been made by Sootseeaa, one by Tusarpoa and another (a female doll) by Maratte's sister-in-law. One of the dolls named Kipisimaleq was married to Pikwarqortooq who had in her amaut a son bearing the same name as the man; the other couple were Awakataatser married to Uppataaitseq, who carried the son Tättaqujuk in her amaut.

Qaqortaiqaag first brought me a couple of dolls which were said to have come from Umeewik and represented a childless couple, namely, the woman Misaanak and her husband Eemaasuttuttoar (i. e. the names Misana and Imerasugsuk known from the tales). Another time she brought me a couple of dolls which represented a married couple she had seen as a child when she lived near Umeewik. The man (the doll) was called Qaliättak and on his back he wore as amulet a chip of wood which a woman had worn in her hair-top. The wife was Pikküätsannaait.

Aatsuko brought me two dolls given to him by his mother's sister Tookaseq, whose elder brother Milätteq had made them for her after the death of Angakasiät; his wife Miitarnaa carried Kammikimmak in her amaut.

Meererng brought me two dolls found in the south at an abandoned settlement near Amitsiartit; it was so long since it had been inhabited that Meererng's mother was not even born by that time. Nevertheless I obtained the names of the dolls, the man was called Tuaqamaang, the woman Quttulaait, the child Tsoratina.

TOYS.

ANIMALS CARVED IN WOOD AND IVORY (pp. 63, 116; figs. 43—44, 372—374, 384—388). — Fig. 372*a* shows a wooden carving of an elongated, low-legged animal, probably the same seen as ivory relief on the small wooden board in fig. 347. The animal has no great

resemblance either to a dog or a fox; this people would take no interest in carving a dog, it is more likely meant to represent some mythical animal¹). The two bears in figs. *b* and *c* cannot be mistaken, in *d* we have a seal with a dotted stripe along the back made of inlaid small discs of ivory; to judge from the shape of the head it is meant to be a bearded seal (cf. figs. 43 and 385).

In this connection I may also recall the angakoq bear made of wood seen in fig. 45 and which is probably a mere toy for children. A wooden bear, having in common with it the peculiarity that artificial bones are inserted in the shoulder and thigh parts, was found by Amdrup north of the Ammassalik district²). Carved wooden animals, birds, bears, seals, musk-oxen etc., generally larger forms than those known from Ammassalik, were found in the north by Nathorst (Hammer) in the Franz Joseph Fjord³), by Amdrup and Ryder in Scoresby Sound⁴). The characteristic dotted line along the back of the seal (cf fig. 372*d*) is seen again in the collection of the latter author on a fish (salmon?), which on the one side has a row of 13 small bored depressions. Ryder justly recalls the occurrence of the same feature in the West Eskimo figures of seals and fishes.

Fig. 373 is a toy (*pukutartän*) representing two carved birds with the heads turned towards each other, the beaks intended to go up and down alternately when the two sticks on which they are fastened, one over the other, are either drawn away or pushed towards each other. The feet of the birds namely are loosely fastened to the lower stick through a longitudinal hole in the upper one. In *a* the birds are made of ivory, in *b* of wood. In both ends of *a* there is a small upright ivory-haft shaped like the upper part of a human body. This toy has also been known further south on the east coast⁵).

The seals and whales in fig. 374 are carved of ivory; the whales (narwhal) are harpooned and the sealing-bladders of wood are fastened

¹) The resemblance to the carvings of mythical animals (snakes etc.) known from the Alaskan Eskimo is fairly remote, see Hoffman (1897) pp. 913—914, and the Ammassalik animal would rather represent a wolf (id. l. c. p. 795, fig. 23) or a fox in spite of the absence of ears; see the figures from the game "fox and geese" in Culin (1907) p. 103 fig. 112 and the carved fox-heads from Baffin Land in Boas (1901) fig. 81 *i, l*.

²) Amdrup coll. no. 121 described by me (1909) p. 534, fig. 106.

³) Nathorst (1900) vol. II, p. 348; Stolpe (1906), Pl. V, fig. 18.

⁴) Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 477—478, fig. 57; Ryder (1895) p. 337. fig. 38.

⁵) Hanserak's diary (see Rink's translation p. 51) contains the following statement from the winter 1884: "To this place (Ammassalik 26th Octbr.) came kaiak-men from Umeewik and offered for sale trifling things which they had made themselves: birds nodding the heads and picking up their food, buzzes whirling round with the wind and several other Greenland toys."

onto their backs by a long line. As to the ornamental dots, these have already been mentioned on p. 621.

The six small ivory animals (bird, seal, whale, walrus, bear and a sealing-bladder) found by Amdrup near Cape Tobin¹⁾ were all

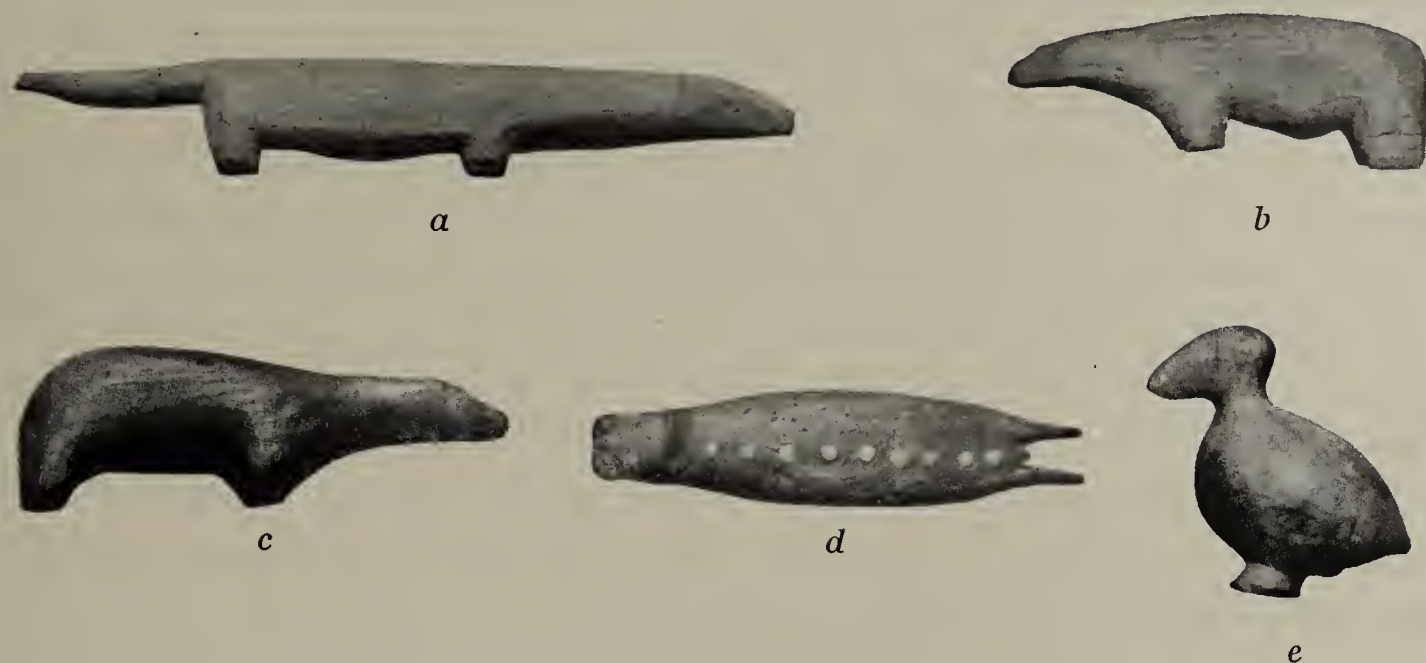


Fig. 372. Animals carved in wood. (Holm coll.). $a-d \frac{3}{8}$, $e \frac{2}{3}$.



Fig. 373. Two birds pecking food. (Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

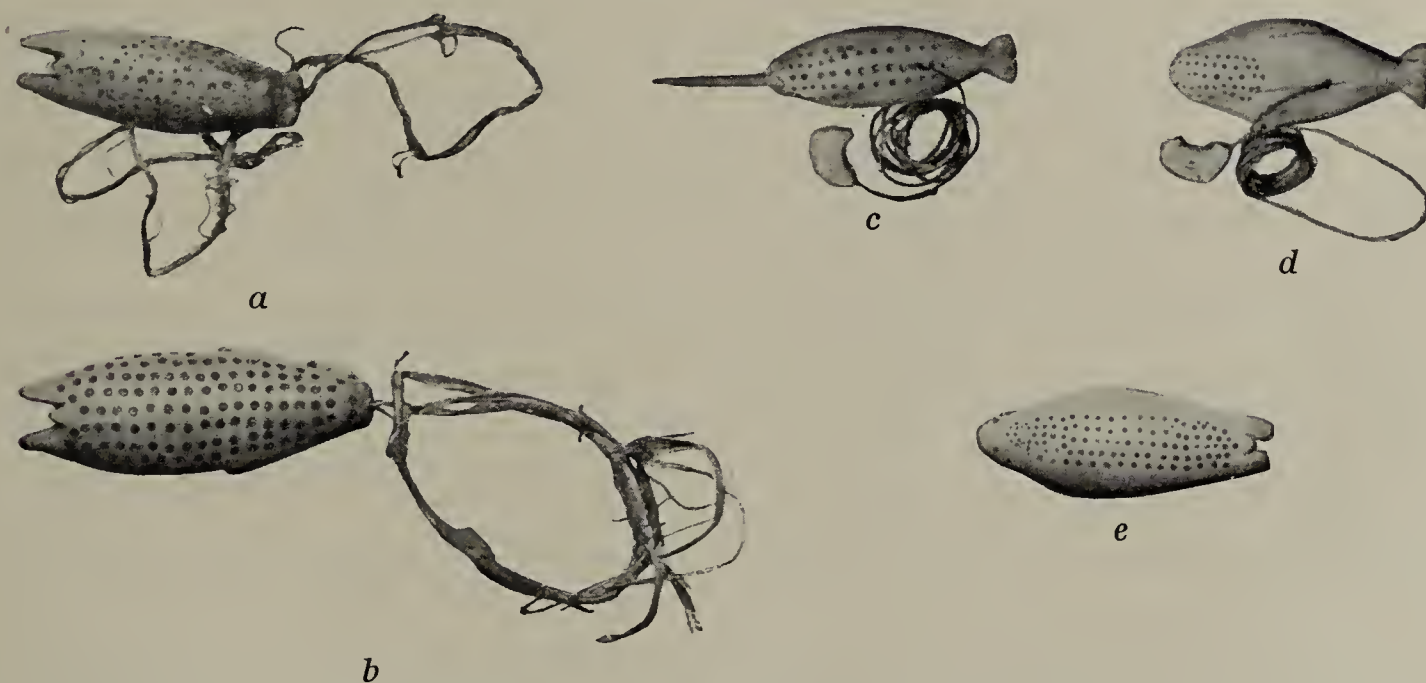


Fig. 374. Seals and a narwhal carved in ivory. (Holm coll.). $a-b \frac{2}{3}$, $c-e \frac{1}{3}$.

provided with a hole, probably intended for a sinew-thread so that they could be used as pendants.

All these animal carvings from the east coast of Greenland are very uniform in appearance; their style gives evidence of the same

¹⁾ Amdrup coll. nos. 90—95; Thalbitzer (1910) pp. 478—480, figs. 58—60.

culture and they must have been of the same use in the north and the south. Among the natives of to-day they are evidently only intended to be used as toys for children¹). But it is not improbable that some of the small ivory figures may have been used as dice in the games of the grown-up people, which according to Boas is said to be the case on Baffin Land in a game called "*tingmiujang*, i. e. images of birds." It is played with ca. 15 figures of ivory, most of which represent birds but some also men and women. After these have been thrown in turns between the two players (according to certain rules), one of them in the end wins the game. Why should not this game have been played in Greenland? Quite a similar game is played by the Eskimo children both in and outside Greenland; they call it *inukwkat* (singl. *inuwak*) originally meaning 'toes of human beings or animals,' but also 'dice,' because it is the bones in the toes of a seal that are used as dice²). In the games or play these dice represent animals, human beings, boats, houses etc. and are placed so that they form



Fig. 375. Top.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

pictures of human settlements, sealing attire and game. One after another these dice are lifted up and dropped again and the position they now occupy decides which of the players they belong to. Played in this way the game is known from Bering Straits to Greenland³). The small seal-bones (phalanges) seen in fig. 389, found by Amdrup in a grave near Sarqarmiut, probably represent the same kind of dice, having belonged to the deceased. The word *inuwak* is derived from *inuk* 'man' and it is not improbable that it refers to the Eskimo belief that in each finger and toe-joint lives a small soul by means of which the divinatory significance of the game would become clear⁴).

THE TOP (*kaawtcar*, p. 63, fig. 375) is a thin wooden disc with a stick crosswise through the centre. It is set spinning by letting the flat hands glide quickly past each other on each side of the stick.

BUZZ and BULL-ROARER are seen in fig. 376. *a* shows a buzz made according to the mill-wing principle, which buzzes round if

¹) There is no reason to believe that the small ivory carvings, ornamented with dots have been amulets; but as such Nordenskiöld designates some quite analogous animal carvings found by him in Chukchee near the Bering Straits (Vega-färden II, pp. 146—147, figs. 1—8; Nordquist, Ymer, 1882 p. 36).

²) Kleinschmidt (1871) p. 102.

³) Culin (1907) pp. 102—104; Boas (1901) p. 112; Preuss (Hantzsch, 1913) p. 122.

⁴) Culin pp. 34 and 809 has made it probable that "the games of the North American Indians as they now exist are either instruments of rites or have descended from ceremonial observances of a religious character" and that such observances "are almost exclusively divinatory."

one runs against the wind with it; *b* is an ordinary buzz hanging in a closed noose going through the two holes near its middle and by means of which it is set rotating backwards and forwards while the noose is alternately tightened and loosened by the hands; it gives a humming noise when the buzzing is at its greatest; *c* is an ordinary bull-roarer, the lancet-shaped wooden leaf of which is fastened by a short string to a short stick, on which it is whirled round so quickly that it gives a whizzing or roaring sound.

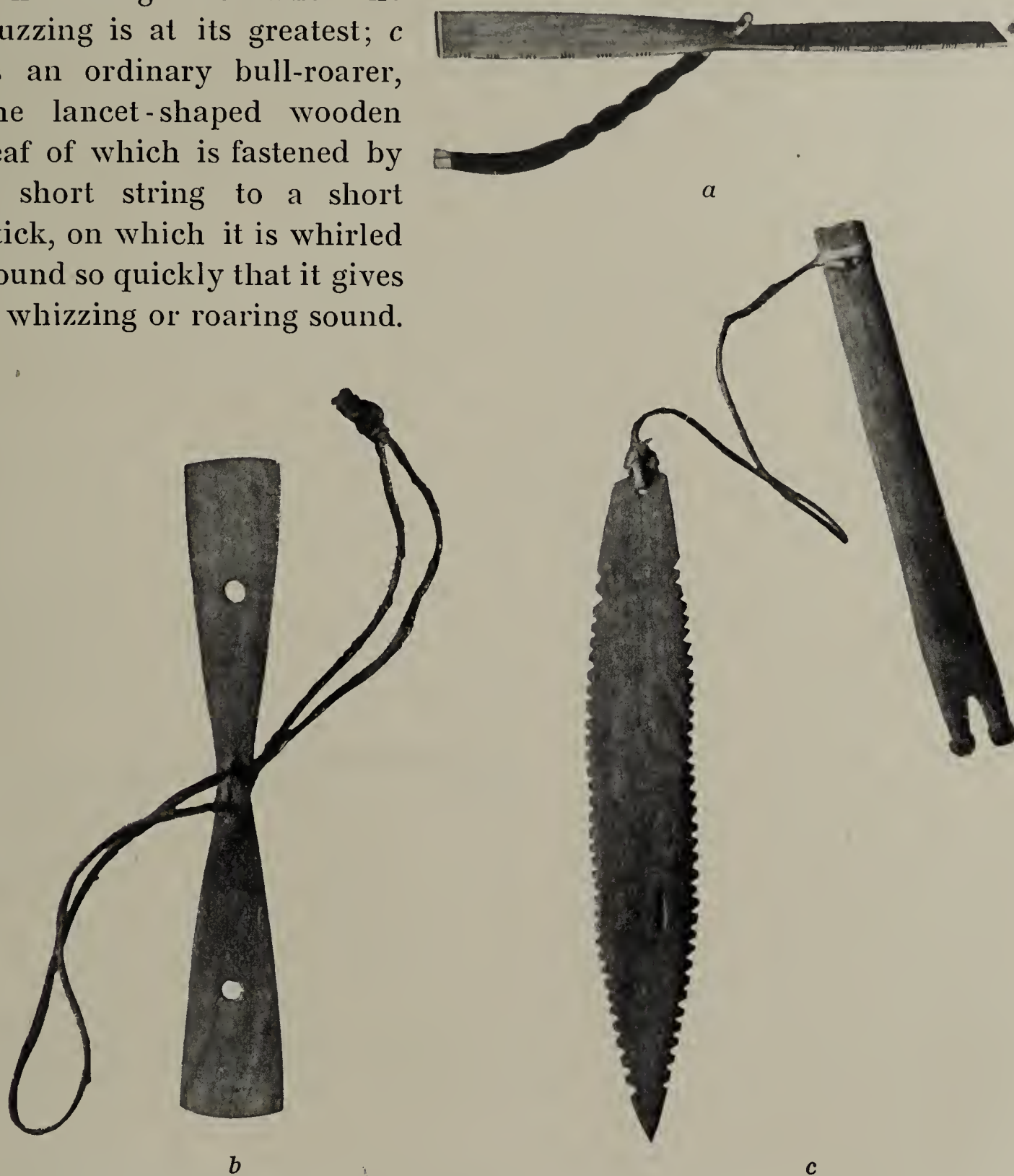


Fig. 376. *a* and *b* Buzzes; *c* bull-roarer. (Holm coll.). *a* $\frac{1}{8}$, *b*—*c* $\frac{1}{4}$.

At Ammassalik the buzz *a* is called *aniḡaa^wsuät*, *b* *imititaaw^wlin*. As the first name must have been derived from *aniḡaaw^t* i. e. 'moon' according to a word not used near Ammassalik, we may perhaps draw the conclusion that it has been introduced together with this toy from West Greenland. The word for the buzz in fig. *b* is on the other hand probably idiomatic near Ammassalik; it is open to two interpretations, both agreeing with the toy (from *imip-*

poq, 'it reverberates in the air, it sounds loudly' or *imitciwoq* 'it is full-moon').

THE RATTLE (fig. 377) consists of a number of bear-teeth suspended in a heap by short straps to a small piece of skin¹). Nothing shows that it has been used as a toy or that this object originates from older times. But it is of interest, because it is in agreement with the rattles in the tales. In No. 19 in Holm's collection of tales (here pp. 269—270) we hear of rattles hanging in the house-passage as signals, because they rattle at the mere touch of anybody passing through. In another tale (no. 7, p. 248) it is mentioned how in a similar way three stones are placed in the house-passage as signals, which by their noise made the arrival of newcomers known to the inhabitants. In a West Greenland tale the rattle in the house-passage is also spoken of²).



Fig. 377. Rattle made of bear's teeth.

(Holm coll.). 1/4.

PUZZLES (p. 63) are shown in figs. 378 *a* and *b* with two pairs of beads and two single beads respectively, otherwise quite the same. The person now aims at collecting all the beads on the part of the string to the left or right of the hole in the middle of the stick and to bring them back to their place again. The string is undivided, only doubled like a loop through the hole and both ends are then drawn through the loop from the other side and made fast to the ends of the stick. In *a* this stick is made of wood, in *b* of bone. To anyone unacquainted with the trick it naturally requires great patience to find how to move the bead from the one side of the string to the other. The name of the toy (*ikaartaat*) means 'transference to the other side.'

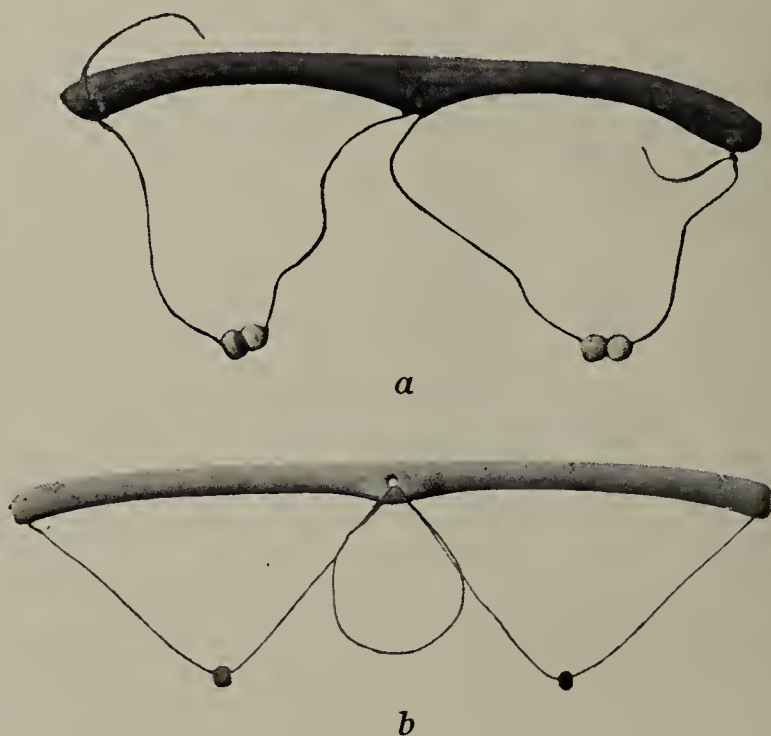


Fig. 378. Puzzle with movable beads. (Holm coll.). 1/4.

SPINDLE BUZZES (*awilertwaain* 'boomers, roarers,' figs. 379—380, cf. p. 519) are a toy as common at Ammassalik as the wing-shaped

¹) J. Petersen's collection in the National Museum contains two quite similar rattles from Ammassalik.

²) Rink (1866) p. 49.

buzzes. The main stick is a thin wooden cylinder, the one end of which is firmly inserted into the central perforation of the heavy fly-wheel-like stone (soap-stone or a bone-block) while the other end is provided with a hard knob of bone. A short bone handle (the thigh of a seal) is able to glide up and down the main stick by means of a wide hole at its one end. To this toy belongs also a raw-hide string with a small handle in the end used for setting the toy in motion. This is used as follows. The string is wound round the top of the stick right under the bone-knob and from there twisted spirally downwards almost to the middle of the stick or a little further. The handle is now grasped by the left hand so that the position of the stick is almost horizontal and by a vigorous,

long pull of the right hand the string is drawn off. The stick and the firm stone-wheel now buzz round in the hole of the handle for almost half a minute with a roaring noise.

The fly-wheel of the specimen seen by me was made of soap-stone, in one case cut out of a large bone (fig. 379*b*). One of the stone-wheels had some holes in it as if it had been used previously for some other purpose and was provided with a piece of lead to make it heavier.

RING AND PIN¹) OR AJAGAQ (*ajagaq* 'that which is pushed up' p. 63, figs. 381 and 388) is played with a hollow bone, a dog's, fox's or seal's arm or thigh-bone, or with some flat bone (e. g. the shoulder-blade of a seal or dog) in which several holes are made; also the wing-bone of a raven may be used. By means of a short string it is bound to a pointed, prong-like bone-stick (*ajaawtaa*) and the game now consists in catching the hollow bone when it comes down towards the stick after being thrown up in the air. The end of the stick is sometimes forked so that it has two points. It is connected



Fig. 379. Spindle buzzes (*a* Holm coll., *b* Amdrup coll.). ¹/₄.



Fig. 380. Spindle buzz. (Petersen coll.). ¹/₄.

¹) This name is more to the point than the "cup and ball" given on p. 63.

with the hollow bone etc. by a string which is inserted into a small hole in the middle part of the bone. — In the “dead house” at Nualik Amdrup found 8 ajagaq-bones, seven of which were of the same type as seen in fig. 387. They are tube-shaped, narrower at the top than at the base, in cross section nearly quadrangular or triangular. The eighth bone-tube was more flattened from both sides than any of the others and also more expanded downwards (upper width 1.5 cm. lower width 4 cm.), being thus undoubtedly made from a different bone of the animal than the others; along both narrow sides were 3 to 4 holes bored into the marrow-tube; this ajagaq thus was probably made not only to be caught on one of the larger end-openings of the marrow-tube but also in these smaller lateral holes¹⁾.



Fig. 381. Ajagaq,
‘ring and pin’ game.
(Holm coll.). ¹/₄.

The ajagaq-game (*ajagaaleertit*) had in later times become more seldom near Ammassalik, because the angakut often accused this game of causing the disappearance of the seals from the coasts. The point of the game consists herein, that two persons vie with each other as to which of them catches the bone oftenest in the right way, each counting the number of times. “I kill you” says the person on the point of winning the game. “I am still alive” answers the other, still playing on. The losing party is pinched in the arms and on other parts of his body.

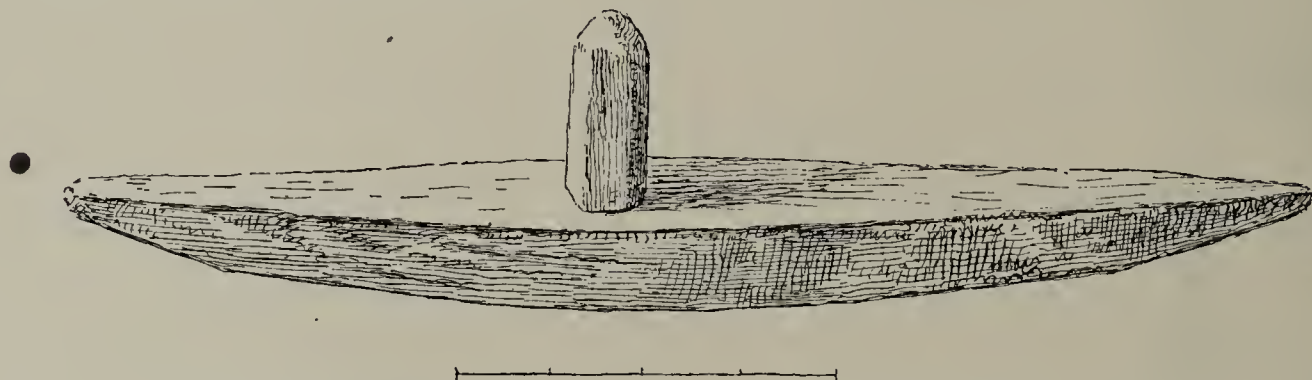


Fig. 382. Hunter in his kaiak, model carved in wood. Nualik.
(Amdrup coll.).

The ajagaq-game is well-known from West Greenland. Egede already describes it quite exactly. “He who 20 times in succession can hit the hole and get the ajagaq on the stick has won the game; but the person who does not hit the mark 20 consecutive times receives a black line in the face each time he makes a bad shot.”²⁾

During my journey in 1900—01 I witnessed this game or a variety of it near Jakobshavn as well as further south near Arqittoq (Northern Strømfjord). The play was almost in the same way accompanied by the telling of a primitive story, the details of which were associated with a description of

¹⁾ Cf. Boas (1901—07) p. 422, fig. 221.

²⁾ Egede (1741) p. 92; P. Egede (1788) pp. 9—10.

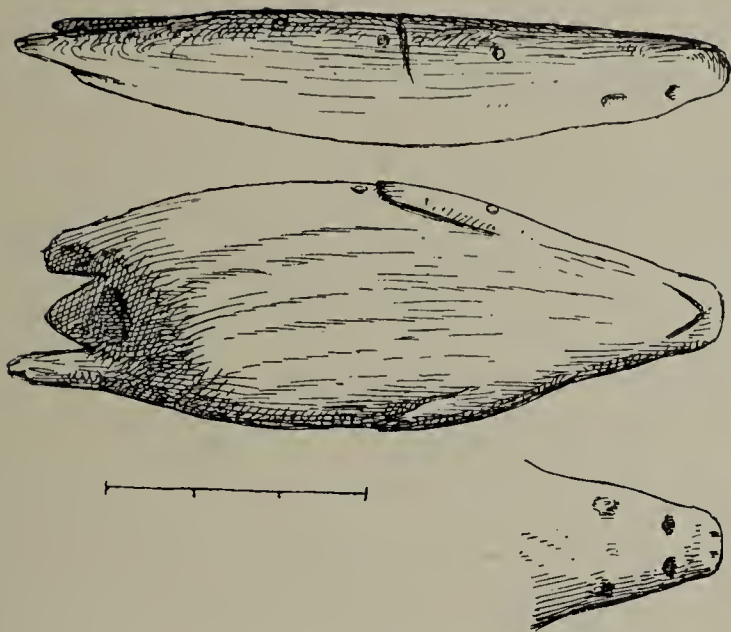


Fig. 383. Ringed seal.

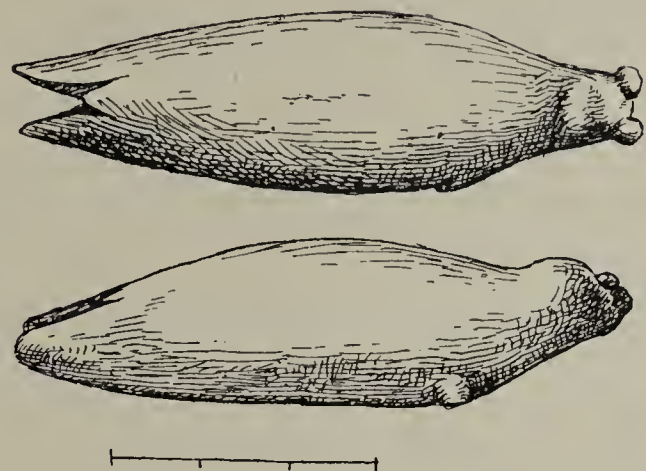


Fig. 384. Bearded seal.

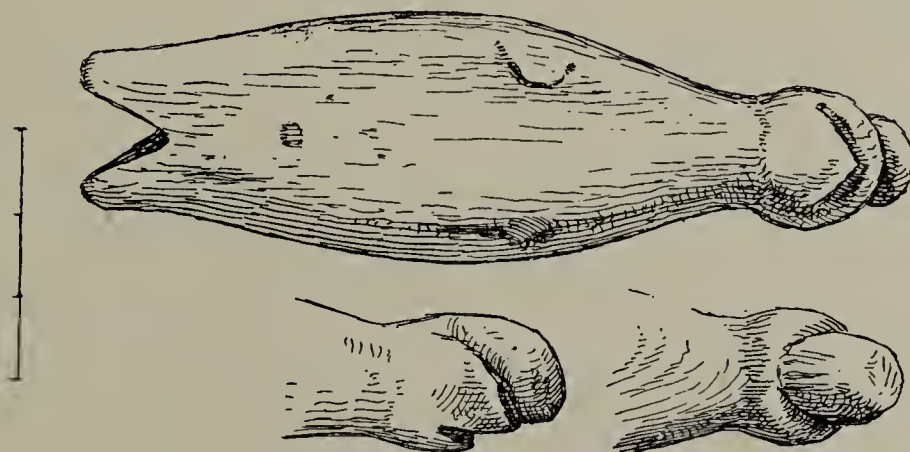
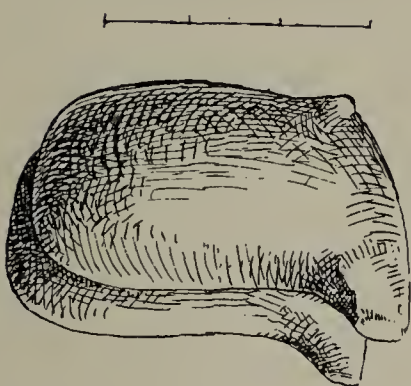


Fig. 385. Crested seal.

Fig. 383—385. Wooden carvings of seals viewed from different sides. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.). -



a



b

Fig. 386 *a*. Wooden image of a double bladder-float for sealing.
b Narwhal(?) carved in wood. Nualik. (Amdrup coll.).

certain places in and outside the house or a sledge-journey out to a foreign settlement, all varying according to the way in which the ajagaq was caught, e. g. as follows: — 1 (first throw), he appears from the inner part of the platform, 2 he gets up, 3 comes to the middle of the platform, 4 to the edge of it, 5 descends, 6 and goes out on the middle of the floor, 7 then to the inner door-way, 8 descends, 9 goes to the middle of the house-passage, 10 to the outer door-way, 11 ascends, 12 the refuse-heap, 13 then the stone



Fig. 387.

Ajagaq tube. Nualik.
(Amdrup coll.).

where the frozen blubber is beaten, 14 the umiak, 15 the sledge, 16 arranges the traces, 17 harnesses the dogs to the sledge etc.; the following five throws are each for one of the dogs, then come five for each of the points of land they drive past in the sledges; in a similar way is now described the arrival on land, the ascent across the ice-knolls on shore to the umiak where the dogs are unharnessed; now the man beats another with clenched fist, stabs a second one, splits the head of a third, cuts a fourth to pieces, strikes off the head of a fifth, the arms of a sixth and seventh; the pieces cut off are thrown to the dogs, which devour them and then eject certain parts; he throws them also to the foxes, the raven, the crabs in the bottom of the sea, and also these animals devour them and emit them again. The game is finished when one of the players has won, the other lost. The whole of this tale which is probably connected locally with a part of the west coast was unknown in the Ammassaliker's ajagaq-games.

In this connection I may mention another game which in olden times has also been known in northern West Greenland but as far as I know not near Ammassalik. It corresponds to the game *nuglutang* known from Baffin Land, and by the late inspector Olrik has been described as follows: "For this game a bodkin of walrus-tooth curved in the upper end¹⁾ and an oval, flat block of the same material are required; the latter is perforated and made fast to a stick which is placed under the ceiling or on the floor, and at a distance of 10 to 12 feet attempts are now made to throw the bodkin suspended down from the ceiling by a long string in such a way, that the point hits the hole in the flat block. To make this more difficult some seal-teeth strung on a sinew thread are often placed in front of the hole to be struck."²⁾

BALLS (*artcät*) varying in size from a walnut to a clenched fist are made by the women of two round pieces of raw-hide or gut-skin, a larger and a smaller piece, stretched over and sewn together round a lump of straw, moss or peat. The smaller piece of skin is only intended to form a lid or cover, on the border of which the folded and gathered edges of the large piece of skin are made fast



Fig. 388. Ball.
(Thalbitzer coll.). ¹/₂.

¹⁾ Of this kind are undoubtedly the two bodkins with curved tops and ornamented with carved human faces found in Pfaff's collection and previously described by me (1909) pp. 521—525, figs. 92—93.

²⁾ According to an extract from the inventory of the National Museum (Copenhagen).

after the filling material has been put into the ball (see fig. 388 where the skin for the ball is of black, the small piece of white skin). The balls are generally somewhat flattened, seldom quite globular.

I shall now mention some of the ball-games of the Ammassalikers.

Erniŋeetaatut 'those who are eagerly desirous of sons.' I saw this game being played on the island Atteqit near Cape Dan in July 1906. Five or six young girls sat on the top of a small hill and the same number of young men stood or lay on the ground below them. One of the men threw the ball into the lap of one of the women, then all the men shut their eyes murmuring some incomprehensible words. The girl into whose lap the ball had fallen now threw it far away from her whilst crying "the man down there shall be my son!" Amidst great excitement on both sides the men now began to look for the ball while the women chimed in with a long-drawn half-singing: *nanää, nanää, oqumukaittaraa, kaŋimukaittaraa* etc. "find it, find it! go northwards, go westwards etc." constantly giving orders as to the different directions in which the men must look for the ball. When at last one of them is quite close to the ball the excitement of the women increases, the voice is pitched so high, that it breaks into falsetto and a piercing shriek is heard: *nani, nanini ni ni* "he has got it!". The finder now throws the ball towards the women and the girl he hits is his "mother," he takes the ball to her and when he hands it over she puts the thumb of her left hand into her mouth saying: *erniŋeewa aŋiŋujuqaa qr qr qr* "my son has won the game, has made a great capture" (then a sound as of boiling or bubbling water is heard). Now the "mother" must play some tricks with the ball; she must throw it high up in the air and in the intervals while the ball is up she will pretend to: 1 boil the meat, 2 eat it (with a slobbering noise), 3 scrape the fleshy side of the meat, 4 scrape also the hairy side, 5 stretch it out to dry, 6 chew it to soften it, 7 twine the sinew-thread, 8 sew an anorak for the "son." She calls him to come to her and he embraces her while she says: *oquk, oquk!* "it (the anorak) is warm." He pretends to put on the anorak and she helps him. The game of this couple being finished, the men again lie down on the ground while the girls sit down on the hill after having first fought about the possession of the ball. The last winner keeps it if possible and throws it out again or else the girl who had succeeded in stealing it away from her (*aŋŋeerpoa* 'I stole it away from you').

Ilageetaatut 'those who are or will become cousins' is also a game played by men and women, placed in two rows and arranged in the following way:

A	C	E	G
B	D	F	H

A throws the ball to B whereafter D begins to fight (wrestle) with B to rob him of the ball. Pair stands against pair and wrestle with each other; the pairs A—D have however nothing to do with E—H. The result is that A and D, C and B, E and H and G and F are called and “made” cousins.

Ilageekartin begins in the same way with A throwing the ball to B; now all the other men and women in the row C—G (which may also be still longer) throw themselves over the one of the two parties who has kept the ball and try to wrench it from him, and the person who at last gets hold of the ball has won the game (*anijujuppoa* ‘I have won’).

Nakkacaaleetut is played by two men trying to keep the ball in the air for the whole time by knocking it up with the hands. The spectators standing around excite them with high shouts (*ha! ha!*) in time to the throws and in a constantly accelerating measure until the ball falls to the ground.

Isimmiqaatut ‘foot-ball’ was also played in olden times.

Besides the ball-games the Ammassalikers have also had many other kinds of games, e. g. *naajisartoq* ‘hopping-game from stone to stone,’ but I shall not describe them further on the present occasion, as I hope to have the opportunity of describing them in connection with the folk-lore of this people.

Hans Egede mentions from West Greenland two kinds of foot-ball games¹⁾, in both of which the players are divided into two parties. The first corresponds to *ilageekartin*, the other is a kind of foot-ball played between two goals. The Greenlanders compare the latter game with the ball-game played in the sky by their deceased, which has already been mentioned by Egede, and the Ammassalikers have also the tradition that the aurora borealis is the soul of the dead children playing at ball with a walrus-head²⁾. In one of the peculiar ball-game-songs brought to us from Baffin Land by Boas, they also sing of a ball made of a walrus-head. “The game is played with several small pebbles which are thrown and caught in one hand,” says Boas and the song is evidently sung during this game with the pebbles³⁾. This game has some resemblance to the girls’ throwing of the ball in the game *erniggeetaatut* at Ammassalik.

Further north on the west coast the ball-games have been mentioned by Giesecke. In 1811 in the Umanak-fjord he saw the natives play on the ice with a ball made of a whole seal-skin stuffed with hay and stones⁴⁾. All the forenoon the two parties played against each other until one of them

¹⁾ H. Egede (1741) p. 93 cf. Pl. facing the same page.

²⁾ Holm in this book p. 82.

³⁾ Boas (1901) p. 344—345.

⁴⁾ Giesecke, Reise Journal 4th April 1811. His description of the ball corresponds exactly to that given by Glahn in Norske Vidensk. Skrifter I, p. 496.

won the ball from the other. The conquered party, men and women, now travelled hastily home on their sledges, very shamefaced and accompanied during a part of the way by the mocking of the conquerors. In these games the upper part of the men's body is naked; they wear no boots, and have only shoes and stockings on their feet. — This description from a certain locality in Greenland forms an interesting parallel to that of a ball-game in the Greenland tale about *Niwnittaq*, where the scene is probably a region west of Greenland. It also supplements Egede's description¹⁾. Here *Niwnittaq* and his father-in-law once in each winter by increasing moon await the arrival of their antagonists to play ball-game with them. Both men and women of the two parties provide themselves with new clothes for the



Fig. 389 a. Small wooden box, found in a grave at Sarqarmiut. (Amdrup coll.). ¹¹/₂₅.

b. The contents of the box displayed, comprising the following objects in three rows. Upper row: 8 teeth, 5 phalanges. Mid row: 2 toggles for dog's traces, 3 buttons, an inflating nozzle, a piece of mounting. Lower row: 4 teeth, 3 buttons (miniature), a soapstone pot (miniature), 2 pieces of mounting. The box has probably belonged to a child's grave.

occasion and make "spoons for the ball-game" i. e. bats made of the shoulder-blades of walrus. The game takes place out on the ice and the ball is a seal-skin stuffed with sand and clay²⁾. The men as well as the women of both parties stand opposite each other and the most skilled stand in the front row. The man begins the game by throwing the ball towards his wife who runs up to the ball and sends it on to her younger daughter, she throws it on to the elder daughter who again sends it on to her husband.

¹⁾ Rink (1866) No. 55, pp. 166—172; Egede (1741) p. 93.

²⁾ In another tale (Rink l. c. no. 45 pp. 154—155) we hear of a round stone used as ball, which must probably mean that a round stone has been sewn into the seal skin in order to make the ball heavier.

If a player makes a bad shot and is struck by the ball, he falls to the ground unable to rise and is now attacked by the enemies. This happened to Niw-nittaq the first time. But by the next increasing moon, when a return visit for revenge was paid by the people of his district, he conquered his enemies; he drove the ball up in front of all the pursuers — without anybody succeeding in “running under it” — and ran homewards with the ball. His father-in-law cried to the opponents: “You have lost, you must try again!”

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE PLAYTHINGS. — The majority of the toys mentioned here are real Eskimo toys common to all the Eskimo in and outside Greenland. This is the case with the dolls, the top, the buzz, the bull-roarer, the ajagaq and the ball. There may be some doubt as to the genuineness of the two nodding birds, the mill-wing buzz and the puzzle with the two beads (figs, 373, 376 *a* and 378), as these forms of toys are only known from Ammassalik inside the Eskimo region, but on the other hand are well-known from European toy-shops. This is however no certain proof that the Eskimo may not have invented these tricks themselves. With regard to the nodding pair of birds I may refer to the fact that Nelson from Alaska gives an illustration of a single bird which stands on a board and by means of a small string is made to nod its head up and down¹). The puzzle with the beads is no more subtle than the cat's cradles, which both the Smith Sound Eskimo as well as the natives on Baffin Land know, as also many of the Indians in North America²), but which are no longer remembered on Greenland's east coast.

The tops have everywhere almost the same shape from Greenland to Alaska³). The “Brumm-Kräusel” from southern West Greenland mentioned by Cranz and also described by Egede⁴) is undoubtedly a “humming-top” of the common top-type: a flat wooden disc with a transverse stick going through the middle. The game is now played in this way, that the person towards whom the end of the stick points, after the top has ceased buzzing round, has won the prizes offered by the other parties in the game. The 8-shaped buzz is characteristic of Greenland as I have previously shown in connection with a similar toy found by Amdrup on Sabine Island (74°45' lat. N. on the east coast)⁵). Outside Greenland this toy has a rhomboid or discoid shape⁶).

¹) Nelson (1899) fig. 123, p. 341.

²) Kroeber (1899) pp. 298—299; Boas (1888) p. 569 (fig. 525); Culin (1907) pp. 763—779.

³) Murdoch (1892) fig. 375; Nelson (1899) fig. 122; Culin (1897) figs. 971—980.

⁴) Cranz (1770) p. 231; Hans Egede (1741) p. 92.

⁵) Amdrup coll. no. 113; Thalbitzer (1909) fig. 71, pp. 494—495; Kroeber (1899) fig. 51.

⁶) Boas (1901) fig. 80, p. 53; fig. 165, p. 112 (and 363); Murdoch (1892) fig. 376, p. 378; Nelson (1899) p. 341.

Besides being found among the Ammassalikers the bull-roarer is also known from northern Alaska¹). Among the Eskimo it is only known as a toy for children, but in former times it was used by the Indians in North America, among whom it had a wide distribution, as a sacred instrument for producing rhythmic sound, to implore the wind to bring fair weather or to invoke the clouds; among the Kwakiutl Indians it is said to be associated with the invocation of spirits (ghosts)²).

As already mentioned (p. 519), the spindle-buzz has also been found in the possession of the Eskimo on one of the islands in the Bering Straits; thus it must be considered as an old Eskimo implement, at any rate as a toy. But its occurrence among the Indians in East and South-west America was considered by O. Mason as connected with the Spaniard's introduction of European hand-loom for the weaving of sheep's wool and other material, i. e. as of extraneous origin³).

The ring-and-pin game (*ajagaq*) is not only common to all Greenland⁴), but is also mentioned as being known among most of the other Eskimo, in Labrador however probably only in the northern region⁵). From Baffin Land we have a characteristic form of the »ring« piece of this toy, consisting either of the cranium of a hare or fox or an imitation thereof carved in bone and provided with holes so that it may be caught on the *ajagaq*-stick⁶). — This game, which in Greenland consisted in an adroit trick performed during the telling of a tale (pp. 656—658), is seen from a new point of view if we consider the fact, that the toy is in Alaska replaced by a holy wand associated with an asking festival of the same name as the Greenland game⁷); in Alaska this is a cult festival taking place every year in November, at which the people are solemnly invited to the meeting house, and an exchange of presents and intercourse with unmarried women takes place.

¹) Murdoch (1892), fig. 377, p. 379.

²) Handbook Amer. Indians (1907) pp. 170—171; Culin (1907) p. 750.

³) Handbook (1910) p. 928. — A Danish hand-loom of this kind used for twisting yarn into fish-nets has been described by H. F. Feilberg in "Dansk Bondeliv" (1910) pp. 142—143, fig. 50.

⁴) Kroeber (1899) p. 296, fig. 50 shows a specimen of this toy of a leg-bone with two bored holes through each socket instead of a tube-shaped hollow-bone, resembling those found on the west coast of Hudson Bay. Boas (1901) fig. 164.

⁵) Erdman, Wörterbuch (1864) p. 7.

⁶) Boas (1888) figs. 519—521.

⁷) Nelson (1899) p. 359. The name *ai-ya-guk* corresponds exactly to the Greenland *ajagaq*. The wand seen in fig. 139 and used in the asking festival, is in part identical with the roulette from the west coast of Hudson Bay illustrated in Boas (1901) p. 111. Cf. Culin (1907) p. 783, fig. 1076.

Thus the ring-and-pin toy of the Greenlanders is a rudiment of a half-religious festival; like the bull-roarer and probably also the buzzes it has originally been of importance as a cult instrument.

The rattle has also its analogue in the west but has nothing of this character either as toy or cult instrument. What is stated in the east Greenland tales about the rattle used in the house-passage as a kind of door-hammer, is in agreement with Miertsching's observations at Point Barrow in Alaska. He states that in the house-passage of each house a kind of "trap" was placed, which made a noise if touched unawares and thus warned the inhabitants that somebody was passing through¹).

Lastly, I may just once more mention the ball-games. The three kinds into which the Eskimo ball-games are classified by Culin are all recognized in the described Greenland ball-games: shinny, foot-ball and tossed ball²). I am of opinion that the descriptions cited by me from Giesecke's diary and Rink's tales from West Greenland (pp. 660—663) provide us with much good and partly new information about the Eskimo shinny-game. Both men and women take part in this game; each person has his racket or shovel-shaped bat, made of a walrus scapula (without net-work); the ball is heavy and large and the game is often dangerous; the ball is only touched with the bats not the hands, except at the very end of the game. The parties assemble from different settlements and act as enemies towards each other; there are certain rules for throwing the ball from one member of a family to another but these are naturally crossed as much as possible by the attacks of the adverse party. In the description of the Ammassalikers' ball-game the latter feature — regard for the relationship in the idea of the game — is strongly emphasized. Though the description of shinny among the Indians in Canada and further south is not very detailed, the resemblance to the Eskimo ball-games is easily seen; like the Indians the Eskimo have undoubtedly had visible goals at the ends of the field on the ice where they were playing³).

Another question is, whether there is any connection between these games, which the immigrant Europeans in Canada adopted in a more general form as their national game under the name of *la crosse*, and the old ball-game *knattleikr* known from north-western Europe. The description of the latter, as recently given by F. Knudsen on the basis of the middle-age literature of Ireland, England and

¹) Miertsching (1856) p. 199.

²) Culin (1907) pp. 629, 701 and 709. He further mentions (p. 712) the game of juggling with balls or pebbles as known from Baffin Land (and Smith Sound).

³) Culin (1907) pp. 616—647.

Iceland¹⁾, undoubtedly agrees to a surprising degree with the old ball-game of the Eskimo, described by me from North Greenland and as Giesecke witnessed it in Umanak in the winter of 1811. The points of resemblance are numerous, only the importance of relationship in the ensemble is not mentioned in the old Icelandic-English game. As already known E. Hertzberg has put forward the hypothesis that the Indians might have learnt this ball-game from the Icelanders in the middle-ages, while this people from the 10th to the 12th century visited the north-eastern coasts of America and traded with the natives there²⁾. In this case we must use the same explanation for the occurrence of this ball-game among the Eskimo. But in both places, America as well as Europe, this kind of ball-game seems so deeply rooted in the tradition, that I feel more inclined to believe, that the very conspicuous similarities are due to chance and that no conclusion can be drawn from them as to the kind or results of the old intercourse between the natives of Europe and America.

WOODEN MAPS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

WOODEN MAPS (p. 107, cf. 108, 344). — In fig. 390 are seen the already mentioned, carved maps from Holm's expedition. *A* and *B* are closely connected as *A* represents the continental coast, *B* a row of islands lying off this coast. To understand the map the short block must once be turned round and *B* gradually pushed forward in order to get the islands in their true position in relation to the continental coast³⁾. On comparing the chart at the end of this book and beginning up in the north, *B* 1 corresponds to the island Storö (66° 12' lat.) and *A* *c* is the peninsula Sarkarmiut (*Sarqarmeen*) with an old settlement, which separates the fjords Kangerdlugsuatsiak (*d*) and Nigertusok. *e* is a small fjord called Erserisek (West Fjord), then comes *f* which is the northern branch of Depot Fjord, *g* the southern

¹⁾ F. Knudsen (1906) pp. 72—90. His conclusion is: *knattleikr* is not by origin a Scandinavian game, but has been introduced into Iceland from the British Islands, where an allied game was known from the time before the colonization of Iceland, possibly of Irish origin (p. 89), since the main form of this as of many of the English games is found in the ball-games described in the Irish epic about the cattle-robbery in Kualnge from the 7th or 8th century.

²⁾ E. Hertzberg (1904) p. 220.

³⁾ The native names of the places and further explanations are found in the Danish original edition in connection with Pl. XXXXI, Holm (1888). Cf. Amdrup (1902) p. 264.

branch of the same; behind *e—f* a crescent-shaped groove is seen, representing the depression by way of which the kaiak may be carried across the peninsula between the two neighbouring fjords; *i* designates Björne Bay (Kavdlunak). — On the map *B*, 2 and 3 mark the islands Nepinerkit and Ananak (Depot Ø) south of Storö, 4 is Apu-titek, 5 Itivdlersuak (Moræneö) south of Björne Bay. *B* 6 indicates Kujutilik, 7 Sikiwitik (Jærnö). — On *A*, *k* is Apusinek, a long stretch where the land-ice reaches out to the sea, *m* is Iliartalik, *p* Sangmi-lik, *s* Kangerdluarsikajik.

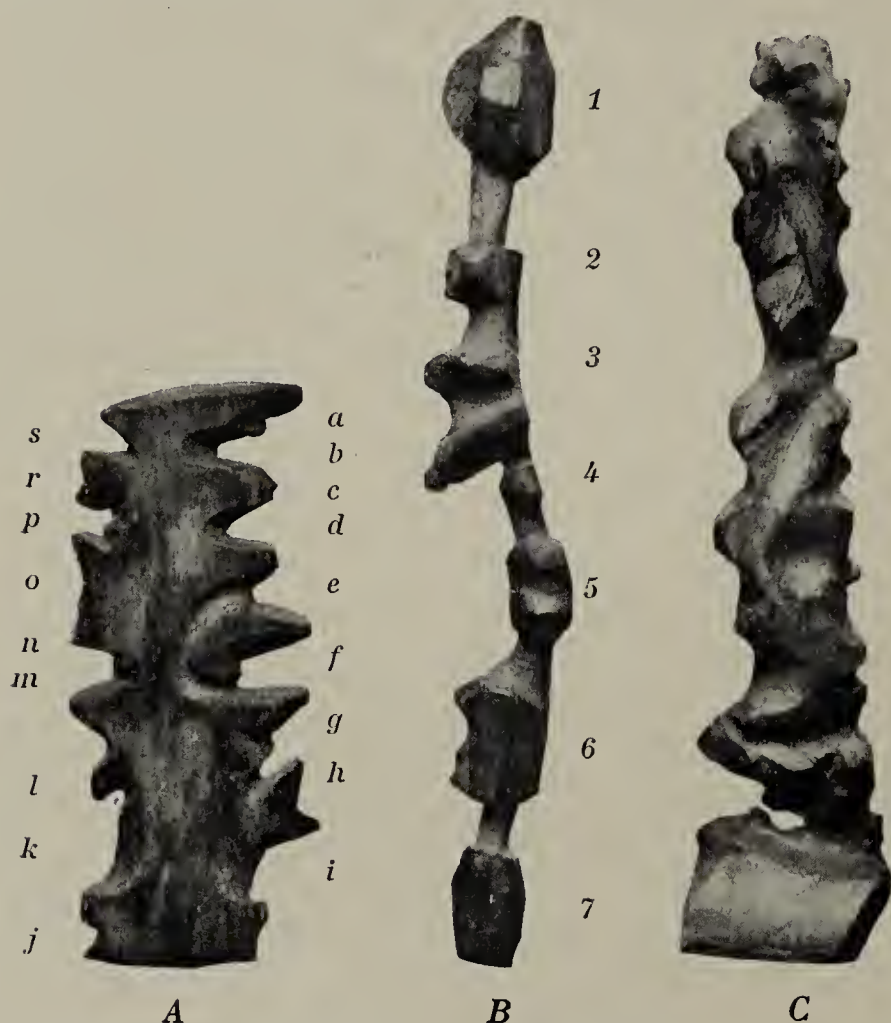


Fig. 390. Maps carved in wood. (Holm coll.). ¹/₃.



Fig. 391. Map carved in wood. (Greenland Administration coll.).

Fig. 390 *C* shows the peninsula (from north to south) between the fjord Kangerdluarsikajik and Sermiligak.

Besides this kind of map the Ammassalikers have often in later times carved maps as bas-reliefs on wooden boards. Fig. 391 shows such a map, on which is seen the coast of the continent or a larger island with a row of small islands lying off this island. Drawings of maps on paper have also frequently been made by the Ammassalikers. In these the Eskimo display an accuracy, which has been put to the proof by many of the earlier and more recent travellers in the arctic countries¹).

WOODEN ALMANACKS. — Fig. 392 shows another side of the East Greenlanders' ability to adopt European inventions. It is a week-almanack of the kind mentioned by Holm p. 105 (footnote). A flat

¹) Rink (1875) pp. 162—163; Hoffman (1897) p. 772.

stick by indentations in the edges is divided into 7 parts each of which is perforated in the middle. A bone-peg shaped like a violin-peg is suspended by a sinew-thread at the same end as the stick and is meant to be stuck into the seven holes successively for the seven days of the week. In southern Greenland they must have learnt to count the days of the week in this way from the resident Europeans (the Moravians)¹⁾ and the almanack has a few times been imitated in East Greenland. The two wooden blocks with holes for the twisting of sinew threads (fig. 241, cf. pp. 516—518) found by Holm have some resemblance to the shape of wooden almanacks and one is easily led to think, that these two unique objects were originally identical with the almanack and have only been used among the East Greenlanders, who knew nothing of division of time into weeks nor took any interest therein, for the twisting of sinew-threads. In this case (or in any case) they must have reached as far up as Ammassalik by barter along the coasts before the arrival of the Europeans.



Fig. 392.
Wooden calendar for counting the days of a week.
(Holm coll.). $\frac{1}{5}$.



a *b*
Fig. 393. Seal rattles(?) (Holm or other coll.). $\frac{1}{4}$.

SEAL RATTLES. — Fig. 393 shows two objects from Ammassalik about the use of which the catalogue of the Museum informs us, that they are two floats intended for luring the curious seals to the openings in the ice. *a* is a solid wooden block, *b* a cocoa-nut, which may have drifted ashore from a ship (cf. p. 333). They are both provided with hanging “ballast” consisting of ivory beads (*b* a long double-chain of beads). A specimen of a similar object was obtained by Murdoch near Point Barrow on the north coast of Alaska²⁾.

¹⁾ Holst's coll. (1880) in Stockholm Riksmuseum contains such an almanack (*uvdlorsiut*) from Frederikshaab in South Greenland.

²⁾ Murdoch (1892) fig. 254, p. 254.

ADDENDA

In the preceding monograph on the material culture of the Ammassalik Eskimo I have laid special stress upon the description of objects and details of things that are characteristic of this group of Eskimo. At the same time I have endeavoured to distinguish between the true Eskimo features and the foreign or later borrowed ones, a task requiring a general comparative investigation. In this as in my previous work, therefore, I have compared the special forms of implements of this Greenland locality with those of the other parts of Greenland and the western regions of the Eskimo world. In dealing with certain implements or groups of implements, e.g. weapons, I have been led by way of experiment to determine their genetic position in the developmental history of the race; for other groups of implements I have gained the impression that such a genetic connection might perhaps exist. The development of the culture of this people has undoubtedly begun in the far west and taken on a large scale the lines of migration may be traced eastwards to Greenland with various deviations caused by the shape of the coasts, and other local conditions on the way. The task is still in front of us by means of archæological and ethnological material to point out the routes along which the characteristic details of each type or group of implements have come, in order that we may obtain a contribution to the understanding of the migrations of the Eskimo tribes themselves.

In my investigation I started from the supposition that the Eskimo population between the Bering Straits in the west and the Denmark Straits in the east make up an ethnic unit in ethnographic as well as linguistic respects. From the latter point of view I have previously had the opportunity to examine as far as possible the nature of this race and the lines of demarcation in its dialects; whereafter I studied the older formations of the language in order to sketch out a representation of its developmental history and a grouping of the dialects according to their genetic connection. Finally I have made use of these results to clear up the question about the migrations of the Eskimo tribes¹⁾. The linguistic criteria have the advantage over the ethnographic that they are more intimately connected with the human nature and, consequently, when dealing with the distribution and migrations of the tribes give a more exact picture of these conditions. The ethnographic objects are not by far so closely bound to a certain group or tribe; both formal peculiarities and whole types of implements may be handed on from one group to another, directly

¹⁾ See my linguistic papers from 1904, 1906 and 1911.

as merchandise or indirectly through imitation, without the groups being otherwise assimilated. As criteria of genetic connection the ethnographic criteria are of less importance than the linguistic ones, but on the other hand they may, through archæological investigations in the regions where the people have once lived but are now extinct, fill up the gaps in our knowledge about the earlier distribution of the groups.

The future will probably bring much new material of a similar kind as in these Greenland collections from the same coasts and from those further west and we are still far from reaching the bottom of these researches. The old migration history of the Eskimo lies hidden in their tracks, in their ruins and remains scattered over North Canada and the arctic archipelago.

In the following I shall add some scattered information about collections, persons, and implements connected with the ethnology of the Eskimo, obtained partly from old texts partly from arctic traditions and recent investigations which have appeared since the beginning of this book had been printed.

To pag. 326.

THE COLLECTIONS. Among the collections from Greenland in the Stockholm Riksmuseum, that of PFAFF from central and northern West Greenland occupies a prominent place. Brought together during Pfaff's stay of more than 20 years in North Greenland as doctor, this collection consisted originally of 3108 objects, of which unfortunately about 50 seem to have been lost¹). The collection, which was first offered to the National Museum of Copenhagen, was bought by G. Retzius in 1881 for 4000 Kr. and deposited in the Nordiska Museum of Stockholm, from which in 1903 it was transferred to the Ethnographical Department of the Riksmuseum. It contains specimens of nearly all the Eskimo implements and their numerous small varieties used in North-west Greenland. The majority of the stone implements are from Kekertak (*Qeqertaq* in Disko Bay) and the greater part of the remainder (mainly objects of wood, bone and ivory found in graves and ruins) originate from Jacobshavn, but a large number are from other settlements between Umanak Fjord (ca. 71° lat.) and the southern district of Egedesminde (ca. 67° lat.).

NORDENSKIÖLD'S collections from Greenland are small but of interest in that they contain some of the earliest obtained specimens both from Ammassalik and Cape York, dating from the years 1873, 1883, 1885 and 1896. His large collection from the Vega Expeditions (1878—81) contains Eskimo objects from the Bering Straits and the extreme north-east of Asia.

Besides the already-mentioned objects contained in Nordenskiöld's Greenland collections (see pp. 326 footnote ¹, 430 footnote ⁵, 433 and 590), I may mention here the beautiful throwing-stick of a knob-harpoon procured by him in South Greenland; it is marked in the inventory of the Museum 1896.6.1 and is called

¹) The catalogue (MS.) written 1878 by Pfaff himself contains much valuable information regarding the objects.

a grave find; it probably originates from Ammassalik or Sermilik, as it is adorned with relief ornaments like those found on throwing sticks and other wooden objects from this region only¹). By means of two or three wooden nails each of the relief-figures, 18 altogether, is fastened to the lower (hindmost) part of the back of this throwing stick; along its middle a whale and four seals are seen following each other in a long row, further some birds and mythical animals. Along the one edge it has an ivory mounting, but no notch or hole for the forefinger, whereas on the other edge there is a slight indentation for the thumb.

Further, Nordenskiöld's collections from 1873 and 1883 contain two very beautiful eye-shades with relief-ornamentation, obtained in South Greenland but originating from Ammassalik. The first²) has a very close resemblance to fig. 316a (Holm) and fig. 319 (Amdrup) illustrated here. The favourite decorative design for the reliefs on eye-shades has evidently been a zigzag line between two straight edges arranged in parallel divisions, which again are arranged in two main groups, where the directions of the line are divergent from each other.

The same Museum also possesses a valuable collection made by G. v. DÜBEN during the Nordenskiöld Expedition of 1870—71 in the same regions as Pfaff's and comprising 220 objects, mostly found in graves; further, the Museum owns a collection of about 200 objects from South Greenland, Sukkertoppen, Godthaab, Frederikshaab etc. collected by N. O. HOLST (1880).

To p. 333 (cf. p. 339).

EARLIEST TRADITIONS ABOUT A EUROPEAN SHIP SEEN FROM THE COAST. — In 1830 Graah met a man near Umeewik (64°19' N. lat.) who said that he had been told that many years previously people had seen a ship off the coast north of *Umeewik*. This place lies about 5 days' journey (with boat) south of the Sermilik Fjord, which in 1786 had been discovered by Egede and Rothe's Expedition, when they approached the coast at a distance of ca. 10 Engl. miles to ca. 65° of latitude; Graah was of opinion that the ship observed has been Egede and Rothe's³) and that the recollection of it had remained during the 44 years passed since then. — Ships seen at a far distance from the coast have probably not made any great impression on the inhabitants of the country, whereas the appearance of a ship closer to land would naturally be remembered as a great event through several generations. If the memory of ships observed from the coast far out at sea had been of any importance to the people of the country, we might have expected to have heard about the whaling boats of the 17th century sighted from the coast further towards the north. But nothing has been reported about these.

To p. 335.

FIRST VISIT OF EUROPEANS IN EAST GREENLAND. NORSE RUINS. — Wallöe is generally mentioned as the first white man who set foot on the east coast. (1752). All the first Danish expeditions were formed with a view to »the rediscovery of the Østerbygd“, but Wallöe already returned with the negative result that the present inhabitants of the east coast had nowhere seen people resembling Europeans nor knew of any other kinds of buildings than the Eskimo's own usual houses⁴). Wallöe was the first Europeans who visited the island Aluk (ca. 60°09') and saw the Greenlanders' large market to which they gathered from

¹) Nordenskiöld's throwing stick is illustrated in his "Studier och Forskningar" (1883) p. 347. Cf. the ornamented throwing stick in Holm's coll., here fig. 144.

²) On this eye-shade collected in 1872 is written in ink the inventorial mark of the original collector, namely R. M. 1207.

³) Graah (1832) p. 140.

⁴) Grønlands historiske Mindesmærker, vol. III p. 744.

distant places in late summer to hunt crested seals and to barter (cf. p. 333). The geologist Giesecke was the next European who (in 1806) reached the east coast south of Greenland¹).

But a more northern part of the coast which cannot be designated more nearly than as being west of Iceland had probably been visited earlier some few times. These visits became without any consequence for the exploration.

A report from Iceland dated 1757 informs us that in the previous year the east Greenland coast had been visited by a Dutch whaler named Tonis Ru-landt, though however it has been impossible to find the exact place where he landed²). He is said to have observed immense masses of drift timber at the place where he landed and where he built a stone-cairn 6 feet in height. But he saw no trace of human beings.

With regard to the question as to the position of the old *Eystribyggð* (Østrebyggd, Eastern settlement) in Greenland nothing since Egger's prize-essay (in 1794) has altered the supposition, that the *Eystribyggð* lay on the southern part of the west coast in the Julianehaab district. The archæological discoveries of churches and farms from the time of the Norsemen have fully confirmed the old hypothesis. It is quite a different thing that we cannot totally set aside the possibility that some day we may find traces (cairns or even houses) of Icelandic-European origin on the east coast. Some casual landing, a preliminary settlement might well have taken place without having been carefully noted in the annals of history. Up to the present time only one single Norse ruin has been found on the east coast, namely, near Narssaq in the large Kangerdlugsuatsiak Fjord (60°30' N. Lat.) only two or three days' journey north of Cape Farvel³). Near Ammassalik no such traces of Norse colonization have hitherto been found and the rumours of such discoveries from this place, that have been reported on one or two occasions⁴), have not been confirmed on closer examination at the place itself. This question has been dealt with partly by myself partly by C. Kruuse in his last paper⁵). While the latter builds upon his botanical and archæological observations I mostly rely upon the contents of a letter from Johan Petersen with regard to some excavations made by him in the summer of 1912 near Ammassalik. Both Johan Petersen and Kruuse come to the result that there is no trace whatever of a previous Norse colonization.

With regard to the access to Kangerdlugsuatsiak Fjord from West Greenland, this fjord cuts some 64 kilometers into the east coast and the inner part may easily be reached by land (the inland ice) from the bottom of the fjords Tasermiut and Ilua on the west coast, as the distance between the heads of the fjords of the east and west coast is here only about 20 kilometers. In the Middle Ages the west Greenland fjords mentioned above were inhabited by the Norse descendants of the Icelanders. According to the Greenlanders of to-day the

¹) It has been doubted by Holm if Giesecke as stated by himself like Walløe has reached and visited Aluk. Holm (1894) p. 151.

²) The manuscript in the Royal Library (Copenhagen), Ny kgl. Sæml. 1295 d, fol.; containing "Beretning om Grønlands Østre Side 1756" by Björn Jonsen, dated Balleraae 1757. Published by O. Irminger in Geografisk Tidsskrift. Vol. 7 (1884).

³) Nordenskiöld (1883) p. 244. Information originating from the missionary Brodbeck's boating-expedition in 1881 to this fjord. The ruin was later on examined by Holm and Garde, see Medd. om Grönland, IX p. 160.

⁴) Latest by M. Clemmensen in Meddelelser om Grønland XLVII (1911) pp. 356—357. But according to Rosing's statement in 1861, the Eastlanders did not know of any ruins of foreign origin on their coast. See this volume p. 341.

⁵) C. Kruuse (1912) p. 286. Thalbitzer: Om Nordboruiner i Østgrønland, in "Atlanten" November 1912 (pp. 253—262).

Eskimo of olden times have really had a route from Tasermiut across the inland over to the inner part of Kangerdlugsuatsiak¹). According to the South Greenland tale (as recorded by Rink) Ungortoq, the last chief of the Norsemen, just fled through Tasermiut over to the east coast pursued by his Eskimo enemies and settled down over there²).

To pp. 338—339 (cf. 343).

EARLIEST EUROPEAN MERCHANDISE AND COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE. — Graah mentions that he had seen iron used for knives, saws, arrow-points in East Greenland. If we can take it for granted that the same kind of things as those bartered between the merchants and the natives in West Greenland had already by that time penetrated up along the east coast, we find a more complete description in Cranz, who mentions the following objects of barter:³) “Knives, tenonsaws, arrow-points, drills, chisels, sewing needles all made of iron; striped linen and calico, Kersey woollen stockings and caps, handkerchiefs, wooden boxes and dishes, tin-plates and kettles, looking glasses, combs, ribbons and all sorts of toys for children. They prefer to buy snuff-tobacco and guns as also gun-powder and lead”. Of these things it is mostly the working tools, arrow-points of iron and hoop-iron that have easily made their way to remote regions in advance of the Europeans but in the wake hereof also the Dutch beads and possibly also some toys.

As already known the commercial intercourse between Europeans and Eskimo began in West Greenland long before the Danish colonization was started about the year 1720. According to Hans Egede’s relation the Dutchmen especially about this time augmented the number of ships sent to Greenland. The Norwegian merchant Hans Mathisen in Bergen and several others had for some years been sending ships to Greenland but ceased about the year 1718 towards the time when Egede himself wanted to go to Greenland, also because the Dutchmen “spoilt the trade for our people”. Further a ship from Bergen had in the previous year been lost in the ice and the crew who succeeded in getting ashore had been killed by the natives⁴). The Eskimo have probably thirsted for revenge as previous expeditions had recklessly carried off some of their countrymen to Europe. Hans Egede, the first settler in Greenland since the Middle Ages, soon experienced the disgust and fear felt by the Eskimo towards the Europeans, for when he first raised a house over there his Eskimo neighbours left the region and did not reappear for a long time and the angakut of the Eskimo called upon their spirits to prevent the Europeans from settling down in their midst⁵).

Though the Dutchmen never passed the winter, but only lay with their ships off the coast during the summer their merchandise from the beginning of the 17th century was introduced into the country especially on the tract of land between “Baals Revier” (Godthaabsfjord) and Disko, which names together with several others originate from the time of the Dutchmen⁶). From the landing-places on this tract of land the wares were spread northwards and south-

¹) Holm and Garde (1889) pp. 159—161.

²) Rink (1866) pp. 198—205 and 362.

³) Cranz (1770) p. 228.

⁴) Egede (1738) pp. 12—14.

⁵) Id. *ibid.* pp. 35 and 44.

⁶) As further examples of Dutch place-names which are still used may be mentioned Svartenhuk, Ubekendt Eyland, Waygat, Klokkehuk, Rodebay, Kanelen, Rotten, the Eylænders, Hukken etc.

wards causing certain alterations in the implements of the natives¹). By the Danish colonization on the west coast the foreign influence already felt here was thus continued. How this influence could be traced in the altered shapes of the implements will not be dealt with in detail here. But the change of material (iron, steel, tin) must naturally have caused the creation of new forms both in regard to the men's weapons and knives and the women's needles, scrapers and ulos. What a valuable invention is a spring-knife, even but an iron-nail and a pin for a people whose knives have previously only been of stone, the needles of bone and the nails of wood! The possibility is thus opened up for the introduction of iron fishing-hooks, and iron drills and saws. By the import of steel-needles the old-fashioned tubular needle-cases of the women became superfluous and were laid aside, and when tobacco was introduced into the country their trinket-boxes were used as snuff-boxes. Coloured glass-beads (Dutch beads) were in early times highly appreciated and far surpassed the primitive beads of ivory and dorsal vertebræ. The Ammassalik women's earrings and frontal head-kerchiefs probably originate from the foreign modes of the Dutchmen and the first colonists, and the complex wooden boxes and chests may have come in by the same way. The influence of the arrival of the white men gradually reached southwards from market-place to market-place round to the other coast. At Ammassalik we find the belated and best preserved influences thereof corresponding to those that had been found some centuries previously on the west coast²).

But the importance to the Eskimo culture of the Icelanders' presence in South Greenland in the middle ages is more doubtful. Undoubtedly it has been next to nothing during the first centuries after the Icelanders settled down in Greenland; to begin with the two people have known nothing about their co-existence in the country and even after the mutual discovery there has for a long time been no intercourse. We shall later return to this question. We do not know for certain how the intercourse between the Norsemen and the Eskimo ended; but it is probable that the first after having lost connection with the native countries in Europe and the moral and material support resulting therefrom have become eskimoized. It would be strange however, if the Eskimo had taken no inheritance at all from them, for in Greenland they have later appeared very susceptible to all influence of European culture.

I may here only recall, that the supposition has been set forth that some of the white glass-beads circulating among the South Greenlanders and which are considered as old Dutch beads originate in reality from the old Norsemen³). Glass-beads have been found in the ruins of the Norsemen in the former Eystribygð. In the old saga the spaewife (völva) on Herjulfsnæs, who by sorcery tried to avert the failure of the fishing, is described as being adorned with glass-beads and stone trinkets⁴).

¹) A forerunner of this barter-period is the period mentioned from the end of the 15th century, under the government of Pining and Pothorst from the Northern Iceland. See Bjørnbo (1912) pp. 269—270.

²) With regard to the introduction of guns, gun-powder and balls H. P. Steensby has recently given some information obtained from some Greenlanders especially with regard to the use of the gun-bag on the deck of the kaiak. In this connection I may point out that the gun and the apparatus belonging thereto was generally kept in a bag resembling the old-time quiver (an oblong skin-bag) and called by the same name, i. e. *poorqattaq* (cf. Kleinschmidt Grønl. Ordbog).

³) G. Holm (1889) p. 74 on the occasion of a discovery of such beads near Sangmisok.

⁴) Grønlands histor. Mindesm. I, p. 375.

The supposition has also been put forward that the small oblong whetstones of red jasper used by the South Greenlanders and the Ammassalikers (p. 502) were an imitation of similar stone implements used by the Norsemen. They have often an eye in the one end and are thus meant to be carried, which is said to have been the custom on the Færoes in olden days¹).

More recently O. Solberg has dealt with this question. According to his opinion the Eskimo in Greenland have got the first idea of using iron (the natural iron of the country found in the basalt layers) from the Europeans living there, possibly already during the Icelanders' period (cf. here pp. 487 and 489). Further, he points out that the convex woman's knife (ulo) is characteristic of Greenland and is a comparatively new invention (?) probably dating from about the same time as they began to use the iron. It may now be asked, if this Greenland convex type has been influenced by a similarly shaped implement of Iceland origin (unknown to us) and, further, the triangular stone-points meant for insertion in the harpoon-heads may have been influenced as to the shape by similar iron-points made in the foreign south³). It has as yet been impossible to get any definite answer to this question. We only see the mysterious shapes but the old implements are silent witnesses of the bygone times in which they were developed.

To pp. 340—341 (cf. p. 26).

THE EARLIEST VISITS OF THE EAST GREENLANDERS TO WEST GREENLAND. — In the Danish edition (1888) p. 57 (footnote) G. Holm showed, that before 1883 no boat from Ammassalik had visited the west coast of Greenland. According to the information Holm received at Ammassalik the report cited from Rosing (in Rink's Danish Greenland) of such visits proved to be erroneous. From this region including Sermilik no boat had been on the west coast within the memory of man. *Samik* was possibly born near Ammassalik but he lived further to the south at Umanak (62°50' lat.) from which he made trading journeys to the west coast. On the other hand, a few persons from the Ammassalik district had made trading journeys to the west coast.

To p. 341 (and pp. 348—350, cf. pp. 26 and 183—185).

The northernmost settlement *Kelalualik* mentioned by Inuk is evidently identical with *Kilalualik* of an old list obtained by K. I. V. Steenstrup in 1876 in South Greenland from a missionary named Lund. The latter had noted it down in 1851 from information given him by some visitors, who had come over to the west coast in that year. Though probably not quite accurate it deserves to be given here. *Kelalualik* means "the place of the white whales" (where they are found and captured). In Graah's list from 1829 this name is not found, nor Angmagsalik or Sermilik. On the whole hardly any names are the same on both lists; this is probably in part due to the fact that the natives have moved to some other settlements in the meantime, but also that one list is not exact; and one and the same place has undoubtedly in some cases been designated by two different names reckoned from Graah's to Lund's time.

¹) Finn Magnussen in Grønl. histor. Mindesmærker III p. 835. Cf. Medd. om Grønland VI (1883), p. 143.

²) Solberg (1907) pp. 19 and 54.

³) Solberg's cautious hints about this influence which may be traced in the shape of the implements are found e. g. l. c. pp. 54, 68—69, 79—81.

GRAAH (1832) p. 118.		LUND (1851).	
Names of settlements from south to north	Number of inhabitants	Names of settlements from south to north	Number of inhabitants
Aluk and nearest district round it	50	—	
Narksak (Lindenows fjord)	20	Kangerdlugsuatsiak	8
Ivimiut	12	—	
Taterat (Auarket fjord)	20	—	
Okkiorsorbik (Aneretok)	50	Anoritut	14
Maneetsuk	8	Erkalungmiut	15
Kinarbik	14	—	
Griffenfeldts Ø	9	Umanak	20
—		Itivdlermiut	15
—		Igdlorlit	14
Anarnitsok	20	Akorninarmiut	30
An island between Omenarsuk and Kopetelik	38	—	
—		Orkordlit ²⁾	8
Kikkertarsoak	75	Igdluluarsuit	32
Kemisak	90	—	
Aluik ¹⁾	130	—	
—		Pikiulik	6
—		Sermelik	30
—		Angmagsalik	150
—		Kilalualik	100
All told . . . 536		All told . . . 442	

The list shows clearly that there was a much more numerous population in the northern regions near Aluik (named Umivik on the present chart), Angmagsalik and Sermilik than further south on the coast where the inland as well as the sea-ice is more dominating and where in the winter the ice-layer on the fjords is not so constant and solid as further north. Further, it is seen how greatly the population must have decreased since Graah's time; for though he did not count the northernmost and best populated, but to him unknown settlements his total sum amounts however to ca. 540, so that the population seems to have decreased by one fifth during the time from 1830 to 1850 owing to emigration from Kemisak and Kikkertarsoak (i. e. Igdluluarsuit) in the north and from Narksak and Ivimiut in the south to the west coast³⁾.

To p. 344 (cf. 323).

DEAD HOUSES. — About the dead house near *Qingaaq* in the Ammassalik Fjord the following story is told. Here lived during the winter 1892—93 *Kunnitte* and his family consisting of his wife, four children and his mother-in-law. When in spring the Eskimo came to this isolated place to carry on ammassät-fishery all the inhabitants were found dead. The dead body of Kunnitte lay outside the house, the others on the platform. As there was plenty of ammassät in the house they could not have died of starvation, but it was supposed that they had been scared to death by the angry souls of some people who had been eaten by Kunnitte and his mother-in-law during a famine ten years before. "The souls had evidently made their appearance and frightened them to death (*tatamittigin*)".

¹⁾ Graah's *Aluik* corresponds with *Umivik* of the modern chart.

²⁾ Lund's *Orkordlit* corresponds with *Orkua* of the modern chart.

³⁾ Graah (1832) p. 118.

I give here two illustrations of the "dead house" on Nualik (see figs. 396 and 398) reproduced from photographs kindly lent me by Captain Amdrup.

To pp. 352—364.

HOUSES. — The question about the origin of the different house-types of the Eskimo is still unsolved, mainly owing to lack of archæological investigations. It was partly the feeling of confusion arising from reading the various authors' descriptions of houses in the different Eskimo localities between North-east Asia and Greenland, that led to my remarks on pp. 359—360 where I endeavoured to concentrate the question to three house-types. On renewed reading of my account however I feel the incompleteness of my remarks. Nelson's and Murdoch's descriptions of the houses from the coasts of the Bering Straits just lacked the distinction between recent features (possibly influenced by European house-building) and the original ones, which may only be ascertained with certainty from archæological investigations on the house-ruins of the regions in question.

Since I wrote about the house-types a contribution to this question has been published in Denmark by C. V. Frederiksen who has had the opportunity — during his official travels as clergyman in Holstensborg — to ascertain the presence of ruins of the pear-shaped or as he calls them "clover-leaf-shaped" houses in the central part of West Greenland. The designation he gives them is due to the variation in the ground-plan of the houses in this district, the middle part containing the main-platform being specially large and independently rounded, almost separated by projecting walls from the two side recesses, which lie opposite each other on either side of the entrance¹). Their characteristic shape is clearly seen by comparison with the house-type described by Steensby from Smith Sound in the north-western corner of Greenland²). Thus it has been proved that this house-type, which may be traced back to the cross-formed Mackenzie River type, has been used along Greenland's west coast from the northernmost inhabited regions down to about 65° N. Lat. This continuous line of a certain old house-type may thus be used as evidence of the advance of the Eskimo in the Middle Ages from the northern regions of Greenland to the districts of the Norse-Icelandic settlers in the southern West Greenland. Here the ruins of Eskimo and Norse houses are found side by side.

The variations in the house-types seem not only to be associated with the change in material in the various regions but also with certain differences in social customs. It must have been a comparatively recent custom among the southern Eskimo in East and West Greenland that the small family groups lived together in large almost rectangular houses. The pear-shaped houses are distinctly separated from this type and undoubtedly correspond to the original condition among the Eskimo³).

To p. 358 (cf. 131).

WINTER STORES of dried meat and *ammassât* are deposited either in the stone-caches or cellars lying near the houses which are called *miñeesiwit*, or in the more remote stone-keeps (natural caves or pits) called *qimatuluwin* or *torqorsoot*. If these depots have not been properly closed with stones, the foxes do not let slip the opportunity to help themselves.

The large seals are preserved frozen in the neighbourhood of the house, only covered with snow. They are generally eaten up by the end of February.

¹) Frederiksen (1912) figs. 1—3, p. 395.

²) Steensby (1910) figs. 14—15, p. 323.

³) Thalbitzer (1908) pp. 220. Cf. also Mauss (et Beuchat) (1904—05) pp. 78—79.

To pp. 417—418.

LANCES. — The appearance and use of lances in the northern West Greenland (Disko Bay) have been described recently by H. P. Steensby¹). F. Nansen had already called attention to the fact, that in North Greenland a kind of large "harpoon" (he undoubtedly means the lance) was used in walrus hunting, thrown without throwing stick but provided with two bone pegs (*tikagut*) for the thumb and first finger²). It has been discovered, that along the whole of the west coast this weapon is thrown by means of the throwing stick, but besides this there is also another kind without throwing stick. The latter is regarded as a secondary form, for Steensby's *tikagutainalik* means: 'a weapon that only is cast by means of pegs for the fingers'. This designation itself must however be of fairly recent origin, for to begin with the use of the throwing stick with the lance was unknown; the latter form of lance has certainly only been invented in Greenland after the immigration.

To p. 470 (I).

SLINGS. — The slings used at Ammassalik have exactly the same appearance as the specimen figured by Boas (1901) p. 53, fig. 79, from Baffin Land. Murdoch mentions slings of a more dangerous kind; he describes slung-shot made of walrus jaw, about which it is stated: "this may be compared with the stone balls used by the ancient Aleuts for striking a man on the temple"³).

To p. 470 (II).

THE SHOUT *ilyout*. — From the older books of travels we may still find many places where the first cry of welcome of the Eskimo to European explorers has been given as *ilyaut*, *iliout* or a similar sound⁴). It is generally stated that the Eskimo lifted their hands into the air and struck their breasts whilst uttering the above cry and pointed to the sun and thus that they were sun-worshippers. In his list of words Olearius gives *iliout* (*ilioun*) as "the sun"; his *ö* undoubtedly means an isolated *o* and the word is to be pronounced: *ili-o-ut*. I am of opinion, however, that the form found e. g. in Davis in his *yliaoute* in reality comes nearer to the pronunciation which phonetically has been something like *iliaowut* and that Davis' translation 'I mean no harm'⁵) almost covers the true meaning. Translated literally the word used in this form means: "we are friends"⁶).

To pp. 476—477.

THE SHARK'S TOOTH KNIVES. — These are made of the tooth-plates of sharks set in the edges of a flat wooden stick and are used as cutting instruments. The Ammassalikers call them *pilaatakajit* 'poor sort of knives' or *kitcataai* 'hair-cutting knives'. In the British Museum I have seen knives of a similar kind but much larger from the Hawaiian Islands, Polynesia, designated as "fighting weapons armed with shark's teeth".

¹) Steensby (1912) pp. 168—169.

²) Nansen (1891) p. 31.

³) Murdoch (1892) p. 191, fig. 173. Slung-shots used by the Micmac Indians, see Piers (1912).

⁴) Johannes de Laet (1643) p. 188: "Wilhelmus Baffin, qui freto a se lustrato nomen dedit, narrat incolas Groenlandiæ Solem venerari; nam Anglis appropinquantes pectora tundebant & exclamabant *Illout*, neque propius accedere sustinebant antequam Angli idem fecissent".

⁵) Davis (1586) in Hakluyt Voyages III, p. 140.

⁶) According to Boas (1888) p. 609 the Ukusiksalik Eskimo use as their word of greeting *ilaga* "my friend"² whereas the Netchillik Eskimo say *taima* (cf. *saima sunai* of the Cape Yorkers).

To p. 478.

HAMMER, CHISEL, WEDGE. — At Ammassalik the hammer is called *parpaleen*, meaning in reality “a means of making a noise”; cf. *parpalippaa* “he hammers (on) it”, *parpaligaq* “the thing hammered, on which noise is made, i. e. iron”; *parpaleen* signifies the primitive hammer stone (see figs. 215—217). The word *ilageen* which I have erroneously given for a hammer like that seen in fig. 189 means ‘a wedge for splitting wood’, possibly also ‘a celt, a chisel’. This explanation agrees quite well with the figures referred to (namely figs. 189 and 200); the Eskimo, who was shown the illustration of a hammer in Holm’s book, evidently considered the head as a wedge or a celt and told me its name, which I then erroneously took to be the name of the hammer as a whole. At Ammassalik the true word for a wedge is however *aitcaakilaa* (see list of words p. 221).

To pp. 487—488.

The archæological reasons on which O. SOLBERG has founded his theory that already before the time of Erik the Red the Eskimo had lived for many years in Disco Bay, is the discovery of the 8 to 10 feet deep refuse-heaps near the old settlement Sermermiut (‘the inhabitants of the glacier’) close to the mouth of the large Jakobshavn icefjord, and of similar refuse-heaps near Qeqertaq further north in the north-eastern corner of Disco Bay¹). Without having visited these places himself he has formed his opinion on the basis of Rink’s description (1857) and his knowledge of the collections of the museums.

If this theory is correct, it seems strange that the Icelanders going out on fishing expeditions every summer to the northern fjords on the coast have said nothing about the existence of the Skraelings up there before the year 1266 and that the present natives in the same fjords have preserved no traditions about the summer-visits up here of the foreigners in olden days. In order to make all the circumstances fit in, Solberg has endeavoured to uphold a new localization of the old Icelandic names of the places in the northern district visited by the Icelanders, an experiment that has been criticized by me in a review of his paper about this question²).

How this question may be solved in future — and I must admit that Solberg’s interpretation of the archæological facts and historic sources regarding this case cannot be dismissed without further ceremony, or scrutiny — the fact still remains, that the Eskimo have inhabited a part of the Greenland coast at the same time as the Icelandic colonists and have drawn the net tighter and tighter round these until they extinguished them. When the explorers of later times reestablished the connection between Greenland and Europe every trace of the Icelanders had apparently disappeared and only Eskimo were met with in the country. The explanation which seems most probable now-a-days is that owing to the declining connection with the motherland and Norway the Icelanders in Greenland in the 14th and 15th century had become dependent on the progressing Eskimo. If the Icelanders have not been killed in fights with the Eskimo they have from being the masters sunk down to mere servants, they have asked for help in hard times and have become mixed with them by marriage and in hunting communities. A process of adaptation has taken place resulting in the quickly gained superiority of the people best suited to the climate and mode of life of the country, the stamp of which may now be traced

¹) Solberg (1907) pp. 12—14, 79—80 and 90.

²) Geografisk Tidsskrift (1909—1910) pp. 11—15; and Meddelelser om Grønland (1909) p. 343.

on the descendants¹). It is a task still left unsolved to prove the influence of the Icelandic culture on the Eskimo culture in Greenland at the time when the latter became merged in the former (cf. pp. 698 and 702).

To pp. 507—511.

WOMEN'S KNIVES AND SCRAPERS. — Since I wrote my description of the figs. 223—229, I have received M. Porsild's paper (in *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*) on various Eskimo implements, also *ulos*. Both this interesting work and Steensby's description of the *ulos* used by the Smith Sound Eskimo try to clear up the question of the various kinds of these instruments and their use in recent times. But it is still a question, whether we are in this way able to learn more about the development of these instruments in the early history of the Eskimo. O. Solberg was the first to consider these questions²). He asks, why it is that the stone ulo (stone-blade of the well-known *ulo* shape) is wanting among the implements of the oldest North-west Greenlanders, in spite of the large number of stone artifacts that are present from this district. From East Greenland, where by comparison the finds are extremely scarce, the number of stone *ulos* is not so small, several of which found on the northern part of the east coast³) are of a triangular shape with crescentic edge, agreeing perfectly with the stone-*ulos* from Southampton Island in Hudson Bay⁴).

This difference in the abundance and form of *ulos* on the two opposite coasts shows already the incorrectness of Porsild's statement, that no ulo-types of regional importance are to be found in Eskimo regions. His own figures also speak against his theory; hafts of the shapes seen in figs. 12 and 18 (p. 614) are not known from Greenland, figs. 4—6 (East Greenland) are unknown outside Greenland. Further, his assertion, that the latter shape (transitional type), with two arms reaching from the upper grip down to the blade, has been made with a view to the flexibility of the iron-blade, is improbable and in opposition to the fact, that north of the Ammassalik district Amdrup found an ulo with stone-blade exactly of this type⁵).

In his description of these implements Porsild's classification is too narrow and dogmatic. Apart from the fact, that we miss from his description of the forms a reference to the difference between *ulos* with curved and with straight cutting edge (his figures however indicate both shapes), for his intention seems only to expound the developmental types of the cutting *ulos*, not of the scrapers,

¹) The idea of the Icelanders' adapting themselves to the Eskimo life is not new, see e. g. Arne Magnussen's words in *Grønl. histor. Mindesmærker* III, p. 138: "or they have been obliged to use the same vitæ genus as the savages and have thus degenerated to become like these". Rink has carried this thought still further (in "Greenland" vol. III. 1857, pp. 55—57), also G. Holm (1883, pp. 158—159, see in this book p. 342, and F. Nansen (1891) p. 8, and it has later been worked out in detail by Nansen (1911) pp. 363—366 and Bjørnbo (1912) p. 13.

²) Solberg (1907) pp. 51—55, 63, 79 etc.; Steensby (1910) p. 337; Porsild (1912) pp. 613—618; nor has Mason's older work to be forgotten.

³) Cf. my remarks in connection with Amdrup's discovery of an ulo with a stone blade and a wooden haft of another ulo (1909 pp. 378—380, fig. 13, no. 23 in my inventory, and pp. 459—461, fig. 49, inv. no. 80).

⁴) Boas (1907) fig. 231, p. 430.

⁵) Amdrup inv. No. 45. Cf. my description (1909) pp. 401—405 fig. 21. I may also refer to the two-armed bone-handle of a woman's knife (Pfaff coll.) from West Greenland illustrated l. c. p. 521, fig. 94 (cf. p. 525). This is made of reindeer horn all in one piece and has probably been provided originally with a stone-blade of the usual ulo form (l. c. p. 405).

the three types he sets up as the result are not exhaustive nor co-equal. The "transitional type" is not common to all the Eskimo (see above), i. e. not typical; the "primitive type" contains essential features, but brings together all the features characteristic of the Eskimo ulo, so that the whole developmental history is in reality adumbrated in this one type; naturally the trading with Europeans within recent times has given rise to one or more new types, which the author has called "the definite ideal-form" and "the highly developed type", but these are not true Eskimo implements and the interest possibly connected with the development of this third "type" has nothing to do with the comprehension of the development of the primitive *ulos*. In this regard Solberg's work has contributed more to an understanding of the ancient forms and varieties of the women's knife and its position among the stone implements.

To p. 514.

NEEDLE-CASES. — An illustration in Middendorf's *Reise*¹⁾ shows a needle-case from the region of the Tungus which closely agrees with the Eskimo type of needle-cases. The author is of opinion, that it originates from the Giläk tribe at the mouth of the Amur and sees in the peculiar type of carved ornamentation the influence of the culture of the Pacific Islanders. It is a tube-shaped, beautifully rounded bone; in the lower part of the strap (which is twice as long as the tube) two needles are seen; two bone pegs, one at each end of the strap, prevent this from sliding out of the tube.

To pag. 542.

THE NAMES ESKIMO AND QALLUNAAT. — I find in Petitot²⁾ that the northernmost Algonkins near the Athabasca Sea, the Crees called the Eskimo *Wi-yaskimowok* 'raw-meat-eaters' and *Ayiskiméwok* 'those who do things in secrecy, the deceitful'. We have hereby gained confirmation that we must look for the explanation of the name in the language of the neighbouring people, the Algonkins, but that on the other hand there may be some doubt about which of the two names have been made the basis of the European form of the name.

At the same place Petitot also points out that the Eskimo near the mouth of the Mackenzie River call "the whites" *Qablunet* (singl. *Qablunaq*) and he derives the word from *qablut* 'eye-brows' and *qablunaq* 'a frontal or coronal bone' which he takes to be a paraphrase for the hats of the Europeans which appeared very strange to the Eskimo. This explanation of the name thus in reality contains two explanations, for eye-brows and head-gear are not the same thing; but if in reality the Mackenzie River dialect contains a word *qablunaq* with the above-mentioned meaning, the latter explanation would seem very probable. It is at any rate of interest to find in the middle of the last century the name *Qablunaq*, which from olden times is known to have had the same meaning in Greenland (*qaLLunaaq*), so far towards the west; thus it must be an old name in the Eskimo language used in common about the Europeans or about people resembling them very much and who lived to the east. In their old tales about the Norse-Icelandic settlers the Greenlanders do not call these *QaLLunaait* (phonetically more correctly spelt than Egede's *Kablunet*, Kleinschmidt's *kavdlunat*), but *QaLLunaaitsiaait* 'half-Qalhunaat, approximately Europeans³⁾.

²⁾ Middendorf (1875) Vol. IV, p. 1529.

²⁾ Petitot (1876) pp. IX—XI.

³⁾ Strangely enough this name is not found in the first dictionaries from the 18th century but later in Kleinschmidt. On the other hand, it occurs constantly in the first records of the Greenland tales about the Norsemen, see Kaladlit okaluk-

To p. 558—559.

BASKET-WORK must also have been known among the central East Eskimo; for in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum I have seen a basket made of twigs which is said to have come from "the Indian Esquemos in Hudson Streights (63° N. Lat. 72° N. Long)". The Sloane Collection was acquired by the British Museum in 1753 but is probably of a considerably older date (ca. 1720). The basket mentioned is registered as No. 1933. It is very beautifully plaited, oval with pointed bottom, girded round by three figured bands of the plaiting material.

To p. 581.

WIDE WOMEN'S BOOTS. — When discussing this subject G. Holm (p. 234) in a footnote called attention to the Ammassalik tale about Kamikinak, who is put down into one of his foster-father's boots away in the foreign land "on the other side" (Akilinek). This is possibly a reminiscence in East Greenland from neighbours who have had this custom (note, only among the women, not among the men, who had only the common boots with narrow legs).

To p. 605.

COMBS. — Combs used for scraping together the berries when collecting them up in the hills have not been mentioned before from Greenland (or Eskimo) regions. But in a small pamphlet, otherwise quite unimportant, by W. Behrens¹), I find an observation mentioned, that when the Greenlanders in Umanak Fjord go up in the hills to "scrape berries", they carry with them a skin-basket and a "kind of implement made of reindeer-bone by means of which they scrape the berries from the hill-side and down into the basket". When the basket is full, they shake it so that small leaves and other rubbish tumble out through the hole in the bottom and only the cleaned berries remain in the basket. We may imagine, that "this kind of implement" has been some sort of comb.

To p. 647 (fig. 368 b).

DOLLS. — Wooden dolls with pliable joints in arms and legs have been mentioned from the Chukchee and Koryaks in north-eastern Asia²). There is reason consequently to believe that the same kind of dolls found among the Ammassalikers is an Eskimo product of old origin. This — like many other facts of a similar kind mentioned by me — shows how cautious we must be in considering the apparently surprising agreement with modern objects from our own shops as due to "European influence". We have probably here another proof that the Ammassalikers like all other East Greenlanders have stuck tenaciously in their isolation to certain old forms of implements, cult and luxury long after the same things have disappeared from the west coast and even from among the western kinsmen on the opposite side of the Davis Straits.

To the chart (back of the book).

I have found it most practical to spell the Eskimo names of the places on the chart according to the traditional orthography, namely Kleinschmidt's, though otherwise I only use this in citing. The chart has been worked out on

tualliait from 1860. The Labrador dictionary from 1864 gives *Kablunak* as 'a, foreigner, European' and *kablunartak* (= Greenl. *qallunartaq*) as 'a thing acquired from the Europeans, wood, clothes etc.'

¹) Behrens (1860) p. 32.

²) Jochelson (1908) p. 656. "In connection with the various Koryak carvings, the wooden figures of men should be mentioned, made without any artistic finish with their extremities on pivots like mechanical dolls. These figures serve as toys for children", cf. the East Greenland toy bear, Amdrup inv. 121, (1909) p. 534, fig. 106.

the basis of the charts of previous expeditions and may be used for the whole of this volume, in which Kleinschmidt's orthography has been followed everywhere except in my paper. The more correct forms of the names, corresponding to the true pronunciation of the East Greenlanders, will be found here on pp. 350—351.

EARLIER AUTHORS ON THE ESKIMO OF THE DAVIS STRAITS.

As it has been my object throughout the preceding comparative description to distinguish between the original features of the Eskimo culture and the recent ones due to the influence of Europeans I have often sought back to the earliest authors¹). Though their reports are generally written mainly for other purposes than to give ethnographical descriptions of the Eskimo met with, they yet contain several good authentic representations of the appearance, implements, clothes etc. of the natives. In these reports we might expect to find descriptions of the more original features, and this has also constantly been the case as far as it has been possible to control.

The first detailed description of the West Greenlanders' ethnography is already found in *Martin Frobisher*, the man who rediscovered them in more recent times, especially during his second journey. On his first journey (1576) he only succeeded, as is known, in sighting Greenland's coast (the east coast), but landed on the other side of the Davis Straits near Meta Incognita (Frobisher Bay) on Baffin Land. His description of the Eskimo met there and their boats is very short, but he gives from there the first existing Eskimo list of words (17 words). From his second journey (1577) we have on the other hand a more thorough description of the Greenlanders, the first ethnography of the Eskimo, 200 years earlier than Otho Fabricius described their hunting weapons. Frobisher mentions the outer appearance of the Greenlanders, their tattoo-markings, hair-dressing, clothes, mode of living, sledges and boats, houses and tents, weapons and knives; he mentions also the use of iron for their implements as a proof of their earlier connection with the Europeans. Also from his third journey (1578) Frobisher gives interesting contributions to the ethnology of the Greenlanders.

Compared with Frobisher the next explorer of the country, *John Davis*, does not yield so much important material in his report about the natives.

To supplement the various details in my description I may give some citations regarding the West Greenlanders, originating from the middle of the 17th century. Of these *Olearius'* communications are based upon his own and the royal surgeon ("Feldscheer") Reinhold Horrn's observations. The three Greenlanders²) brought to Copenhagen in 1654 by David Dannel were sent to the king who happened to be at Gottorp castle in South Jutland. Horrn had charge of them and they stayed for some days with Olearius in Gottorp. The result of the two men's examination of the external appearance, implements and language of the Greenlanders is given in some pages of Olearius' large work of 1656.

¹) As far as East Greenland is concerned, see the citations on pp. 334—339.

²) A contemporary painting of the four Greenlanders going from Greenland via Thronthjem, where the picture was painted, to Copenhagen, is found in the National Museum of Copenhagen (cf. here p. 436). It has often been reproduced, e. g. by Jacobæus in his *Theatrum Regium* 1696, Pl. XII and in Bahnson (1900, vol. I, p. 232, fig. 104).

De Poincy, whose work on the Antilles was published in 1658, cites the Dutch whaler Nicolas Tunes as having just returned from the Davis Straits where he had landed at 64°10' N. lat., whether on Baffin Land or Greenland is not clear. In *Schacht's* manuscript from the end of the 17th century, the illustrations of which are in part identical with those of de Poincy, we find citations from both of the above-mentioned authors. Schacht was born in 1660 and died in 1700 as head-master of the grammar school in Kerteminde on Funen¹).

WOODEN DOLLS AND IDOLS (p. 635, cf. pp. 644—647). — In his second journey (1586)²) Davis relates, that the natives in Greenland had some large images which they carried with them in their boats and probably worshipped. This is the first time the cultic dolls are mentioned in the literature; towards the middle of the following century we find descriptions thereof in Olearius and Schacht (cf. pp. 635—636) and the latter also gives a remarkable illustration of a large wooden doll dressed in a stiff petticoat (of fish-scales or fur?). In the foot-note I shall cite the two author's words about these idols³).

CLOTHES, ORNAMENTS etc. — Olearius mentions the anoraks of the women especially the long coat-tails at the back, which are longer than the front-flaps. He carefully describes the tattoo-markings on their faces. The two women he had seen had lines arranged in the shape of a fan on the chin, one had 13, the other 15 lines. From the bridge of the nose up between the eyes ran a line, which on the brow divided into several lines running above the eyebrows to the temples where they ended in two forked points. Under the eyes were similar lines. The women showed him also the holes in their earlaps, wherein they used to carry ear-drops.

De Poincy also described the dress of the women and made the observation, that the older among them are mostly dressed in anoraks of bird-skin, the younger in seal-skin (like the men). In contrast to Olearius he states that they do not wear ear-drops, but this may possibly be due to lack of observation, for he says, namely, that they wear neither bracelets nor necklaces nor ear-drops but are decorated by tattoo-markings on the cheeks. But it is hardly possible that the use of bracelets should be unknown among them at the places and

¹) Grønl. histor. Mindesmærker, vol. III p. 464.

²) Davis (1586) Hakluyt Voyages, vol. III, p. 139.

³) Olearius (1656) p. 176: "Was der Grönländer Religion anlanget, hat man nicht erfahren können wie es darumb beschaffen. Sie seynd ausser Zweyfel Heyden, und Götzendiener, wie dann einen solchen Götzen, welcher in der Strasse Davis vom Lande genommen, wir aus Paludanus Kunst Cammer bekommen. Ist aus Holtz grob geschnitzet, einer halben Ellen lang, mit Federn- und Haarfell bekleidet, und mit kleinen lenglichten Thier Zahnen behenget. Als ich ihnen solch Bild gewiesen, haben sie es gekand, *Nalymguisang* genandt, und berichtet, dasz die Kinder umb selbigen Götzen zu dantzen pflegten. Diese aber sollen biszweilen nach der Sonnen, wenn sie klar auffgangen, sich wenden, und weinen." — Schacht p. 263 "Ad Fretum Davidis, idolum Grönländicum est repertum, circum quod incolæ saltationes et tripudia institerunt. Vestitum est pilosis ovium pellibus, avium plumis, nec non piscium dentibus ornatum. Etenim ex hisce tribus elementis victum ac vestitum quæsituri, hæc eadem tanquam numina devote colenda æstimant. Tale idolum possidet illustre naturæ et artis Gazarphilaceum Ducis Holsatiæ, quod Olearius descripsit in Musæo Gottorphiensi ad Tab. IV, Num. 5. imaginem hujus idoli exprimens." — Schacht compares the latter idol with the phallic gods (Priapus etc.) known by him from other countries and mentions their membra virilia; as this is not to be seen on his illustration, I draw the conclusion that he speaks of another similar wooden doll in the Gottorp Museum, which like fig. 367 here was remarkable in this respect.

during the time of de Poincy's observations. He gives some very interesting information about the women's belts. He states that they wear a belt consisting of a leathern strop in which instead of keys several bone-needles pointed at the end like bodkins and as long as hair-pins are suspended. This description corresponds exactly to a woman's anorak I saw in Ammundsen's collection in Christiania from the Central Eskimo, with the leathern belt sewn fast thereon and in which were suspended a large number of old ivory bodkins, hanging side by side so that they formed a broad fringe round the waist.

Further, he mentions the men's costume and (what seems to refer to their angakut) the costumes of their "chiefs", who are said to have a special ornamentation sewn on the front of the anorak. I think that de Poincy has actually observed something corresponding to this description, though it is not in agreement with our ordinary ideas of the Eskimo community, where he speaks of the "chiefs" of this people, the honour bestowed upon them by the younger men and their special costumes. In the Central Eskimo regions it is a well-known fact that the dress of the angakoq was adorned with peculiar figures, hands, rosettes etc. and in a similar dress in the Comer collection (in Mus. Natural Hist. in New York) three rosettes together with other patterns are distinctly seen in the embroidery on the front side of the angakoq dress¹). In the footnote I cite de Poincy's passage about these things²). In many other old reports we hear of the "chiefs" or "kings" of this people, though we are aware that they have only existed in a certain sense in the communistic tribes of the Eskimo, namely, as leading men, head of a family, angakoq etc.

WEAPONS. — Further, de Poincy relates that when going out the men always carry a quiver with arrows on (behind) the shoulder and a bow in the hand. He quite rightly makes a distinction between the smaller bow-arrows mostly used for hares, foxes and birds and the larger darts used against reindeer and other larger animals. He states that the first named are 2—3 feet long provided with a long bone-head with 3 or 4 barbs; the latter thrown by means of a throwing-stick are 4—5 feet long, also provided with a bone-head the barbs of which sit like the teeth of a saw. These Eskimo weapons of de Poincy have long disappeared, superseded by the gun, but the darts he describes are naturally closely related to the bird darts and bladder darts still in use. Finally, he mentions the lance, 7—8 feet long and provided with a stone-head. But he now seemingly mixes two weapon forms together, for he goes on to say that "these lances are provided with two wings (feathers) in the hindmost end", whereas this peculiarity belongs only to the feather harpoon. It is however of interest, that the existence of the feather harpoon is already proved at this early period and the author even adds the instructive information that the material of the feather may be either wood or whalebone.

¹) Illustrations of this angakoq-costume are found in Journ. Amer. Mus. vol. III (1903) Pl. I; Boas (1907) Pl. IX; Thalbitzer (1913) fig 15.

²) De Poincy (1658) pp. 201—202: "Encore que ces pauvres Barbares n'ayent pas beaucoup de police, ils ont neantmoins entre-eux des Roytelets & des Capitaines qui les gouvernent, & qui president en toutes leurs assemblés. Ils élèvent à ces dignitez ceus qui sont les mieus faits de corps, les meilleurs chasseurs, & les plus vaillans. Ils sont couverts de plus belles peaus, & de plus precieuses fourrures que leurs sujets, & pour marque de leur grandeur, ils portent une enseigne en forme de roze de broderie, laquelle est cousuë au devant de leur casaque, & lors qu'ils marchent ils sont toujours escortez de plusieurs jeunes hommes, qui sont armez d'arcs & de fléches, & qui executent fidelement tous leurs commandemens."

THE ROYAL PRIVATE-MUSEUM, which was for some time lodged at the Gottorp Castle, has been described by *Jacobæus* in his "Theatrum regium" (1696). In this description there is a list of the following Greenland objects¹): a kaiak, 10 paddles (with bone-mounting), several harpoons, two gut-skinskirts, boots ("calcei" i. e. kamiks) and a "frontale Groenlandicum ligneum et incurvum, ut fronti aptari possit, limbo osseo cinctum", by which is undoubtedly meant an eye-shade of wood, concave-shaped so that it fits to the brow, and surrounded by a bone rim. — Just before the chapter on the Greenlanders is seen a Lapland drum held by a shaman. The picture is surrounded by hunting-weapons resembling those of the Eskimo. The shaman holds the drum in his right hand and in his left has a drumstick of bone with a forked head; in the text the shape thereof is compared with a T but a Y would have been just as near. The same instrument is also found in Pfaff's collection from West Greenland in Stockholm Riksmuseum but in the inventory is explained as an apparatus used by the female angakoq (*qilaleq*) for lifting the head of a sick person. The Lapland collection of the same museum contains several specimens of this kind of shaman "drumsticks." It is very interesting to meet with the same implement among the Greenland Eskimo, but this is only in agreement with the connection in culture which may evidently be traced along several other lines between the Eskimo and the Finnish-Samoyed peoples in Siberia.

THE ESKIMO ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE DAVIS STRAITS were in reality discovered earlier than the Greenland Eskimo, but *Johannes de Laet* (1643) was the first to prove that the natives of the two opposite regions belonged to the same race²).

The first Europeans landing on this coast were, as already known, the Norwegian settlers of Iceland and Greenland, first Leifr hinn heppni ('the lucky'), son of Greenland's discoverer Eirekr hinn raudi ('the red'), later *Thorfinn Karlsefni* who from 1003 to 1005 made a great expedition to the newly discovered lands in the west and like many later explorers brought some of the natives back with him to his native country as prisoners. These prisoners — two boys of the Skræling-people — in all probability came from the north-east coast of Newfoundland and spoke Eskimo, to judge from the 4 words of their language preserved by the Icelandic tradition and noted down in the Eireks-saga³). As far as we are able to see from the historic sources these two children were in reality the first Eskimo seen in Greenland, and it is very curious that they should just come to the same land where the first Icelandic settlers had only found the objects (boats, implements etc.) left along the coast by the Skrælings, but had not seen the people itself. After the transference to Greenland the captured children are said to have stayed for some time on Eirekr's farm in the Eystribygð where they are said to have learnt to talk a little Icelandic.

From Thorfinn's expedition we hear for the first time of the house and skin-boats of the Eskimo Skrælings. That their winter-houses, to the eyes of the Icelanders, looked like underground dwellings is not to be wondered at.

¹) Jacobæus (1696) p. 54, (written in Latin).

²) De Laet (1643). — Charlevoix was not the first who set forth this hypothesis (1744) p. 179: "Pour moi je suis persuadé qu'ils sont originaire du Groenland" (with regard to the Eskimo of the Saint Lawrence River).

³) The opinions as to the nationality of the Skrælings have differed but the above-mentioned samples of their language prove that they were Eskimo, as pointed out by me (1905, cf. 1912).

Later the French emigrants got the same impression¹). The house-passage has undoubtedly been under the ground (as in the houses of the Alaskan Eskimo) and the houses themselves have been dug into the ground so that they were half underground (not uncommon in Greenland).

It is very peculiar that the Icelanders spoke of the "kings" of the Skrælings. The existence of such, however, is apparently confirmed by later authors in their descriptions of the Eskimo near the Davis Straits, first in Frobisher (1576)²), later in James Hall (in Greenland 1606) and de Poincy (1657 on Baffin Land?)³). I feel inclined to consider this as due to misunderstanding of the language and gesture of the natives⁴), only de Poincy's more correct description is a little more convincing, whether it applies to the angakut or the leading hunters.

After the Icelanders the first rediscoverer of the regions round the Saint Lawrence Gulf (Labrador, Newfoundland etc.) was the Genoese *Giovanni Cabotto* anglicized under the name of *John Cabot*. The report of his journey (1497)⁵) contains the first brief description of the Micmac Indians, perhaps also including the southernmost Eskimo. Here it is.

"The inhabitants of this Island [Prima Vista or St. John] use to wear beasts skinnés, and have them in as great estimation as we have our finest garments. In their warres they use bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings (arcu, sagittis, hastis, spiculis, clavis ligneis & fundis). The soile is barren in some places & yeeldeth little fruit, but is full of white beares, and stagges farre greater then ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons; there are soles also above a yard in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Savages call baccalaos etc." ⁶) — Cabot "declareth further that in many places of these regions he saw great plentie of copper among the inhabitants" ⁷). In Robert Fabian's Chronicle we further read concerning the same voyage of Cabot: "This yeere also were brought unto the king three men taken in the Newfound Island that before I spake of These were clothed in beasts skins & did eate raw flesh, and spake such speach that no man could understand them and in their demeanour like to bruite beastes etc." ⁸).

In *Charlevoix's* letters from the year 1721 we find a more complete description of the Eskimo of the same regions. In these days when V. Stefánsson has again raised the question about the "blond Eskimo" it is of interest to note that this ancient author emphasizes the fairness of the Eskimo near the Saint Lawrence River. This peculiarity naturally only applies to some of the individuals, not all.

"Il est presque le seul (peuple) où les Hommes ayent de la Barbe, & ils l'ont si épaisse jusqu'aux Yeux, qu'on a peine à découvrir quelques Traits de leur

1) Charlevoix (1744) [1721] p. 180 about the Eskimo of the Saint Lawrence Gulf: "L'hyver ils se logent sous terre dans des espèces de Grottes, ou ils sont tous les uns sur les autres." Likewise in the Relation des Jésuites (1659), p. 9.

2) Frobisher, on his second voyage. Hakluyt (1904) p. 222.

3) See the citation from de Poincy p. 684.

4) Thalbitzer (1912) pp. 6—7.

5) Cabot's journey in Hakluyt (1904) vol. VII, p. 145—146. — With regard to the early visits of the Basques who came to these waters to carry on the whale-fishery I refer to my remarks on p. 487.

6) Baccalaos (a latin word) is according to the report of Peter Martyr of Angleria (Hakluyt, l. c. p. 152) a fish "much like unto tunies" [tunnies]?

7) Peter Martyr, in Hakluyt (1904) VII,

8) Robert Fabian, l. c. p. 150, p. 155.

Visage. Ils ont d'ailleurs je ne sçai quoi d'affreux dans l'Air, de petits Yeux effarés, des Dents larges & fort sales, des Cheveux ordinairement noirs, quelquefois blonds, fort en désordre, & tout l'extérieur fort brute. Leurs Mœurs & leur Caractere ne démentent point cette mauvaise physionomie"..... "Ils ont la Peau du Corps aussi blanche que nous, ce qui vient sans doute de ce qu'ils ne vont jamais nus quelque chaud qu'il fasse..... Leurs Cheveux blonds, leurs Barbes, la blancheur de leur Peau, le peu de ressemblance & de commerce qu'ils ont avec leurs plus proches Voisins, ne laissent aucun lieu de douter qu'ils n'ayent une origine différente de celle des autres Américains; mais l'opinion, qui les fait descendre des Basques, me paroît peu fondée, surtout s'il est vrai, comme on me l'a assuré qu'il n'y a aucun rapport entre les Langues des uns & des autres"..... "Leurs Fleches qui sont les seules Armes, dont ils ayent l'usage, sont armées de pointes faites de Dents de Vaches Marines, & ils y ajoutent encore du Fer quand ils en peuvent avoir".¹⁾

It is fitting in this connection to cite also the *Relation des Jésuites* from the first half of the 17th century. Here we read under the year of 1611: "Toute ceste nouvelle France est diuisée en diuers peuples; chaque peuple a sa langue et sa contrée à part. Ils s'assemblent l'esté pour troquer avec nous, principalement en la grande riuère [St. Laurent] Ils troquent leurs peaux de Castors, de Loutres, d'Eslans, de Martres, de Loups-marins etc. Quelques peuples ont maintenant une implacable guerre contre nous, comme les Excomminguois qui habitent au costé boreal du grand golfe S. Laurens et nous font de grands maux. Ceste guerre a commencé, comme l'on dit, à l'occasion de certains Basques qui voulurent faire un meschant rapt..."²⁾ — Under the year of 1658: "Le 11. [Aoust] parut la barque de M. Bourdon lequel estant descendu sur le grand Fleuve du costé du Nord, vogua iusques au 55. degré, où il rencontra un grand banc de glaces qui le fit remonter, aiant perdu deux Hurons qu'il auoit pris pour guides. Les Esquimaux Sauuages du Nord les massacrerent, et blesserent un François de trois coups de fleches et d'un coup de cousteau". — Under the year of 1659: "Il y a deux ans que les Sauuages de ces costes furent en guerre contre les Esquimaux: c'est une Nation la plus Orientale et la plus Septentrionale de la Nouvelle-France, par les 52. degrez de latitude, et les 330. de longitude. C'est merueille comme ces mariniers Sauuages naviguent si loin avec de petites chaloupes de petits canots qui sont surprenans pour leurs structure et pour leur vitesse; ils ne sont pas faits d'écorce, comme ceux des Algonquins, mais de peau de loups-marins etc."..... "Le fer qu'ils trouuent auprès des échaffaux des pescheurs de moluë, leur sert à faire des fers de fleches, et des coustreaux, et de tranches"³⁾.

One of *Charlevoix's* first letters contains a report of Donnacona (from Jacques Cartier's journey 1536?). The Eskimo therein tell about a distant country where there lived "people without anus who did not eat but only drank" (a strange coincidence to a similar tradition among the Ammassalikers about a mythic northern people without anus) and about another country where the people have only one leg (this is a peculiar coincidence to the Icelandic Saga about the Einfoetingaland i. e. 'the land of the one-legged people'). "The tale about the latter has recently been revived, says Charlevoix⁴⁾, by a young female Eskimo slave who was captured in 1717 and taken to Mr. de Courtemanche on the coast of Labrador where she was still staying in 1720 when I arrived at Quebec. She said that among her countrymen there lived a people with

¹⁾ Charlevoix (1744) pp. 178—180.

²⁾ Relation des Jésuites [1611] (1858) pp. 7—8.

³⁾ Ibid. [1658] p. 9; [1659] pp. 8—9. Cf. also [1640] p. 34.

⁴⁾ Charlevoix (1744) vol. I. p. 17.

only one leg, one thigh, one large foot, two hands on the same arm, flat head, small eyes, hardly any nose and a very small mouth, always in low-spirits (melancholy?), that they were able to keep under the water for about an hour at a time and that the Eskimo used them for fishing up fragments from the ships that had been wrecked on the coast". — I am of opinion that in this description two mythic figures have been mixed together, one being the Eskimo mythic figure *ILLokoq* or *ILLuinnaq* 'the longitudinally split person', the other the type of the *Innersuit* 'the fire-people' who live on the rocks close to the beach and are described as noseless¹).

The same Eskimo woman told further that on the northernmost parts of Labrador there lived a hostile, foreign people, whose external appearance is further described and who as she told "were badly armed, as they had only knives and axes of stone and not of iron but were feared by the Eskimo; they used snowshoes (raquettes) which also were not in use among her countrymen²)". It is a riddle to which race or nation this foreign people in the Northern Labrador has really belonged. If we only consider this old description we might quite as well deem it to be another Eskimo tribe than for example belonging to the Indians; for in contrast to the Greenland Eskimo the western Eskimo tribes use snowshoes, like the Indians living in the interior of Labrador. The story of the woman about this mythical foreign people gains however in interest thereby that also from later reports and from different places we hear of a people who once lived in the northernmost part of Labrador or near the Hudson Straits and who were at enmity with the Eskimo. Both the eastern and southern Labrador Eskimo have till recent times preserved traditions of such a foreign and hostile northern people differing from themselves in physical as well as cultural respects. It is quite possible that already Nic. Tunes' description in de Poincy contains a renewed observation of the same kind, for he speaks of having met with two kinds of people among the Eskimo (in Baffin Land?). But this question at any rate presents itself more clearly in the records, which Rink received 200 years later from Labrador through the resident missionaries³). In the tales recorded by him from the Labrador Eskimo in ca. 1860 we hear of some old-time fights that have taken place between these and a foreign people, whom they called *Tunnit* and who lived first in the same country as the first-named, later further north in large stone-houses of a different structure from their own; the ruins of these houses consisting of immense stones were said to be still visible here and there in their land, especially on the islands along the coast. Several features agree with the old report in Charlevoix (of whom it is undoubtedly independent) and new features are also given: "While Tunnit lived among us, their bed-clothes consisted of seal-skin with the blubber still attached [probably a scornful expression about the badly prepared skins of this people] and their clothes were made of the same material. Their hunting weapons were made of slate and hornstone and their drilling apparatus of crystal. They were very strong and awe-inspiring. The Eskimo used to make holes in their brows whilst still in the living state"⁴). — The Tunnit population were driven away

¹) See about these in Rink (1871) pp. 188, 189 and 191; and in Holm here pp. 82—83.

²) Charlevoix (1744) p. 17.

³) Rink (1860) p. 322; (1866) pp. 328 and 367; (1877) pp. 469—470.

⁴) This cruelty or ceremony is recorded from other places in the reports about this foreign people e. g. in the Baffin people's tale about *Tornit* though however with the variation, that it was the Tornit themselves who used to cure a headache by making holes in the skull of the sick person "so that blood and matter came out". (Boas, 1901, p. 209—210). In the Ammassalik myth about Inurudsiak this person also makes a hole in the Erkilik's head (here p. 267).

from the northern part of Labrador by the Eskimo and by boat crossed over from the mainland to Killineq (i. e. Cape Chudleigh near the southern corner of the entrance to the Hudson Straits leading into Hudson Bay). The Labrador Eskimo reporting this tradition considered Tunnit as identical with the inhabitants of Greenland. The name is evidently only another form of the Greenland *Tornit*, a foreign tribe or people in the inland about whom the Greenlanders have many legendary tales.

The Eskimo of both Labrador and Greenland have thus had their traditions about this people, first heard of from Labrador where ruins of their stone houses have been observed. The above-mentioned report from Labrador reminds us of the one sent 100 years earlier to Cranz from the first missionaries arriving at Newfoundland and the southern Labrador. But according to him the hostile people once living north of the Labrador Eskimo were called *Karaalit* and were perhaps identical with the Greenlanders. As the name *Karaalit* is the same as the one the southern Eskimo in West Greenland use about themselves, adding that it was the Icelandic colonists of the middle ages who gave them this name, there seems to be some historic connection between the emigrated people in North Labrador and the Eskimo immigrating into South Greenland¹). If the name really originates from the Icelanders, we might perhaps explain why the Labrador people knew it in the following way, that in the middle ages it was brought to Labrador by the Icelanders and used about the Eskimo tribe called *Tunnit* (*Tornit*) by the other Eskimo. The Icelanders had undoubtedly from the days of Leif and Thorfinn Karlsefni constant (though often interrupted) oversea connection with these regions, fetched furs and timber and had their summer houses (*búðir*) over there, the same as was the case in the northern fjords of West Greenland. About this the Icelandic annals contain some, though unfortunately too little information. But as already mentioned here, the Labrador reports contain not a few indications that foreign people have lived in their neighbourhood, who must either be considered as Eskimo of a different tribe or as Europeans²) or possibly as a mixed

¹) Cranz (1770) pp. 298—299. Cf. my remarks (1905) p. 206—208 about this information from Labrador and my conclusion cited here: "As pointed out in my book on the Eskimo languages (in "Meddelelser om Grønland" Vol. 31, 1904, pp. 183 229, cf. 232—237 and 263—264) there are certain phonetic similarities between the dialect of the West Greenlanders (especially in Central and South Greenland) and that of the Labrador Eskimo. These two Eskimo tribes are now distantly separated and into the interval between them a heterogeneous Eskimo tribe to which the Upernavik Eskimo in North Greenland also belong seems to have made its way. But that the present Greenland *Karaalit* before coming to Greenland have been closely related to the Labrador tribe now begins to be something more than a mere possibility, if it be true that the two tribes have had a common tribal name which the tribes living in the intervening countries (North Greenland and Baffin Land) do not acknowledge". I may add here, that the name *Karáleq* (sing.) is given as true Labrador word for a "Greenlander" in Erdman's Labrador vocabulary (from 1864) as also in the list of words found at the end of Bourquin's Labrador Grammar (1891, p. 378).

²) Rink remarks with regard to the Labrador traditions (1866, p. 367): "It is also inexplicable that Tunnit is described as a population driven away partly from the outer islands, partly further north, this being just the opposition to what was the case with the inland dwellers. Neither is it impossible that hereunder is concealed some misrepresented memories of a population of a European tribe which may have lived in America in olden times". In this connection I may mention the linguistic peculiarity that the common Greenland word for "another,

race of both, arisen through intermarriage between European (Icelandic) settlers and Eskimo (this explanation would be analogous to the theory that the Icelanders became merged into the natives of South Greenland after the connection with Europe had ceased). We can trace the disappearance or distribution of the foreign people in the traditions of distant Eskimo tribes. The Eskimo on Baffin Land and on the western side of Hudson Bay have traditions about the foreign people who are now called *Tornit*, now *Adlet* (i. e. *aLLät* 'foreigners'). In contrast to the Eskimo now living in these regions (Iglulik etc.) this people dwelt in stone-houses and have even also had dancing-houses. They are said not to understand how to prepare their skins for use and do not wear kamiks, they hunt on the inland lakes but do not know of the creeping-hunting of seals on the ice. They are very strong and quick runners and possess a special means for obtaining this faculty. They "howl like dogs" i. e. speak an unintelligible dialect or language. These and many other peculiarities have appeared extraordinary to the neighbouring Eskimo. I have extracted them here from the various small stories about conflicts between the two peoples, which have been collected from these regions and are found translated in Franz Boas¹). In some of the tales we also hear of Tornit's snow-houses which are of the same kind as those constantly used by the Eskimo living in these regions. The external appearance of the stone-houses mentioned is rather varying but it is probable that archæological investigations might throw some light on this question, which may also prove to be of importance for the understanding of the migrations of the Eskimo and other people. Stone-houses of a special kind unknown to the Eskimo of to-day are said to be found as far westwards as on the east coast of Victoria Island²).

We do not at present possess sufficient data to be able to appreciate the importance of the Eskimo traditions about the existence of a foreign population in northern Labrador and further westwards. The explanation of these traditions points in three different directions: the hostile people may have been either an Indian tribe which has made its way out to the sea, or European (Scandinavian) settlers, whose return journey has been cut off or who have settled down over there of their own free will, or finally it may have been another Eskimo tribe from western regions who had crossed the archipelago and not stopped till it reached the Davis Straits bringing with it the customs and habits of a more primitive culture. It is to be hoped that some time in the future new and sufficient data will be found to enable us to settle which of the three possibilities is the most probable³).

a foreigner" *alla* (Egede), *adla* (Fabricius), *avdla* (Kleinschmidt) does not occur now-a-days in Labrador as a pronominal word ("another, the other" is here *assia*, see Bourquin § 179) but that it is probably the same stem of the word which we find used in Labrador, on Baffin Land and near Smith Sound in restricted meaning as the name of the mythic people *Adlet*, (see Kroeber and Boas) who lived near the Hudson Straits (the Smith Sound Eskimo say "southwards"), and which means there "the foreign nation".

¹) Boas (1901) pp. 203—213, 315—316, 541—542 and 555.

²) According to information received from V. Stefánsson. Cf. his report in Harper's Monthly Magazine (1913): "My Quest in the Arctic."

³) A preliminary discussion of the tales referring to this question has been made by me in a recently published book on the legendary tales of the Greenlanders (1913) pp. 41—47 and 69—72.

ESKIMO AND NORSEMEN IN SOUTH GREENLAND

The history of the immigration of the Eskimo to Greenland and their meeting with the Icelandic colonists in the southern regions has often been discussed and has roused great interest because it stands in connection with the discovery of America and the North American archæology. Furthermore these immigrations have taken place in the marginal zone of humanity towards the north, where the human character and strength was put to the test under extreme climatic conditions. And this part of America lies closer to us than any other. If by archæological, historical and anthropological investigations we might succeed in dispersing some of the mist enshrouding the earliest approach of the Scandinavians to these regions much would be gained.

From the historical point of view we know from the Icelandic sources (*Ari hinn fróði*), that the first foreigners coming to Greenland from Iceland under Eiríkr the Red in the year 985 found Eskimo houses and implements "eastwards as well as westwards" in the southern West Greenland but met no living people¹). From the archæological investigations we know that what the Icelanders meant by east and west in reality was south-east and north-west on Greenland's west coast. Eiríkr settled down in Eiríksfjörð so called after him, which on the basis of archæological discoveries has been identified with certainty as the *TunuLLiarfík* Fjörð of the present Greenlanders at 61° N. Lat. just north of Julianehaab²). As the first European settlers in this region have thus evidently found distinct and numerous traces, that the Eskimo, in the Icelandic language called the *Skrælings*, had already previously wandered there, this means that a group of migrating Eskimo have already before 985 reached South Greenland, settled down there for a time and set off again, probably southwards along the coast. The *Skrælings* themselves were not seen by the Icelanders and seem on the whole not to have appeared on the parts of the coast which the Icelanders took possession of (*Eystribygð* and *Vestribygð*) and where they stayed during the first centuries after the period of settlement, otherwise their presence would have been mentioned in *Speculum reg.* or some other of the Norwegian-Icelandic primary sources. The expedition in 1266 going northwards along the west coast was the first to return with information that fresh traces of the *Skrælings* had been observed (cf. p. 487). Shortly after we hear from *Historia Norvegiæ* that the Icelanders in the northern or central Greenland have had sanguinary encounters with the *Skrælings*, "this people who instead of iron weapons used ivory points and stone-knives". Here in the north they thus met a later group of immigrant Eskimo, with whom they competed in hunting the animals of the sea and in the saving of drift-timber. More than 100 years passed ere this people reached down to the Icelandic's northernmost colony in *Vestribygð*, in all probability tempted by the increasing quantity of game, especially of reindeer, possibly also by the Icelandic's iron or other objects of use or luxury from Europe.

But at the same time the east coast and the islands lying nearest to Cape Farvel have probably been inhabited by Eskimo, possibly the descendants of the same tribe the traces of which had been observed by Eiríkr the Red somewhat further north on the west coast. I think it most probable that the two Icelandic colonies during the whole period of settlement have in reality been surrounded by Eskimo both northwards and southwards, though however in the first century without knowing anything of them. Between the northern and southern (eastern) group of Eskimo there has been no connection.

¹) Here and in the following I partly build on my previous account of "Data about the East Eskimo" (1904) pp. 15—48.

²) Finnur Jónsson (1899) p. 284.

The Icelandic-Norwegian sources give somewhat meagre information about the history of the two Greenland colonies of Icelanders¹). The two small communities of farms and churches lay at a great distance from each other on either side of the mighty Frederikshaab ice-blink²) (at 62°35' N. Lat.). The distance between them was about four degrees of latitude, cut through by fjords like the districts where the colonies were founded, but for some reason or other all this long tract of land has not been made use of or taken into possession by the Icelanders. On the whole it is remarkable how the Icelanders seem at once to have found the two best places of South Greenland for the establishment of their colonies. One would think that such a correct selection of land, confirmed by their retention of it during the whole history of their existence, would have necessitated a very thorough examination of the whole tract of coast in question between 60° and 65° and all the fjords there, for seen at a distance from the sea it is impossible to judge of the value of the land. But whatever the reason may have been — perhaps it was only the natural feeling of union — the settlers have wanted to live close to each other so that they could be in touch with each other and meet in the churches or *á þingi* (in court). They concentrated in the two largest and most fertile fjord-districts where they were able to continue their Icelandic mode of living. But in reality it was only a small area, a mere fraction of the immense Greenland coast they thus took possession of. They kept to the inner part of the fjords and did not build on the outer land or on the broad borders of the islands or the outer rocks. This coastal land has therefore been all the more open to the immigrating Eskimo when at last they ventured down in the direction of the adjacent, good hunting districts. I do not believe however, that the Eskimo during the first centuries of the Iceland colonization have inhabited the considerable parts of the country lying between the colonies, or the islands nearest to north and south, for our dated Icelandic sources know absolutely nothing of the Skrælings in Greenland during this period. Neither the report of 1266 nor *Speculum regale*, *Historia Norwegiae* or *Ivarr Bárðarson* mention by a word that the Skrælings lived within the region of the colonies, in spite of the fact that the Icelandic sources otherwise with great care, almost with curiosity, seek for traces of the Skrælings found in the country.

But, on the other hand, it is quite probable that when for the first time the Icelandic annals inform us of an attack of the Skrælings on the Icelanders in Greenland in the year 1379, the Skrælings may already for some time have lived in the immediate neighbourhood of one of the colonies, and that the relations between the two nations have not from the beginning been hostile; there have been short periods of peaceful intercourse between them. They have perhaps even at some time been of use to each other by exchanging merchandise. Already about the year 1000 the Greenland Icelanders had met with the first Skrælings on the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador (Markland and Helluland) and had been trading with them and this connection with the races on the other side of the sea has probably been of greater importance during the following centuries than may be judged from the Scandinavian sagas and annals. This is evident not only from the scattered information of the Icelandic annals about ships that have been in Markland or sought this place (Biskop Eiríkr

¹) The history of the Iceland colonies in Greenland has been written by F. Jónsson (1893) having mostly reference to the Icelanders themselves. The relations between these and the Skrælings (the Eskimo) have been specially dealt with by me in the just mentioned paper (1904).

²) An arm of the inland-ice protruding out into the sea, from which at short intervals icebergs are loosened.

Upsi in 1121, others in 1285, 1289 and last time in 1347), but also from the general knowledge in those times about the Skrælings in those regions¹⁾ and from the skins brought to Bergen by ships that came from Greenland; these were skins of animals not found in Greenland but which have been indigenous in the regions of the Skrælings in America and must have been brought away from there by trading vessels²⁾. Since the Icelanders on the American side had early learnt to look upon the Skrælings as a people with whom they could trade, it is only natural that they have approached them for the same purpose in Greenland when they met them there. But over there we can hardly talk of commercial intercourse of old date, for this would undoubtedly have been more prominent in the Eskimo culture than has been the case as far as we can see. Hitherto there has been found practically no object of true Eskimo origin in the ruins of the Icelandic farms in South Greenland, or the reverse, namely Icelandic objects in the Eskimo ruins. A comprehensive archæological investigation of these things has not been made as yet, but would possibly give us quite a different impression³⁾. From the Eskimo's own traditions we hear that before

¹⁾ As an example I may recall the old manuscript Gripla speaking of Helluland (Labrador) as "*Skrælingjaland*", the land of the Skrælings and of the following, later description of the geography of this country, mentioned in connection therewith. "West of the large sea off Spain which separates the lands, by some people called Ginnúngagap [the Atlantic] we have in the direction from south to north: first Vinland the good, then Markland, and further north desolate regions only inhabited by Skrælings [Eskimo in Helluland], then come other uninhabited regions reaching as far as Greenland [coasts of Baffin's Bay] but in Greenland there are two settlements *Vestrbyggð* and *Austrbyggð*, then come gulfs, glaciers and uninhabited regions extending so far towards the east that they almost lie right opposite Helgeland [in Norway]." Grønl. histor. Mindesmærker III, pp. 222—227 (cf. also p. 461, end of footnote). Antiquitates Americanæ pp. 295—296.

²⁾ From Bishop Erik Walkendorff's writings, collected in Throndhjem about the year 1516, we get the following information. "In Greenland they deal in the following wares: sable, ermine, white falcons, seal and whale blubber, walrus-teeth . . . , fish and salmon, elk-skin and all sorts of skins of lynx, fox, wolf and glutton". In copies of this list are also given: "beaver, seal-skin, walrus-skin, unicorn-horn (i. e. narwhal) reindeer-skin, white and black bears, otters". (Grønl. histor. M. III, pp. 492—493). According to H. Winge, several of these animals did not occur in Greenland (sable, elk, lynx, glutton, beaver, black bear, otter, ermine (?), wolf(?)), but the skins may have come from America by way of Greenland and in this connection he recalls the saga about Thorfinn Karlsefni's voyage from Greenland to Markland and Vinland (1007 to 1011) in which it is written that the Skrælings over there sold "gray fur, sable and all kinds of skin-wares" to the Icelanders, who later on (in 1013) took them to Norway together with other American products. Winge (1902) pp. 322—323. — I may mention, that Hans Egede already expressed his astonishment at the old reports about these kinds of "Greenland" skins which he knew were not found in Greenland. (H. Egede, 1741, p. 34).

³⁾ A number of Icelandic antiquities from Greenland have been brought home by G. Holm, D. Bruun and previous collectors and are kept in the Danish National Museum (2nd Department). Illustrations and descriptions thereof are found in Grønl. histor. Mindesmærker (Worsaae), pp. 835—844, Pl. I, IX, X; Meddelelser om Grønland vol. VI (1894) pp. 57—146 (especially 138—143) and vol. XVI (1896) pp. 171—461; Annaler for nord. Oldkyndighed (1838—39). A polished wedge or celt of red jasper found near Kagsiarsuk in Igalikofjord, Medd. om Grønl. VI, p. 141 is supposed to be of Eskimo origin. The great number of spindle whorls naturally indicates, that the Norsemen in Greenland have wrought their wool themselves.

hostilities broke out and probably at different settlements there existed a kind of comradeship between single individuals of the two races.

The Icelanders came over to Greenland as farmers with their sheep, oxen, goats, dogs, and horses¹⁾ and in the Greenland fjords took up the same mode of living as in their native country, but were naturally obliged to accommodate themselves to the special, natural conditions of the country²⁾. We both read in their sagas and see from their refuse-heaps that — in contrast to what their life on Iceland led them to do — they also besides their breeding of cattle carried on extensive seal-fisheries (seal, porpoise, walrus) partly in the fjords near the settlements partly far up in the north on the coast north of 66° N. lat. in summer. In Björn Jónsson's copy of Hauksbók (ca. 1320) we read³⁾: All the important peasants of Greenland had large ships and sloops built for fishing expeditions to the northern settlements, provided with all kinds of fishing gear and wrought pieces of timber, sometimes the owners themselves were on board up there they used to make seal-tar⁴⁾, for all the seal-fishing was on a larger scale than at home; melted seal-blubber was poured into "skinboats" (boat-shaped bags) that were hung against the wind in isolated drying-houses till the blubber congealed; later on it was prepared for some special use. These so called *Norðr-setumenn* ("people from the northern residences or from the north season"⁵⁾) had their stalls or huts partly in *Greipar* partly in *Króksfjarðarheiði*. Up there drift timber occurred but no growing trees".

This short description of the seal-fishery of the Icelanders in Greenland is about all that we know of this side of their life. The historical sources and archæological collections do not give us any accurate information of the ways in which they hunted the animals of the sea, only at a single place seal-harpoons have been mentioned⁶⁾. The collections from the Icelandic house-ruins in Greenland give ample evidence about their breeding of cattle and domestic industries but contain till now no remains of boats, weapons or hunting implements. —

The disappearance of the colonies of the Norsemen during the time when the connection with Greenland had been interrupted is only indirectly indicated,

¹⁾ Bruun (1895) pp. 434—437; Winge (1902) p. 322.

²⁾ The number of the Norse farms in South Greenland is mentioned in an old Icelandic manuscript to have been 190 farms in Eystribygð, 90 in Vestribygð. "*Garðar* was the name of the bishop's seat in the interior of the Eiríksfjord; there is a church consecrated to Saint Nicolaus. There are 12 churches in Eystribygð, 4 in Vestribygð". See Grönl. histor. Mindesmærker III, pp. 224—225 and 228—229.

³⁾ Grönl. histor. Mindesmærker. vol. III, pp. 234—243. Cf. F. Jónsson, Oldisl. Literaturhistorie (1898) vol. II, p. 594.

⁴⁾ Seal-tar was mostly used for coating the ships in order to make them watertight and protect them against worms gnawing through the wood.

⁵⁾ This fishing-time of theirs at Greipar and Króksfjarðarheiði is sometimes called their "*norðrseta*". G. h. M. pp. 244—245.

⁶⁾ In Fostbræðra saga we have the following description of a meeting between countrymen at the place of the judicial assembly near Garðar in Einarsfjord: "The Greenlanders [Icelandic colonists in Greenland] always used to have their implements for hunting and fishing onboard their ships. When Thorgrim's ship arrived the people went down to the beach to see his and his company's splendour and supply of weapons. Thormod was also present. He took up a seal-harpoon which had been thrown on land and looked at it, but one of Thorgrim's companions seized the harpoon and said: "Let go, man, it is of no use for you to keep it in the hand and in my opinion you do not much understand its use in hunting".

not described. They had other things to think about in Scandinavia and therefore Greenland was not heard of. To begin with the destruction was caused by certain differences in the political conditions of the Scandinavian countries. King Hákon Hákonsson the Old of Norway (1217—1263) conquered the Icelanders and Greenlanders, though however not without resistance and only after 14 or 15 years. Bishop Óláfr who was consecrated bishop in Greenland in the year 1246 was charged by the king with proclaiming to the Greenlanders that they had to submit to his government and would have to pay certain taxes. But it was not until the year 1261 that there arrived in Norway three representatives from the Greenlanders, probably the best men of the country, with the information that the Greenlanders would surrender to the king and bind themselves to pay taxes and fines to him for all homicide "whether it was Norwegians or Greenlanders that were killed and whether this happened in the settlement or in the northern summer residences (*Norðrseta*) as far as up under the North Star"¹. This unaccustomed burden naturally caused discontent in the country. During the reign of the following king therefore we hear that the Greenlanders rebelled against the Norwegian supremacy in ca. 1270; and in 1272 the Greenland bishop Óláfr asked for soldiers for a renewed suppression of the Greenlanders and collection of taxes. From a somewhat uncertain source we hear that King Magnus' Danish brother-in-law King Erik Glipping fitted out a fleet, which in 1273 was sent to Greenland to collect taxes and suppress the obstinate people². When Iceland in 1280 obtained a new code of laws (*Jónsbók*) this was also introduced the next year into Greenland. In the 14th century Greenland was divided into districts and had its upper legislative and judicial assembly (*alþingi*) as in Iceland³.

Thus Greenland had become one of Norway's tax-paying countries (*skattlönd*) in the same way as Iceland and the southern islands. No other ships but those of the Norwegian king must navigate the coasts and bring wares back therefrom⁴. Without the royal passport with the permission contained therein no ship was allowed to come to Greenland. Besides the royal taxes the merchantmen sailing between Greenland and Norway had also to pay other heavy taxes during their stay in Norway, namely tithes to the clergy, an arrangement constantly causing disagreement between the Greenland merchants and the bishops of Bergen and Trondhjem⁵). No wonder that the trade with Greenland altogether declined at last. But there were other conditions causing a decrease of trade and the position of the country to be forgotten. This was the great plague raging in Norway in 1349 especially in Bergen, the main seat of the Greenland trade. And it helped but little, that the merchants of Bergen in 1361 were allowed to sail to the tax-paying countries of Norway, as e. g. Greenland, for in 1393 Bergen was attacked and plundered by King Albrecht's German friends and the trade was ruined for a long time⁶).

I may cite here an example of the difficulties connected with the trade of Greenland and which gradually checked the thriving of the two colonies of Norsemen there; this example is also instructive in other respects. It is Björn Einarsson's stay in Greenland I refer to.

¹) Greenl. histor. Mindesm., vol. II, pp. 776—779.

²) l. c. vol. III. pp. 453—457.

³) l. c. ibid pp. 457—459 cf. p. 440 and I, p. 121. On Iceland and Greenland a *sýsla* was a judicial district the head of which (*sýslumaðr*) was officer of justice and judge and also collected the public revenues.

⁴) Grønl. hist. Mindesm. III, pp. 130—142.

⁵) l. c. Grønl. hist Mindesm. III, pp. 103—111.

⁶) l. c. pp. 36—39, 136.

Björn Einarsson Jorsalafari from Vatnsfjord on Iceland had made many journeys in Europe¹); he had just for the third time been in Rome and from there visited Jerusalem, when in 1385 on the return journey he was by a storm driven up to the east coast of Greenland "where he landed on the Gunnbjörn islands lying north-west off the mouth of Ísafjord". We do not know the exact position of the said islands or rocks but it is not at all strange that the Icelanders in olden as well as more recent times have sometimes been near this coast and have even landed over there. In Björn's report we also read²) that he observed that the islands were populated; and it even looks as if he has sent some of his companions on shore to spy, but he dared not risk leaving the ship himself to gain confirmation of what his companions had seen. When they went in search of food they witnessed a fight between a polar bear and a walrus, which they succeeded in capturing³). Björn escaped to the Greenland west coast and reached into Eiríksfjord where he was forced by the ice to stay for two years. Here he was well received by his kinsmen being known as one of the richest and most respected peasants in Iceland. The people charged him with the honourable task of judge and revenue officer (*sýslumaðr*) of the district of Eiríksfjord during the time he stayed there, for which during the first year he received a remuneration of 130 pair of legs of mutton. Further, he had the good luck that a large whale drifted on shore with a "shooting-mark" belonging to Óláfr from Ísafjord (on Iceland); his harpoon has probably stuck fast in the whale and according to the custom of the Icelanders has been provided with the mark of the owner. Björn received on behalf of his countryman the hunter's part of the killed whale and thus had provisions for himself and his companions. But in the last year it would undoubtedly have been difficult for him if he had not had the good fortune of saving two Skrælings ("trolls" they are called in Björn's report, as often later, meaning naturally Eskimo)⁴) a boy and a girl from drowning on a rock washed over by water at flood-tide⁵). From this time he was never in want of provisions, for the two Skrælings were very clever in catching all kinds of animals for him. Thus we see, that though the Icelandic annals inform us that the Skrælings in the year 1379 had made an attack on the Norsemen and killed a great many (undoubtedly in Eystribygð, for Vestribygð had already previously been abandoned by the Norsemen) they had not been driven away but were met with some six or seven years later in the neighbourhood of Eiríksfjord. So friendly were the prevailing conditions that the foreign Icelfander coming to this place could take them into his service and bind them to him. The Skræling girl became a nurse to the baby of Björn and his wife Solveig and (how like the Eskimo girl of to-day!) she just wanted to have a head-dress resembling that of her mistress, and sewed one together of the gutskin of whales as she could not get cloth or linen for it. This is probably the first information we have from Greenland about European influence on the Eskimo.

From Greenland Björn at last in 1387 reached back to Iceland and next year he started for Bergen in Norway where he and his companions were accused

¹) Björn's book of travels consisting of his own hand-written diary still existed in Iceland towards the middle of the 16th century; further his travels are mentioned in the annals and diplomas of the middle ages. See Grönl. hist. Mindesm. vol. I, pp. 112—114. ²) l. c. vol. I, pp. 110—122.

³) This realistic feature has been doubted by Nansen (1911) p. 373, but also members of the Hansa Expedition witnessed such a fight in the ice current on 63°. See Winge (1902) p. 420. ⁴) Grönl. hist. Mindesmærker III, p. 460.

⁵) l. c. I, pp. 485—441. I have previously cited the whole piece about these "trolls", see (1904) pp. 28—29.

by the town council of having carried on unlawful trade in Greenland, namely without the permission of the king and of having bought crown-land over there. The case ended however in their acquittal as they could swear that they had resorted to Greenland in great distress and danger of life after having been wrecked in the sea-ice and not for trading purposes¹).

About the last fate of Vestribygð (?) we have only some late and isolated information, about the reading of which there may be different opinions. It is contained in a latin manuscript, being a translation of a writing set down in the Icelandic language in the year 1637 by bishop Gisle Oddson of Skalholt. "In 1342 the inhabitants of Greenland of their own accord gave up the true faith and Christian religion and after having laid aside all good customs and true virtues turned towards the people of America; some are namely of opinion that Greenland lies quite close to the western borders of the world. This was the reason why the Christian people began to give up the navigation of Greenland²)." If this information is true about Vestribygð, it agrees fairly well with Ivarr Bárðarson's experiences from his exploring expedition to this place one or a few years later. He found, namely, the settlement deserted of human beings and only some loose cattle and sheep were roaming about. His information is so scanty, however, that one gets the impression that his investigation has been very superficial (pp. 703—704). The Eskimo's own report about their first meeting with the Norsemen in the bottom of Godthaabsfjord almost leaves a more reliable impression (pp. 701—702). If at last they have killed a number or even all of the Norsemen in this settlement, it is only natural that for a long time they have kept away from these places in fear of the vengeance of the living or dead. From the above-cited report we might suspect that the end has been different, wherein death and slaughter have played no part, yet the terms thereof are so doubtful and uncertain that we can draw no conclusions of any importance to history. —

In my opinion Eystribygð was attacked by Eskimo coming from the south and these in the course of time went northwards filling up the empty space between the two settlements right up to Vestribygð, the present Godthaabsfjord. These were Greenlanders of the *i*-dialect, the same tribe that on the other side reached round the southern point of the land and up on the east coast to Ammassalik (cf. p. 701)³).

This hypothesis is not opposed to the Icelandic traditions; on the contrary, it agrees with Flóamannasaga's unconfirmable but very credible statement, that Eskimo lived on the east coast of Greenland about the year 1000⁴) and with

¹) l. c. III, p. 135—142,

²) The writing is called: "Annalium in Islandia farrago, hinc inde descripta" and contains an extract or summary of various and trustworthy sources made in 1637 at the bishop's seat at Skalholt (Iceland). The first part of the paragraph runs as follows: Anno 1342 Groenlandiæ incolæ a vera fide et religione christiana sponte sua defecerunt, et repudiatis omnibus honestis moribus et veris virtutibus ad Americæ populos se converterunt; existimant enim quidam Groenlandiam adeo vicinam esse occidentalibus orbis regionibus etc.". Grønl. histor. Mindesm., III, pp. 459—464. — "ad Americæ populos se converterunt" may mean "they went (immigrated) to the peoples of America" but may also (and which is more likely), be interpreted here as "were converted to paganism". The following sentence "some are namely of opinion etc." is probably the explanation of the transcriber, influenced by the added knowledge of later times.

³) Cf. also Schultz-Lorentzen (1904) pp. 302—306. Thalbitzer (1904) pp. 196—197, 202.

⁴) Bjørnbo (1912) pp. 9—10; Solberg (1907) p. 56. The first evidently has more faith in the saga reported than the latter. In my opinion several of the myste

Ari fróði's information to the effect that the Eskimo had already roamed about in South Greenland at the time when the *landnam* took place. I imagine that the southernmost Eskimo, that have immigrated before the Icelanders, have been staying on the east coast during the first period of the Scandinavian colonization and have therefore remained unknown until they began to appear on the islands and in the fjords of the southern West Greenland, attracted by the memories of the old hunting districts that had been abandoned over there by their ancestors¹. After some time of peaceful intercourse with the foreign people strife and fights arose. In the 15th century the Eskimo felt their superiority and at last carried out a planned attack on the scattered families of the decayed colonies of the remaining Norsemen²). But in spite of such events, that have happened sporadically both before and since, there may have existed a fairly close connection between the two people. The Icelandic may probably have taken possession of his Eskimo-girl as has certainly later been the custom of the European sailors, and he has had the advantage of being able to keep her on his farm. From the historical tales of the Greenland Eskimo it is evident that the foreigners (the *QaLLunaait*) have sometimes carried off the Eskimo women³. From the mixed marriages of later times a new race has arisen, though however very small in number; later on the true natives of the country, who for a time were suppressed, have triumphed and the few individuals of a mixed race have become merged in the pure Eskimo population which immigrated in constantly increasing numbers. Any visible sign of a foreign mixture had disappeared a century later; Davis and later explorers up to Hans Egede at any rate did not discover a sign of white blood in the natives on this coast. But a mere superficial impression of the external appearance of the people is naturally of hardly any consequence for the science. —

Besides the Icelandic sources we have the Eskimo traditions about the meeting with the Icelanders in the middle ages and the pursuit of the last

rious incidents mentioned in Thorgil's journey along the east coast are very likely only the half-effaced reminiscences of real experiences or meetings with the natives of this coast, showing that the southern part of it was inhabited by the Eskimo already at that time. See especially traits pointing to this on pp. 101, 107, 109 and 117 in the translation of the saga in Grönl. hist. Mindesmærker, vol. II.

- ¹) The hunting in South West Greenland has comprised for example reindeer which at that time occurred in quantities in the Julianehaab district according to Ívarr Bárðarson (see Winge 1902, p. 321), cf. the name *Hreinsey* "the reindeer-island because the reindeer are numerous there" (Ívarr B.), which is identified with the island Akia near the mouth of Julianehaabsfjord (F. Jónsson 1899 pp. 292 and 326); whereas the reindeer have now long been exterminated both here and on the east coast.
- ²) Sometimes also the reverse was the case, namely, when the Eskimo carried off a QaLLunaaq-woman, see Rink (1866), tale No. 70, pp. 207—209.
- ³) On the other hand, I do not understand why Solberg (1907) p. 56 is of opinion that the Eskimo colonization on the north-eastern coast of Greenland must necessarily stand in indirect connection with the destruction of the Scandinavian colony on the west coast, and that in agreement herewith he considers this colonization in the arctic north-east Greenland as an episode dating from the late middle-ages. This is certainly quite independent of these later events and has probably taken place much earlier. As pointed out by Nathorst (1900), Isachsen (1903) p. 151, Stolpe (1906) p. 105 and Steensby (1910) it is the Eskimo hunting of musk-oxen which has attracted them from the Canadian archipelago and eastwards north of Greenland right over to the East coast.

of them. In South Greenland the traditions have been transmitted verbally through three or four centuries before they were written down between 1800 and 1860 by various persons, Greenlanders and Danish officials. These reports are not fiction, for they agree with the historic and geographic conditions that are well-known to us. Read with due criticism the report about Ungortoq, the Eskimo name for one of the last Icelandic chiefs, may undoubtedly be used as our semi-historic source, an assertion I hope to be able to prove. It was first written down among the population round the present Julianehaabsfjord, called Einarsfjord in the middle ages, and tells how a deadly feud had arisen between Ungortoq who lived on the mainland and some Eskimo (Kalaallit) living on an island opposite, how the latter by stratagem attacked Ungortoq and his men at a place mentioned in the fjord and burnt part of the church in which they had sought refuge; only Ungortoq fled away with his little son on his arm, pursued by one of his enemies until he was caught far southwards and killed.

This event is undoubtedly one of the greatest national events in Greenland and it is quite natural that the memory thereof has still remained on the same coast where it took place and among the descendants of those taking part in it. It is my intention to indicate, if possible, where the event took place and where the Eskimo came from, for there is evidently some disagreement between the historic sources which say from the north and the Eskimo traditions which say from the south.

This report has been written down in various versions by different persons and at different places. I shall here mention the versions and at the same time the variants of the name of the principal person in each: **A** Arctander's record about *Igaliko*¹, **B** Pingel's report (1838) of various records from Greenland, namely, **B**₁ about *Ungertok* (or *Ungartok*)'s flight and murder, **B**₂ fragment of an Eskimo song about *Ungartók*, **B**₃ tale about *Olavik* (or *Olave*) in the *Igaliko* Fjord; **C** various tales written down by the natives at the request of Rink and published as parallel texts in Eskimo and in Danish translation, illustrated by a native of Greenland (1859—60), namely, **C**₁ "*Oungortoq*, the chief of the old Norsemen", narrated by a native of Julianehaab named Samek (baptized Jonathan), **C**₂ "the Greenlanders' first meeting with the old Norsemen" localized in the Ameralikfjord and dealing with *Oungortoq* and the maid *Navaranak*, **C**₃ "about the extinction of the old Norsemen" also taking place at Ameralik and dealing with *Oungortoq* and *Navaranak*, both of the latter versions have been related by the people near Kangek, a settlement near the mouth of the Godthaabsfjord. Finally, there is **D** Rink's edition of the Greenland tales (1860) among which No. 67 (**D**₁) deals with *Ungortoq* and *Kaissape* and No. 68 (**D**₂) with "Kaladlit's (Eskimo) first meeting with the old Kavdlunaks", thrown together by Rink on the basis of the writings of six of the natives, partly identical with the relaters of the **C**-versions. **D**₃ is another fragment of the song about *Ungertok*. Further Rink gives a few other tales about conflicts between the Norsemen (the Icelanders) and the Eskimo but it is easily seen that their historic importance is quite infinitesimal compared with the above-mentioned.

¹) **A** in "Samleren" vol. VI (Copenhagen 1793) pp. 1227—1229, and also cited in Graah (1832) pp. 45—46. **B** Pingel in "Annaler f. nord. Oldkyndighed" vol. I, (1838—39) pp. 237—243, namely **B**₁ (l. c. pp. 237—241); **B**₂ (p. 241); **B**₃ (p. 242); also partially cited in "Grønl. histor. Mindesmærker" vol. III (1845) pp. 820—821. **C** in *Kaladlit Okaluktualliait* (Grønlandske Folkesagn), edited in Godthaab in South Greenland (1859—60); **C**₁ in vol. I, pp. 1—30; **C**₂ in vol. II, pp. 1—21; **C**₃ in vol. I, pp. 58—69. **D** Rink, *Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn*, I (1866) with **D**₁ (Tale no. 67) and **D**₂ (no. 68); and l. c. II (1871) with **D**₃ (p. 148, no. 149).

— The different records mentioned here are however of greatly differing importance in regard to their historical genuineness. As to A it only gives an abstract in which most of the characteristic details are left out and contains besides some misunderstandings, especially the confusion of the name Igalikko¹⁾ instead of the name Ungortok (i. e. name of a place instead of name of a person). Like C₁, B₁ contains the record which probably comes nearest to the truth; these two versions agree quite well and each of them also contains interesting details; in both the scene is laid at Qaqortoq in the Julianehaabsfjord, from which place *Oongortoq* (this form of the name is preferable from a phonetic point of view) fled towards the south. B₃ only gives some supplementary information about Oongortoq's friend Olavik, with whom he sought refuge in the Igalikofjord but the description of the flight of the latter with his little son seems to have been erroneously referred by this variant to Olavik instead of Oongortoq. In C₂ and C₃ we have only a northern variety of the tale about Oongortoq localized in the Ameralikfjord lying in the same region where the narrator lived (Godthaabsfjord) and mixed with various other themes, as e. g. the tale about Navaranak (or *Navaranaaq*). The confusion is evidently due to this that both tales deal with hostilities among the two neighbouring peoples, the Eskimo and a foreign people, brought about by the treachery of a single young man or woman and causing the murder of women and children. In contrast to the tale about Oongortoq the one about Navaranaaq is known outside Greenland, namely, on Baffin Land, in Labrador and on the coasts of Hudson Bay. In these regions they do not speak of *QaLLunaait* (white men) in this connection but of a foreign inland people named *Tornit* or *ALLet* 'the foreigners'²⁾. We need not take it for granted (in order to explain the confusion and mixing of the tales) that these foreigners in Labrador have been a people resembling the *QaLLunaait* whom the Eskimo met with later in South Greenland; (it may have been so, but this resemblance would hardly have been preserved so distinct as to occasion a comparison to be made between two distant groups of *QaLLunaait* (or *ALLet*) after the course of several generations, perhaps several centuries); the similarity of the two episodes will do quite well for explaining the mixture of the two tales. It is of course not implied here that the two versions C₂ and C₃ do not contain some true features. — B₂ and D₃ contain variants of a song about Oongortoq (see p. 705) from the Julianehaabsfjord (60° 4' N. lat.) and from Arssuk (61° 13') respectively.

The first time we hear a little of the Eskimo's own traditions about the encounters between the old Norsemen and the Eskimo is in Poul Egede³⁾. It is only a fragment, namely, the same introduction with which B₁ begins: a kaiak-man rowing about for hunting purposes throws his dart after some birds and sees for the first time a "Kablunak" sitting on the beach. Kablunak (i. e. *QaLLunaaq*, a white man, Norseman) mocks the bad shot of the Eskimo and says: "I am an auk, try to hit me!" The Eskimo approached and hit him and

¹⁾ *Igalikko*, the name of the inner arm of the Julianehaabsfjord, according to Pingel (1838—39) p. 242, means "a country with cooking places that has been deserted", or "the remnants of a cooking-place or kitchen (place of the pots)". The name is extraordinary and proves that the Eskimo have come across something artificial, which they had not seen before (church bells?). According to the tradition the Eskimo in previous times called this arm of the fjord *Kangerdluluk*, probably originating from the time when the Norsemen were still living there.

²⁾ The variants of these tales are found partly in Rink partly in Boas. I have given a general survey thereof recently in my book (1913) pp. 40—45 and 69—72. Cf. here p. 690.

³⁾ P. Egede (1788) p. 81—82.

this was the beginning of the hostilities between the two people¹). No more is written about it in Egede.

It is in the text procured by Pingel that the names of the two Icelanders Oongortoq and Olavik are first mentioned and the whole episode, the breaking out of hostilities, the attack and burning by the Eskimo and Oongortoq's unhappy flight southwards is clearly set forth. Pingel and Rink's versions from the Julianehaab district where according to the texts (**B**₁₋₃, **C**₁, **D**₁), the events took place, contain in themselves so many features characteristic of Eskimo life²) but wanting in the northern texts from the Godthaab district and so great an accuracy in the description of the locality where the attack took place, and of Oongortoq's places of refuge during his flight southwards, that they at once appear the most trustworthy reports. The story of these texts, that some of the last Icelanders were burnt to death in their own houses (or in the church) near Qaqortoq agrees with the fact that the excavations in the Julianehaab (Qaqortoq) district have revealed coal (burnt wood) in and outside several of the Icelandic ruins³). In the case of the northern texts this archæological support is wanting, nor do they state the name of the place where Oongortoq was attacked but simply place the scene at the *Ameralik* (**C**₂) or *Kangersineq* fjords in the Godthaab district. The report has been localized here in the north evidently because it has been brought up here with the Eskimo coming from the south, who have been accustomed to imagine the event as having taken place in their own regions, in the interior of their own fjords. If they have not done it themselves, their descendants in Ameralik and Godthaabsfjord have localized the reports in the more northern regions, so that they were in agreement with their knowledge about the old Icelandic houses found there. Another proof that the report originates from these south is probably seen in this, that it is written in the South Icelandic dialect. This is seen e. g. in the name of the fjord *Kangersineq*, for the Eskimo of the *u*-dialect near the Godthaabsfjord and north thereof call it *Kangersuneq*. But what mostly tells against the genuineness of the northern texts is, that these and only these have mixed up the report with the Navaranaaq tale, which the immigrants have probably not been acquainted with until the meeting with the group of Eskimo who had approached or settled down in Vestribygð from the north.

The assailing Eskimo came from the south, so tell us the Eskimo traditions in South Greenland, though however not all of them, but e. g. one of the two northern texts (namely **C**₂) in the introduction of which we hear of the first meeting with the Norsemen in olden times and which begins as follows: "An umiak steered from the south northwards in the direction of Nouk⁴). But as Greenland in those olden times is said to have been only sparsely populated they met no people near Nouk. From this place they broke up and went on

¹) In **C**₁ recorded 100 years later we find the same introductory episode, though more simplified as the auk-motive is wanting.

²) I have cited already (p. 636, note 1) one of these features from the text **B**₁, the oracle dolls of the angakoq which are placed on the sea-gull hills.

³) Such remnants of charcoal were found, for example, near the church-ruins at Qaqortoq and Iqalikko (by Hans Egede and Graah, see the latter 1832, p. 45) as also at various places near the farms at Mussartoq and Singitsoq near Qaqortoq, see Grønl. hist. Mindesmærker, vol. III, pp. 810, 813, 817, 821—822; Pingel (1838—39) p. 234; G. Holm (1894) pp. 139—142; D. Bruun (1896) p. 427; M. Clemmensen (1911) p. 307.

⁴) The Eskimo name for the present Godthaab i. e. Vestribygð of the Norsemen.

to Kangersineq¹⁾ (further into the fjord). On the way they discovered in Kangiussak east of Kornok a very large house. When they reached it they found that they did not know the inhabitants, as these were not Greenlanders (*kalâ-liungingmata*). They had suddenly come across the Norsemen (*kavdlunaitsiait*) here. The arrival of the umiak caused great amusement among the latter as they here saw Eskimo (Kalâtdlit) for the first time, but the Eskimo feared the Icelanders, though these acted quite friendly towards them. The Eskimo therefore hastily put their boat into the water and rowed away, though the Icelanders tried to make them stay. Proceeding into Kangersinek they met with the Icelanders living near Ilulialik, Ujaragssuak, Ivisartut and Nunatarsuak, but immediately hurried away from them. When this boat had returned from its journey in the fjords the members of the expedition spoke about this meeting to their countrymen round about wherever they met them and at that time they lived far away, as this part of the country was originally quite uninhabited; but when Kalâtdlit heard from this single boat about the many Kavdlunaitsiait in the fjords near Nouk, they set off to meet them accompanied by the reporter. When in this way many boats had come up to Kangersineq they began to have intercourse with the foreigners, as they felt that these were friendly disposed towards them. Later on still more boats and greater numbers of Eskimo collected at the place and as the Icelanders learnt to understand their language friendly relations and comradeship arose between them. The Eskimo now also discovered that there were Norsemen near Kapisilik as well as near Ameralik etc." Then follows the tale about a friendly contest between an Eskimo and an Icelandic ending in the death of the latter, a parallel to the auk challenge in **B**₁ but greatly altered (or possibly referring to another real event of a similar kind), dealing with two men who agreed to mount a high rock in the neighbourhood and from there with bow and arrow to aim at a skin stretched out on an island down under the rock. The one who did not hit the mark, should be shot. The Icelandic missed his aim and threw himself down over the rim of the precipice, from this time the rock was called Pisigsarfik "the archery-rock". This episode did not disturb the friendly relations of the two neighbouring peoples. The southern texts start from this episode as being the indirect cause of the breaking out of the hostilities, but in the northern text this episode stands quite isolated without any connection with the following, namely, the Navaranaaq tale written in continuation thereof. The enmity is therefore explained in quite a different way from in the southern texts. But otherwise it is in the north as in the south: the foreigners attack the settlement of the Eskimo while the men are out hunting, slaughter women and children and only a single woman escapes. The Eskimo avenged themselves by stratagem. They approached the house of the Icelanders in a large boat covered with white skins, so that it looked like an ice-hummock. On board this boat they drifted with the wind out from the sea towards the large house of the Norsemen (or one of them) in the Ameralik-fjord. The house was painted black and later on gave the fjord its Eskimo name (*ameralik* means "that with the painting")²⁾. The cunning attack is described with much detail and the name of the chief of the house is now also given, it was *Oongortoq*. The house was then set on fire by the Eskimo, who had not been observed by the inhabitants, the latter considering the white boat to be a floating ice-hummock. But whilst it was burning the Eskimo discovered that a Qallunaaq approached from the west. They knew him, it was the 'dear little

¹⁾ The inner arm of the Godthaabsfjord where several ruins from the time of the Norsemen have been found.

²⁾ The log-houses of the old Icelanders were smeared with tar. N. M. Petersen, *Islændernes Færd* (1868), IV, p. 373.

Olawuq (*Olawuarssuq*) dragging a captured seal after him. He was killed by the arrows of the Eskimo before he reached the house and could come to the rescue of the imprisoned inhabitants. Most of them were burnt to death. But Oongortoq jumped out through the large window with his little son in his arms and took to his heels. He fled away from Ameralik without being overtaken by his pursuers and settled down in the south, east of Qaqortoq where he again sided with his countrymen. — The name *Olawuq* undoubtedly corresponds to the common Icelandic name *Óláfr*¹⁾ and I think it possible that the Greenland *Oongortoq* (pronounced *Ooŋortoq* or *Ooŋartoq*) is an eskimoised form of an Icelandic name (*Yngvarr*?).

As vivid as the description appears (and for the sake of brevity I have left out many interesting features) I am however of opinion that, as regards the tale about Oongortoq, the localization of the southern variants of the tale is nearer to the truth. There is of course the possibility that to begin with he has really lived in the Ameralikfjord in Vestribygd and after the attacks of the Eskimo coming from the south may have fled southwards to Qaqortoq (Eystribygd) where either his pursuers or the Eskimo there may have repeated their attacks. But the explanation is unnecessary, when we consider how the Eskimo just localize their popular traditions about their heroes and their deeds in the new land to which they have immigrated: "here in our own country lived the heroes". If the ancestors of the Ameralik Eskimo have come from the south, they have brought with them the story about Oongortoq and interwoven it with the historical report of what happened to them up in the north, where probably many years after the discovery of the Eystribygd in the south they again found a colony of *QaLLunaait*. It is evident that the version of C₂ has been made up from several component parts which originally had nothing to do with each other.

We have to face the theoretical difficulty, that the historic sources give evidence that the northern Icelandic colony in Greenland was destroyed by the Eskimo before the southern one. How could this take place if the Eskimo had come from the south? But as I remarked at the beginning, we must suppose that the two Icelandic colonies have been surrounded by Eskimo both northwards and southwards and there is nothing to oppose the supposition, that the northern Eskimo had already made their way southwards to Vestribygd in the Godthaab district at the time when the southern Eskimo reached up to the same region from the Julianehaab district. It is uncertain, whether Vestribygd was at that time occupied by the Norsemen or has been in the hands of the Skrælings. In agreement with the traditional view, that the assailing enemies came from the north²⁾, I have hitherto taken it for granted, that the first information in the Icelandic annals about the Skrælings' attack on the Norsemen in 1379 applied to the northern colony³⁾. But the new supposition that they came from the south will naturally also alter this view, for in the annals we find no indication which of the colonies was meant. The report of the attack in 1379 more likely refers to Eystribygd and the Eskimo coming from the south, this supposition being in better agreement with the only true historic information to hand about Vestribygd and the Skrælings there, namely, that found in *Ívarr Bárðarson's* description of Greenland.

About the author of this description we only know that he had for several years administered the affairs of the bishopric in Eystribygd during a period

¹⁾ F. Jónsson (1893) p. 559.

²⁾ Grønl. histor. Mindesmærker, vol. III, pp. 32—33: "1379, the Skrælings attacked the Greenlanders, killed 18 men and made two boys prisoners whom they turned into thralls".

³⁾ l. c. vol. III, pp. 60, 461 and 466.

when there was no bishop (ca. 1342 to 1368)¹⁾ and that he was one of the persons appointed by the governor to drive out the Skrælings from Vestribygð, but when they came up there "they found no men, neither Christians nor heathens but only some stray cattle and sheep". Further, it is stated in the report, though however without giving the year or date, that at this time the Skrælings had ravaged the western (northern) colony found to be deserted. It is very fortunate, that Ívarr's passport to Greenland issued by the bishop of Bergen in the year 1341 has been preserved. We learn from this, that he must have set out for Greenland either that year or the next and the question is now, from what time dates the report, that Vestribygð had been ravaged by the Eskimo and was deserted? Ívarr has probably again left Greenland about the time when a new bishop was elected, namely, in 1368, at any rate before 1379²⁾, for he says not a word about the presence of Skrælings in the neighbourhood of Eystribygð, still less the attack made by them on the settlement in that year. The expedition to Vestribygð, of which he was a member, has probably not been made immediately after his arrival in the country, but more likely about 1350, some years before or later.

The Eskimo must have made their way to Eystribygð not long after Ívarr had started on his return journey to Bergen. To begin with, their relations with the Norsemen have undoubtedly been friendly, but the later report about the sudden attack in 1379 shows that by this time the relations between them have become more than strained or rather they have been distinctly hostile. It is by no means improbable, that the Eskimo may for a long time have lived on the outer skerries without coming into connection with the foreign people living inshore and this may have been the reason, why they have only been mentioned on rare occasions in the old literature of the Icelanders.

But to return to the Eskimo's own traditions. Here there seems to be some evidence, that Eystribygð may have been attacked from the north³⁾, but at the same time we have on the one hand the express statement of the C text to the effect, that the Norsemen (in Vestribygð) were first discovered by the Eskimo coming from the south, on the other the song about Oongortoq. The latter is found in the two previously mentioned variations B₂ and D₃ which may be cited here. Both originate from the southern settlement (Arssuk lies only a little north of the Julianehaabsfjord) and in the latter (the last to be written down) it is stated expressly, that the Eskimo approached from the south.

¹⁾ Ívarr has not written down this report himself, but his words are cited in it (in Norwegian). The text of this report is found in Grønl. histor. Mindesm. III, pp. 248—260 (cf. 886—887) and in Meddel. om Grønl. vol. XX, pp. 322—329.

²⁾ In this year he would have been an old man, if he had been 25 when setting out for Greenland. But he has probably not remained there for such a long time.

³⁾ From the text B₁ it is seen, that during the time when the attack took place the Julianehaab district was occupied at several places by the Eskimo, especially at Narssaq in the north-lying fjord and it was just the people from this place who attacked Qaqortoq. Also in Grønl. histor. Mindesm. III, p. 832. (Narssalik).

THE SONG ABOUT OONGORTOQ

B₂ (Pingel, Julianehaab)

Look at that fool QaLLunaq going out
of the house imprudently,

Look at that fool Oongortoq who goes
out imprudently carrying his son
under his arm!

In this way I shall manage to avenge
myself on you.

The Kalaallit (Eskimo) approach at
full speed,

Their heads are smooth,

Their heads are shining.

D₃ (Rink, Arssuk)

When we started from the south there
approaching the Kitsissut islands

under shelter of our boat looking like
a small iceberg —

look! out of the door came Ungortoq
with his small son under his arm;

shading his eyes with his hand

spying out over the sea,

he said: "How often have I not warn-
ed you

and said, the Kalaallit would come,
these people with the bald, round
heads!"¹⁾

To **B₂** we have the following note. The speaking person is the Eskimo, whose brother Oongortoq had killed. That their heads were smooth and shining is explained thus by the present Greenlanders, that they were ready for war, for it is said that in olden times it has been the custom among them to cut off some of their hair or at any rate make it wet before they went out to fight²⁾.

Kitsissut ('the westernmost', in **D₃**) is the name of several groups of islands, one south of Julianehaabsfjord at 60° N. lat., another north of the same fjord between this and Arssuk, and a third right up near the Godthaabsfjord. The words of the song point expressly to the southernmost of these groups of islands.

According to our main sources (**C₁** and **D₁**) this event took place near *Qa-qortoq*, i. e. about 8 English miles north-east of the present Julianehaab, where the largest ruins of a Greenland church from the middle ages are still to be seen. The name means the 'white', because, it is said, the church was whitewashed, at any rate it has been light coloured (built of light stones with white mortar between)³⁾. To the Eskimo this was nothing else but a special kind of house and it is not improbable, that the Norsemen have sought shelter in it as their last haven of refuge, when they had been driven away from their farms or have felt themselves too exposed there. At several places in the neighbourhood there are ruins of large farms from the Icelanders' period. It may be supposed, that Oongortoq has been the lord of one of these. Opposite the church out in the fjord lies the island *Akpatsivik* (**D**), the same place that is called *Arpatsivik* on the chart. Here lay in olden times an Eskimo settlement with perhaps only one, possibly several houses. The name of the island probably means "the place of attack"⁴⁾, called so naturally from a hostile attack that has once been made here. The relations between the two neighbours of different race was first through many years quite peaceable and the young men of both peoples sometimes even vied with each other in shooting with arrows. But when an Eskimo accidentally shot one of the Norsemen the hostilities broke out afresh and continued for a long time. They began one winter night, when the Norsemen crossed the ice and killed most of the Eskimo in their houses. Only two

¹⁾ The description of the Skraelings in the song as a people with bald (round) heads might possibly refer to an old-time Greenland mode of dressing the hair like the mode known from Labrador and the western regions (see p. 601).

²⁾ Pingel (1838—39) pp. 241—242.

³⁾ Clemmensen (1911) p. 314. Grønl. histor. Mindesm. III, p. 821.

⁴⁾ Grønl. histor. Mindesm. III, p. 820; Kleinschmidt, Ordbog, p. 41.

brothers escaped, the name of the older one was *Kaissape* (or *Kasape* C₁)¹). In their flight they were pursued by Oongortoq, who was the fastest of the Norsemen; he succeeded in overtaking Kaissape's brother, whom he killed by cutting off his arm with an axe, afterwards holding it up in the air, so that his fleeing brother might see it. According to D₁ Kaissape fled out of the fjord, turned southwards to the large island Akia on the southern side of which his father-in-law's house lay near *Kangermiutsiak* (on the chart called *Kangarmiutsiak*); but according to C₁ the fleeing Eskimo took the route northwards over to Narsaq in the neighbouring fjord. From both sources we hear, that the Eskimo plotted revenge by stratagem. Kaissape (D₁) is said to have made a boat out of an enormous piece of drift-timber and fitted it up with so many white skins, that it was quite covered with these and thus resembled a large ice-hummock, if seen from the land. He practised with this strange craft near a small island *Pingiviarneq* (on the chart called *Pinguiarneq*)²) opposite to the house of his father-in-law. Two summers passed ere his preparations were complete. He travelled by boat southwards and northwards, in order to find an assistant of sufficient strength (i. e. without religious flaws) and a sufficiently strong charm. When all was ready and the crew trained, they set off, a whole fleet of kaiaks, with the wooden boat in tow and approached Qaqortoq. Their stratagem proved successful, they took the Norsemen by surprise, the house (church?) was set on fire and only Oongortoq escaped, carrying his little son in his arms.

The correctness of the report of Oongortoq's flight is to a certain extent corroborated by the fact, that the places at which he is said to have lived during this time, are in full agreement with what is known from other quarters about the main settlements of the old Norsemen in the country. The Eskimo and Norse names of these places could not have been in better agreement, if the Eskimo had carried on archæological investigations all the way from Qaqortoq to the south point of the country. They are easily identified on comparing the Eskimo names of the old tale, as they are found still on the modern charts of South Greenland, with the Norse place-names (known only from the old Norse literature, the sagas etc.), as they have been located within quite recent times by Finnur Jónsson on the basis of the archæological investigations made in South Greenland by G. Holm, F. Petersen and D. Bruun³).

Hvalseyarfjord was the name of the northern arm of Einarsfjord where lay *Hvalsey* 'the whale island', in the Eskimo language *Arpatsiwik*⁴). On the mainland under a high mountain lies the ruins of the *Qaqortoq* church and in its neighbourhood the remnants of a large farm⁵). Round about in the district there are ruins of old Icelandic farms, one of which may possibly have been that of Oong-

¹) Probably pronounced with q: *Qassape* or *Qaaisape*.

²) It must be remembered, that the orthography on the charts is not the phonetic one, whereas the tale is written in the real dialect of this district.

³) The modern charts referred to are these: "Grønlands sydligste Del" by G. Holm (1880–81) in *Medd. om Grønl.* VI; "Sydgrønland, Kagsimiut til Julianehaab" by T. V. Garde (1893), *ibid.* vol. XVI, Pl. IX; "Nordbo-Ruiner i Julianehaab's Omegn" by D. Bruun (1896), *ibid.* vol. XVI, Pl. XIX; "Grænaland, Eystri Byggð" by F. Jónsson (1899) *ibid.* vol. XX, Pl. II; "Nordbo-Ruiner i Julianehaab's Omegn" by M. Clemmensen (1911) *ibid.* vol. XLVII, Pl. XXV.

⁴) There is a possibility that the original meaning of this name is "the place where whales are captured" and not the one given on p. 705 (footnote), the latter agreeing with the explanation of the present Greenlanders.

⁵) G. Holm (1894) p. 97 and Pl. XVII (with ground-plan of the group of ruins near Qaqortoq). Somewhat further south near Upernivarsuk lies another farm, see Frode Petersen (1896) p. 409.

ortoq. From this place it cannot have been difficult to escape across the mountain, where the road to Igaliko in the innermost corner of Einarsfjord is still to be seen. Here lay the old bishop's palace *Garðar*, administered by Ívarr Bárðarson from 1342 to 1368 (the last bishop living in Greenland was Alfr who was appointed bishop in 1368 and died in 1378). Oongortoq took up his abode with one of his countrymen, a certain Óláfr (in the Eskimo tales called *Olawe*, *Olawik*, *Olawaag*). His next place of refuge was the interior of *ALLuitsog* fjord, namely, its southern arm, which is identical with the Icelandic *Siglufjörður*. On the whole way across the interior between this place and the fjord further north, where Oongortoq came from, there have been many Icelandic farms, as is proved by the ruins; one, for example, lies near *Sioralik*, where the Eskimo relate that he settled down; the name means 'the sandy place', but further up in the land occur extensive pastures and several rivers meet at the beach. Two groups of the ruins at Sioralik are surrounded by two heavy, well-built stone-walls of a man's height, 4 feet thick, the outer and inner sides of which are carefully built up of the larger stones, while smaller ones are used for filling up the intervals¹). These walls may have been made as pens for the cattle, but are more like ramparts. According to the tale Kaissape followed Oongortoq and settled down near "the mouth of the river"; this may probably mean the large river near Amitsuarsik, the northern arm of Siglufjord with South Greenland's largest waterfall²), but may also possibly be understood simply as the mouth of the fjord. We may take it for granted, that during the decline of the Norsemen most of the other farms in this fjord had either been deserted (the inhabitants killed or driven away by the Eskimo) or eskimoized. Oongortoq would therefore have been isolated in the inner part of Siglufjord and pressed by his pursuers has been obliged to flee towards the south, where by following the innermost ways behind the fjord-heads he reached the large and beautiful fjord *Tasermiut*, named *Ketilsfjord* by the Norsemen. Here lie nine large groups of ruins, the most important one furthest up in the fjord³). Right opposite on the other beach lie some ruins, supposed to have been the monastery dedicated to Sanct Olaf and St. Augustinus at Tasermiutsiaq⁴). In this fjord some of the last champions of the Norsemen have possibly been able to hold out long after the power of their countrymen was broken. If Oongortoq has really been the last, independent upholder of the Icelandic culture in Greenland, it is not to be wondered at, that when threatened by some few Eskimo enemies and without support from other sides he has been obliged to seek to the other fjords further towards the south or east, either through *Öllumlengri* (the Eskimo *Ikerasarsuaq*) to *Aluk* or across the ice-filled passes in the inner Tasermiut to the largest fjord on the southern east coast, namely, *KangerLLussuätsiaq*, where there is a single ruin from the time of the Norsemen (see p. 671). Kaissape is said to have pursued him even over there, killed first his wife and afterwards Oongortoq with an arrow over which a spell had been read and lastly his small defenceless child.

There is reason to rely more upon the localisation in South Greenland of this coherent report of indubitable historic events than upon that of the rather legendary tales, by which the Eskimo otherwise preserve the memory of certain national "heroes" (Qaasuk, Kaasassuk etc.) and their deeds, for these are told by each Eskimo tribe round the Davis Straits and are localized at a new place in the district of each tribe. But Oongortoq's name and deed are only remem-

¹) Frode Petersen (1896) pp. 411—412 (fig. 90).

²) Idem ibid. p. 417.

³) Holm (1894) p. 135.

⁴) F. Jónsson (1899) p. 305.

bered in the region where we know from the Icelandic sources that the event must actually have taken place.

When the Ammassalikers in 1884 referred to the tale, that "their ancestors had killed the ancestors of the Europeans and burnt down their large house"¹⁾, this can only be explained as being a fragmentary quintessence of the widespread report, which had reached them through oral tradition or direct immigration from the south.

Further south on the east coast, namely, near *Kangeq* south of the glacier Puisortoq which is very difficult to pass, Holm and Hanserak heard another short tale about the Norsemen, dealing with a contest between an Eskimo and a Greenlander. The object was, to cross the sound between the small island Umanak and the mainland by means of a rope suspended between the two places, working their way by the arms²⁾. The island can only be Umanak on the east coast at 61°15' N. lat. Though the tale gives some more details, which can be connected with this place, the localization is less certain than that of the tale about Oongortoq and Olawik. But this tale from the southern part of East Greenland affords an interesting proof of the fact, that there is a certain historic continuity between the Eskimo East-Greenlanders and the old Norsemen.

This statement, however, is not to be taken as indicating, that in my opinion an intermixture of Norsemen and Eskimo has occurred on the east coast. The anthropological investigation of the material from Ammassalik has proved, that this people is pure Eskimo without foreign mixture and I feel inclined to believe, that this applies to the whole population on the southernmost part of the east coast³⁾. It is probable, however, that investigations on the west coast, in the regions of the old Icelandic settlements, might reveal the traces of a mixed Eskimo-Icelandic race originating from the middle ages, but in East Greenland no such traces have been discovered, either by studying the physical anthropology or in the culture of the natives.

ICELANDIC WORDS IN THE GREENLAND LANGUAGE. — There is not much to lend support to the theory about an old intercourse between the two peoples in Greenland. From a linguistic point of view also we only find faint traces of a superficial character. The connection between most of the following words of both languages is very doubtful.

NAMES. We have already mentioned the two names in the tradition about the Norsemen Olawaq and Oongortoq, the first of which probably refers to *Óláfr* (pp. 703, 707). The old names from the southern West Greenland *Kunneling* and *Sigoko* possibly correspond to the Icelandic *Gunnhildr* and *Sigurðr*; the Eskimo names *Kunnitte* and *Kunnaak* known from the east coast may possibly be variations of *Gunnhildr* (?) and *Gunnarr*. Two of these names from Greenland seem to be identical with the names of two mountains there, namely, Kunnaak and the mountain *Kunnak* at Arssuk in South Greenland⁴⁾ and Oongortoq and the mountain *Oongortoq* or *Oonguttong*⁵⁾ near Ammassalik. This would be partially analogous with the fact, that in West Greenland there is a place called *QaLwLunaait-*

¹⁾ In this volume pp. 134 and 332.

²⁾ Holm (1889) pp. 85—86 and 95—96; Hanserak (1900) p. 14.

³⁾ Søren Hansen in this volume p. 179.

⁴⁾ Grønl. histor. Mindesm. III, p. 832.

⁵⁾ Thus spelt *Oongortoq* as well as *Ooguttug* in my own records from Ammassalik and previously mentioned by G. Holm (1889 p. 208) as *Ungutok*. This name may possibly be explained etymologically by the word *unggoq* "a wart", corresponding to the shape of the mountain: "the wart mountain".

siaat, which means 'the Norsemen, Icelanders (from the middle ages)'. Finally, there is a faint possibility that the two Icelandic names *Utiblik* and *Makleik*, both the names of fjords lying at some distance from the Icelandic settlements, might in reality be Eskimo names that have been naturalized in the Greenland-Icelandic language¹) (from Esk. *ituiLwLeq* 'transition, landstrait' and *maLLeq* 'wave-swell'). Thus also *Anavík* 'the creek of the rivulets', might perhaps be regarded as equivalent to the Eskimo *Anniwik* 'the place of exit' — but I have not myself much confidence in all these comparisons.

With regard to the COMMON WORDS I have not much to add to my previous remarks²). The earliest found word is *kona* (obsolete) 'woman' in Olearius (1656), *konâ* with long *â* in Egede, in Fabricius *kona* and *konangoak* 'dear little woman' (with the diminutive termination *-nguaq*). The facts, that this word is only known from South-west Greenland and was even very little used there in Egede's time and now-a-days not at all, that in South Greenland it had quite the same form and signification as in Iceland and that the naturalization of the word might be explained psychologically, all lend some support to the supposition, that it is of Icelandic origin. Of more doubtful character is the relation between the word *kalaaleq* or *karaaleq* 'a native, a South Greenlander', like the above only used in South Greenland, and the Icelandic *karl* 'man' or *þræll* 'thrall, servant'. Here we also learn from Egede, that the natives themselves told him on his arrival, that they had been called thus by the old Norsemen. From a phonetic point of view there might be some connection between them, namely, that the Icelandic *karl* (pronounced *kall*)³) in the Eskimo mouth would sound something like **kalal(eq)* or **kalleg*, whereas *þræll* would become *taraal(eq)*. It is almost as if the two words has become mixed in the modern Eskimo form *kalaaleq* (*karaaleq*)⁴). There is another word in the Greenland dictionary about which the Greenlanders have the tradition, that it refers to the Norsemen, namely, *saagoq* (or *saanyoq*) 'armour, coat of mail', but this word is not of alien origin. It may have been applied to the description of the armour of the foreigners, but otherwise it means generally 'a shield placed in front of something else' (also 'a curtain in front of a window, a suspended skin')⁵).

If any of the wares of the Icelanders had been appreciated by the Eskimo, we might imagine that these things had obtained names in the Eskimo language

¹) F. Jónsson (1899) p. 276.

²) Thalbitzer (1904) pp. 35—37. In this book p. 332. Cf. also C. Rafn's remarks in his *Antiquitates Americanæ* (1837) p. 454, footnote, and Thorhalleson (1776) pp. 65—66.

³) See Fritzner's dictionary under *karl*.

⁴) I do not think, that the name *Kalaaleq* has anything to do with *Skræling*. On the contrary, I retain the idea that it may in reality be explained as a true Eskimo word and that the resemblances to the Norse words given above are fortuitous. I have pointed at another explanation in a previous paper (1905, p. 206) to which I may add here, that the *Kavrálit* of the Chukchee might also be taken into consideration. This is the name given by the Chukchee to a class of traders of "maritime descent" who spend their lives by travelling around with their reindeer on the former areas of the Eskimo in North East Siberia, between East Cape and the shores of Anadyr and Kolyma. Their name *Kavrálit* means in Chukchee 'those going around'. Many of them were in their youth poor seal-hunters who therefore turned to reindeer-breeding and bartering as traders. Thus according to Bogoras (1904) p. 12. — If this name be really identical with the *Karaalit* of the East Eskimo, the latter must certainly be regarded from quite another point of view than hitherto.

⁵) In the Labrador dictionary *saigo*, plur. *saiikut* 'palisades'.

derived from the Icelandic. But all indications of this are very uncertain so long as we do not know what the things were. Further, we do not know whether the circumstance, that the same words are found in the South Greenland and Labrador Eskimo language, confirms or weakens the probability, that they are of Icelandic origin. Words like *sapaŋaq* 'bead', *neesa* 'a porpoise', *sava* 'a sheep', *kuiŋiŋ[ŋêq]* 'a swine', *kuanneq* 'angelica', are well-known both in Greenland and Labrador and have almost the same meaning in both regions¹). They may to some extent be derived from Old Icelandic: *spöng* 'clasp, buckle' (cf. *spangabrynja*), *hnísa* 'porpoise', *sauðr* 'sheep', *svín* 'swine' (*svínin* 'swines'), *hvannir* 'angelica' (*h* becomes *k* in Norwegian dialects). But apart from several difficulties, why have just these words, if really originating from the Icelandic period in Greenland, been preserved and no word, for example, for iron, shield, oxen, ship etc.? These parallels at any rate at the present time can only be considered as very uncertain²).

CONCLUSION.

ROUTES OF THE IMMIGRATING ESKIMO. — It must be confessed, that hypotheses regarding prehistoric migrations of peoples are not much in favour. The great learning employed during the past century in the attempt to throw light upon the origin and spreading of the Indo-European races can hardly be said to have yielded brilliant fruits in the form of clear and certain results. On the other hand, it was a work that had to be done. It would be foolhardy to be-

¹) Kleinschmidt states that *kuiŋiŋgêq* was possibly known previously in Greenland; the word *puluke* is now used for swine, this being an Eskimo form of the English *pork* (Egede's *Dictionarium polike*). In Labrador *kuanneq* means 'a kind of edible sea-weed'; cf. at Ammassalik *misartaq* 'a kind of edible seaweed' but in Labrador 'a kind of hawkbit (*Leontodon Taraxacum*)' of which they make salads (see Erdman, *Labrador Dictionary* p. 172 (*missaktak*)).

²) The same applies to a resemblance pointing in another direction, namely, between the alluring (hunting) word for 'a young seal' *pusso* as known from the Orkney Islands and the Eskimo (Greenland-Labrador) *puisse* 'seal' in general, meaning properly 'a diving animal'. Curiously enough, the Orkney word for 'a cat' *pussi* also resembles the North Greenland word for a cat i. e. *puissaaq*. The people of the Orkneys may have got the alluring word from the Eskimo name of a seal, but the name of the cat must at any rate come from the opposite direction, if there is really any connection and anything more than a mere coincidence. I have the Orkney words from J. Jacobsen, "Nordiske Minder paa Orknøerne" (in the "Festskrift til H. F. Feilberg" 1911, p. 342). The Greenlanders might have obtained the word for a cat through men from the Faeroes, holding appointments in the country during the time of colonization, but it may possibly have become a household word there still earlier. Catskin is mentioned in the description of the dress of the *spaewife* (*völva*) in *Eiriks-saga* (Grönl. histor. Mindesm. I, p. 377). To the north-east of Ammassalik lies an island called *Puisak*, which name seems to be the same word as the West Greenland one (see the chart and p. 351 *Puisaar*).

lieve, that I should have better fortune in solving the problem of the routes of immigration of the Eskimo tribes. But even if we cannot consider the following suggestions as more than provisional working hypotheses, these will nevertheless be of the same use as all similar, which have exercised their influence in other spheres of science. They tend to sharpen the means of criticism and the accuracy of the science in question and lead to a coordination of the material, which in itself will not be useless, even if the theories have to be given up later. It will especially be of interest to examine, what the detailed information collected can be used for when arranged in such perspectives. The working hypothesis gives a measure whereby one can judge of the value of the details and the coordination of the details will in itself always retain a certain value, when it brings clearness in the matter, though the hypothesis may have to be replaced later by a better.

The following discussion of the migrations should come properly after the "résumé and results", since it is in part their conclusion, but for the reader it can just as well serve as the preparation for these.

Both H. Rink and G. Holm believed, that the Ammassalik district had obtained its inhabitants from the north. In setting up this view they simply followed the consequences of the theory already put forward earlier by Rink, that East Greenland as a whole had received its inhabitants from the north round Greenland. For the distance from coast to coast between the northernmost Eskimo met with and between the ruins of their houses found in the north on both coasts was known to be so short, that this theory of the immigration to East Greenland seemed to have much in its favour¹). After Holm brought

¹) Rink (1886) pp. 144—145. Holm (1888) pp. 153—154, in this work pp. 124—125. Sören Hansen (1888) p. 8, in this work p. 155. — Rink had already twenty years previously put forward his theory regarding the immigration of the Eskimo north round Greenland to the east coast, namely (1866) p. 44, cf. (1871) p. 153. The first suggestions of this idea are even earlier and originate without doubt from meetings between arctic explorers and travellers in Greenland in the fifties, after Rink (from 1848) had been connected with the land as a Danish official. We find this idea mentioned for the first time in Mac Clintock (1859) pp. 219—220 in referring to a conversation with his interpreter, the well-known Danish-Greenlander Carl Petersen, who had been engaged in the administrative service of Greenland from 1841 and later had taken part in the expeditions of Penny (1850) and Kane (1853). — For remarks on the same theory see also E. Bluhme (1865) p. 53 footnote, Cl. Markham (1875) pp. 306—309 and T. Kornerup (1913) pp. 57—58.

Later East Greenland expeditions from Ryder's in 1891—92 to the Danmark Expedition (Mylius-Erichsen) in 1906—08 and Knud Rasmussen and Freuchen's crossing over to the south side of Peary Land in 1912 have brought new discoveries of house-ruins and tent-rings, which lie like a continuous chain along

home his information from Ammassalik and the southern part of the coast, the impression was strengthened that at any rate the people of the Ammassalik region belonged to the northern tribe of the same coast, thus must have been of northern origin¹). Both these authorities put forward the suggestion, further, that the southernmost inhabitants of Greenland on both coasts were a mixed race of Eskimo and Norsemen from the Middle Ages²). Holm's statement on this point was already made before his East Greenland Expedition; it appeared in 1881 after his archæological investigation of the Norse ruins in the Julianehaab district, but was not expressly repeated by him on his return from Ammassalik, nor did Søren Hansen's anthropological investigation of the skulls and the measurements from East Greenland contain any indication of this possibility³).

In recent years C. W. Schultz-Lorentzen has brought forward a new theory⁴). Not that he denies the migration of the East Greenlanders north round the land or the migration of the southernmost round Cape Farvel to the west coast (G. Holm had already said, that the Southlanders on the west coast were descended from the Eastlanders). He rather maintains with emphasis, that these migrations are only moments in a still more extensive migratory movement, in which we can see a general tendency, or an inherited instinct (a conscious tradition) innate in all Greenlanders, by which from the earliest times the East Greenlanders have been impelled to move from north to south, the West Greenlanders from south to north; the result would thus seem to be a sort of perpetual "bird migration" round the large island. This view of the matter, of course, would contain an exaggeration and cannot be taken literally. Never-

the whole of this coast, a confirmation of the theory that along this route one immigration (or several?) of Eskimo has taken place. The decisive reasons for the immigration of the Ammassalikers from the north have been brought together by Amdrup (1909) pp. 310—327.

- ¹) Cranz and Graah had already remarked upon certain differences in the dialect and appearance of the southern East Greenlanders compared with the more northern (including the Ammassalikers); see my citations here pp. 331—332 and 336—339. In Graah (1832) pp. 74, 77, 119. Graah's expressions regarding the appearance of the southern Eastlanders lead us to suspect already, that he believed himself to have detected an alien (Norse) element in them.
- ²) Holm (1881) pp. 158—159, 2nd edition (1894); cf. here in this work p. 342. Rink (1886) p. 145.
- ³) Regarding the skulls brought home by the 2nd German North Pole Expedition from the northern part of East Greenland Pansch stated in his section on the anthropology, that the extinct inhabitants of that coast had been true Eskimo without any alien mixture. See Koldewey Vol. II (1874) p. 153.
- ⁴) Schultz-Lorentzen (1904) pp. 289—330. As to the question of the immigration of the northern West Greenlanders this author also takes it for granted that they have come originally from the north (l. c. pag 329).

theless this author has done good service in emphasizing the provincial differences apparent in the Greenland population both ethnographically and linguistically and in recording a number of useful observations on these points during his long stay in the land. Earlier authors had rather slurred over these differences. For my part, in opposition to this author, I doubt whether these differences are so fundamental, that they must necessarily be referred back to two or more different Eskimo territories outside Greenland. I do not believe, that they bear witness of independent immigrations from different tribes in the far west, but that the majority are merely due to local specialisations, which have developed within Greenland itself; a smaller part of the peculiar features or forms of implements in certain districts may perhaps be regarded as archaic remnants or rudiments of a vanished culture, but not of an alien culture.

With regard to the West Greenland Eskimo the lack of thorough archæological investigations is severely felt. On the basis of anthropological criteria Søren Hansen distinguished the Upernavik natives on the northern part of the coast as a special tribe from the inhabitants more to the south¹). From an investigation of the phonetics of the same population I found in 1901 a similar boundary between the dialect of Upernavik and that of their southern neighbours (in Umanak Fjord and Disko Bay). If we go northwards to the Smith Sound Eskimo we obtain the impression, that they are not only the nearest neighbours of the Upernavikers (though the connection has been broken for a long time) but also their relatives. Kroeber has therefore placed the Smith Sound and Upernavik Eskimo in one group, whereas Boas regarded the Smith Sound Eskimo as an intermediate group between the Upernavik and the Baffin Land Eskimo²). An unmistakable resemblance exists between the implements found in northern West Greenland (from Disko Bay northwards) and in northern East Greenland (from Ammassalik northwards), thus in the high-arctic parts of the two coasts. On linguistic as well as ethnographic grounds I have come to the conclusion, that a "north-eastern" group of Greenlanders has existed, embracing the original dwellers on the west coast north of Umanak and the ancestors of the Ammassalikers in North-East Greenland³). Their common ancestral home-region has lain most probably west of Smith Sound, for I do not think, that there has been any direct connection between the northern in-

¹) S. Hansen (1893) pp. 174, 203—205, 229—230, 242.

²) Kroeber (1899) p. 321. Boas (1901) p. 355.

³) Thalbitzer (1904) pp. 202—203, 259, 264; (1909) pp. 337 and 339; (1910) p. 224 (1911) p. 44.

habitants of the west coast (up to the Humbold Glacier at 79° N. lat.) and those who migrated north round Greenland.

The immigration to the two opposite coasts of Greenland has probably taken place over two different points in the north-west corner of the island, hardly at the same period or at one time along these two routes. From the land on the opposite side of this corner one route has gone north of the Humbold Glacier (over Robeson Channel to Hall Land), one south of this over Smith Sound to Ita (Etah) and along this latter route the west coast has become inhabited. Even if the starting point has been one and the same, a division of the groups must therefore have occurred before Greenland was reached and in this factor lies naturally the first step towards the differentiation and specialisation within the two cultures on the east and west coast of Greenland. As to the presumable motives for the immigration I shall not express an opinion. The two routes can be traced from a consideration of the discovered winter-houses (ruins) and tent-rings both furthest north on the Greenland coast and over on the other side¹). The ruins are grouped especially round the west coast and north-west corner of North Devon, from there up along Eureka Sound on the west side of Ellesmere Land and Grinnell Land. The line of immigration to the south lies here right across Ellesmere Land to Ita, from there southwards along Melville Bay; that to the north right over Grinnell Land along Lake Hazen to Hall Land and from there north round the land to East Greenland.

The finds of Amdrup and Ryder at the abandoned settlements of the Eskimo north of Ammassalik have shown clearly, that the East Greenland Eskimo from an ethnographic standpoint can be divided into two groups, namely, the Ammassalikers and the other Eskimo of earlier times further north. The difference between the implements of the two groups is however not greater than that they might well be explained as due to a partial, further development during a slow migration from north to south, in agreement with the fact, that there was found to be a partial continuity between the culture of the Ammassalikers and that further north on the same coast (cf. p. 323). It can perhaps be maintained, that the implements found on the Skærgaards Peninsula in the Kangerdlugsuaq Fjord (the "world's end" to the north of the Ammassalikers) stand in a transitional stage between the two culture periods. The impression of this difference would undoubtedly have left more distinct traces in the archæological finds, if the immigrants to Ammassalik from

¹) G. Isachsen (1903) p. 150; Thalbitzer (1904) pp. 39—40 and appended map of the territories occupied by the Eskimo; id. (1906) p. 110; Simmons (1905) pp. 180—188.

the north had constantly remained south of the "world's end" and had not (as it seems) undertaken sporadic, return journeys towards the north; for in this way the routes of earlier and more recent culture have crossed one another and the traces become intermingled.

The Ammassalik culture is characterised by showing at one and the same time archaic and recent features; the latter is undoubtedly due for a great part to influence from the south, a part may have arisen in the Ammassalik district itself. This does not mean, that the archaic features must be the remnants of the old northern culture on this coast. In any case the archæological finds have not yet confirmed that the archaic features in the Ammassalik culture are only found again in the northern culture, or the reverse. To give an example, I see archaic features in the Ammassalik's hinged toggles on the ice-sealing harpoons (and the pair on the salmon spears(?)); the men's working and hunting knives; the high, three-legged sealing stool used on the ice; the sealing rattles; the ivory relief work on eye-shades, throwing sticks etc.; the dolls with pliable arms and legs on pivots; the spindle buzzes; the wooden masks. Of these only one specimen of a hinged toggle of a sealing harpoon and some few fragments of ivory relief work have been found far to the north on the east coast, where they might as well have come with immigrants from the south as from the north. The high ice-sealing stool has not been found there but it is known from Smith Sound (and Point Barrow), the masks from Baffin Land. All these objects (except the masks) have not been mentioned from the Central Eskimo, being first found again at the Bering Strait.

Most of the objects of archaic or special character, which have been found far north of Ammassalik, are not known in the culture of the present Ammassalik's. They have remained lying north there as witnesses of the isolation and conservatism of the northern inhabitants, constructed perhaps hundreds of years ago. Among these archaic objects I place the three cylindrical harpoon foreshafts found by Amdrup at Dunholm¹). These are of a form elsewhere unknown in Greenland, but agree with the walrus harpoons of the Alaskan Eskimo. Nor are the characteristic snow-beaters and blubber-clubs, several specimens of which have been found in the north, known elsewhere in Greenland²).

¹) Amdrup inv. Nos. 72 and 99; see Thalbitzer (1909) figs. 44 and 63, pp. 441 and 484—488; cf. figs. 103—105 and pp. 526—533.

²) Amdrup coll. Nos. 73—75: cf. Thalbitzer (1909) pp. 338, 376, 443—446, fig. 45. In Boas (1901) fig. 65, p. 48 there is a similar snow-beater from the central regions; cf. also Boas (1888) p. 485 (wooden club).

It is difficult to say, how far west from Greenland we must seek for the nearest home-place for the use of these and other archaic objects; they may possibly have been used in earlier times nearer the Davis Strait than we now can find traces of them. Just as the masks are still preserved on Baffin Land, most of the other features may have existed at an earlier period both in the regions round Hudson Bay and further east and west. In any case the absence of these few implements from the other parts of Greenland and the central Eskimo regions cannot entitle us to characterize the Ammassalik culture and the culture of the remainder of East Greenland as alien to Greenland. To regard these and several special features in the culture of the Ammassalikers as archaisms can quite well be reconciled with the theory of an old-time migration from the central regions to this part of Greenland, but it must be confessed that this suggests nothing as to whether these features (and the group of people with them) have come there from the north or the south round the land. A solution of this latter problem, so far as the Ammassalikers are concerned, can hardly be reached with any approximation to probability, if we take these archaic features separately without connection with the cultural complex in which they have actually been united. As we shall see in the following section, which brings together the "results", they belong to a long series of implements used by the Ammassalikers, which are common to all the Greenlanders, even indeed characteristic of the Greenland culture.

I believe, therefore, that I am able to maintain the view, which I set forth at once after my investigation in 1909 of the Amstrup collection, namely, that the culture of the Greenlanders is homogeneous. The present local variations, which are observed from district to district in Greenland, are unessential, but their existence must be explained differently, partly as archaisms, partly as new inventions. I have already shown earlier, that the Greenland types of implements agree in the main with those of the existing Eskimo in the northern and western part of Hudson Bay (pp. 329—330). This ethnographical agreement strengthens the probability, that this region — more closely determined by such names as Southampton Island, Repulse Bay, Melville Peninsula, Iglulik¹⁾ — was the original home of the Greenlanders, from which they have migrated directly northwards to end in Greenland. But this does not mean and was

¹⁾ I have made an indiscriminate selection of the names most often mentioned in connection with the discovery of implements which to a remarkable degree agree both in type and details with the Greenlandic. See my papers (1910) and (1911).

not intended to mean, that I regard these central regions as the first home of all the Eskimo. It was perhaps the common starting point of the East Eskimo, from which they have become divided into one stream eastwards to Labrador and one or several others northwards to Greenland; but I still believe (like Rink), that the common Eskimo mother-group has at one time lived to the west at the Bering Strait, coming originally from the coasts of Siberia¹). In this way we should best explain the striking agreement in those common archaic features of the Greenland implements or other objects (eye-shades ornamented with ivory reliefs etc.) and the Alaskan, which are absent from the intermediate regions. The hunting culture of the inland Eskimo in the central regions is probably only a continuation eastwards of an old inland hunting culture in northern Alaska, secondary in these regions to the sea-hunting of the marine animals, because these inland hunters came originally over the sea to these coasts. The North-East Siberian tribes (especially the Chukchee) have become subdivided in the same manner into hunters on the sea and hunters of inland animals (reindeer). The agreement between the old material culture of the Greenlanders and a little older stage of the Alaskan Eskimo's culture is striking. In a large number of points, further, this common Eskimo culture agrees with the cultures in Asia of the Chukchee and neighbouring coastal tribes²). In the points in which the culture of the intervening or central Eskimo groups differs from the main types of this common culture, in special or absent features,

¹) I may recall here Clement Markham's theory put forward as early as 1865, that the primeval emigrants called *Onkilon*, of whom the Chukchee of North-East Siberia narrated that they had wandered northwards out over the sea, were possibly the first origins of the Eskimo people in America. More recently W. Bogoras has brought us new information from the Chukchee; according to him the Chukchee pronounce the name of the old maritime people as *Ayqalit*, from *ayqa* "the sea". Both this name and *Nímilit* (probably the same as the *Namollo* of earlier expeditions) are said to indicate "maritime settlers" and refer to the Eskimo. Bogoras (1904) pp. 11 and 21.

²) Bogoras (1904 p. 21) has a description of the old underground houses of the Chukchee which would almost pass for the Eskimo's. He mentions (pp. 117—121) the kaiaks as used by them both on the arctic coast and on the Anadyr River, in the Eskimo village Wuteen on the Pacific coast he observed a kaiak 15 feet long. The Koryakers (more to the south) also have kaiaks. The Chukchee carry on seal-hunting on the winter ice by methods which greatly resemble those of the Eskimo (luring and creeping; ice-sealing stools on which they sit etc.). Cf. also other parallels mentioned by me here pp. 580, 652, 681, 685 etc.

In its origin the culture of a people is woven of many dissimilar threads. Here I may give two telling witnesses from the language of the connection of the Eskimo culture with the occident (or more correctly with the orient, since the direction of migration was from west to east). The word for the Eskimo kaiak (*qajaq*) agrees almost exactly with the word of the Turkish Yakuters for boat (*qajiq*); we are tempted to regard this word as a loan from the Turkish

we see recent inventions, local specializations or defects. That the archaic features have persisted longest in East Greenland, is connected naturally with the fact, that this side of the land is more isolated than the west coast and only quite recently has been influenced from the other coast, namely round the land from the south, in consequence of the arrival of Europeans.

The period at which the northern coasts of Hudson Bay became inhabited by the Eskimo from the west lies perhaps not so very remote. If we take it at some few centuries before the year 1000, when Thorfinn Karlsefni and his men met with the Eskimo *Skrælings* near the Gulf of St. Lawrence, this period would probably be sufficient to explain their arrival in Greenland at some time shortly before Eiríkr the Red's landing and settling in South Greenland. The first flock, I imagine, has emigrated from the districts in the northern corner of Hudson Bay. I shall not discuss the question, by which route these hardy forerunners have reached over to Greenland's southern coasts, where the Icelandic settlers discovered discarded objects of *Skræling* origin. We do not know, whether at that time they lived far north on the coast, but this is the most likely. Those that were living in the south and were not themselves seen by the Icelanders, were probably cut off from the return northwards at the south point of Greenland and were obliged during the following centuries to keep to the east coast. Whether they had already succeeded in occupying this coast as far north as Ammassalik or lived closer together right at the south, there seems no possibility of deciding except perhaps by the aid of archæological investigations along this coast. Through the feeble or vacillating conduct of the Norsemen during the period of decline they have in the end been attracted over to the west coast again in constantly increasing numbers.

The northern immigrants of Greenland, whose descendants still live in the fjords of both coasts right down to the polar circle, have hardly been much slower in arriving than these first immigrants (the prehistoric forerunners) and they have sprung from the same mother-group in the central regions. It is conceivable that they have taken a somewhat shorter time to reach down to Disko Bay than to the large fjords five degrees further north on the east coast, in other words, that Franz Josephs Fjord and Scoresby Sound have not been occupied from such an early period as the northern fjords of West

in the Eskimo language, which presumably has followed with the special invention, made by another people, to the Eskimo. The same applies to the Eskimo word for a boot (*kamik*, in several oblique cases with an altered root **kammak*), which seems to be related to the Lapplanders' *gabmaga* "komag, Lapp-shoes", derived from *galbmat* "to freeze" (of a human being); Finnish **kalp-* "cold".

Greenland; this question also can only be solved, when further archaeological investigations have revealed whether this part of the coast has had a corresponding stone-age culture.

With regard to the Ammassalik district I believe I have made it probable, that it has had a fully developed stone-age culture containing specialized forms of stone implements which correspond to the forms we know from the west coast. As the present culture of the Ammassalikers, or a little older stage, is in partial continuity with the northern culture of the same coast, we can perhaps conclude that the same applies to the still older stage, which corresponds to these stone-age finds at Ammassalik, which, so far as I can see, are quite like the stone-age types from the northern fjords of West Greenland. Unfortunately the archaeological finds of stone implements from North-East Greenland and from South-West Greenland are still so insufficient, that we can frame no conclusions from a comparison. No stone artifact hitherto found connects the stone-age of the Ammassalikers specially to the north or to the south of the coast. But many of the typical implements of bone and wood from this district are in every way just as old as those of stone, and among them there is no lack of connections with the northern culture of the coast.

Shortly after the submersion of the Norse colonies on the west coast the influences from Europe, the modifications by the materials and impulses acquired from the Norsemen have undoubtedly spread northwards both on the west and east coast; along the latter they have gradually reached right up to Ammassalik and were most probably still at work when the European explorers first reached there. We know how the Ammassalikers even in quite recent times (between 1884--85 when Holm spent the winter there and his return in 1894) have adopted new forms and modes from the South Greenlanders, for example, the kaiaks with straight stem-projections, the hoop-shaped receptacles for the coiled sealing line on the kaiak etc., and at the same time have given up the old forms. Among the weapons discarded at an earlier period may be mentioned first and foremost the bow and arrow, among the introduced the cross-bow. In earlier times their culture has naturally had on the whole a greater resemblance to the northern culture than now¹⁾. The present Ammassalik culture has many striking points of agreement with that of the southernmost West Greenland. This fact has undoubtedly contributed to the misconception put forward without close investigation by some observers, that the Ammassalikers have

¹⁾ Cf. also (1909) p. 340.

immigrated from the south¹), whereas in any case it can only entitle us to see there a mixture or influence from the south. It must be remembered however, that in the comparison with the culture of the South Greenlanders it is necessary to reckon with the probability, that also the forms of weapons existing there have once been changed to suit the local (subarctic) conditions, for their ancestors must also have come originally from arctic regions²).

The most decisive evidence, that the Ammassalik district has obtained a portion of its inhabitants from the north and thus that this contribution has come north round Greenland I find in their ice-sealing weapons and hunting methods. On this part of the coast the natives in winter are to a much greater extent reduced to seal-hunting on the ice than those on the southern part. The hunting methods connected herewith are unknown along the south coasts of Greenland owing to the natural conditions and it is not probable that these methods should have been brought the long way by the south to the Ammassalikers and yet remained as a whole and in details precisely the same as the northern West Greenlanders' ice-hunting methods, still this is the case. It is only along the route from the north through regions, where the same hunting methods could and must have been practised, that we can find an explanation of the remarkable continuity in this regard. We arrive at last at an old meeting-place on the east coast of Greenland, where the paths of the northern and southern groups crossed or overlapped and where the blood and culture of two nearly related tribes became intermingled.

RÉSUMÉ AND RESULTS. — I may here recapitulate the results of my comparative study of the implements of the Ammassalikers. I shall first of all choose for special mention the kinds and forms which tell us something of the mixed origin from north or south of the inhabitants at this place.

We learn least here, naturally, from those instruments which are essentially alike and common to the whole of Greenland. Ex-

¹) The immigration of the Ammassalikers from the south was first put forward as a theory by Kroeber (1899) p. 321, later by Swenander (1906) p. 41, the former on general ethnographic grounds, the latter especially on a comparison of the Greenland harpoon heads. O. Solberg (1907) p. 58 agrees with my view based on the Ammassalikers' dialect (1904, pp. 40—41) as a mixture of northern and southern elements, thus spoken by a mixture of northern and southern immigrants. I obtained an essential confirmation on ethnographical grounds of this standpoint from my first investigation of the Amdrup collection (1909) pp. 341—342.

²) Attention was already directed to this point of view by F. Nansen (1891) pp. 11—12. Cf. also Schultz-Lorentzen (1904) p. 304.

amples of this kind are the tents, the umiaks, certain small belongings of the kaiak and weapons (straps, eyelets, toggles), the hunters' drag-lines and small wound-plugs (of bone) for the slaughtered seals; their dresses and snow-goggles, the women's bodkins, needles and thimble-guards, their hairdress, many of the utensils in the house, drying-frames, lamps, vessels, bone forks and spoons, drums, children's toys etc. Most of these objects belonging to the daily life are, it is true, not quite the same from place to place; but the small deviations in the forms from the different districts have been effaced or intermingled, especially in the districts of old colonization, so much as to be of hardly any use in seeking for contributions towards the elucidation of the connection of the groups or their distinctness from one another.

It is quite different with the features special or partly special to the Ammassalik district, which connect alternately with the northern (high-arctic) or southern (subarctic) cultures of the same coast or with the similar divisions of West Greenland. I may summarize them here.

The houses occupied by the Ammassalikers during recent generations are mostly long houses for 8 or 10 families. This is a house-form which is in several respects quite the reverse of typical for the Eskimo and its introduction presupposes a complete revolution of the original social condition. The origin of this change can hardly be ascribed to the forefathers of the Ammassalikers but it is presumably connected somehow with the fall of the Norse-Icelandic colonies in South Greenland and thus dates from about the year 1500. Both the expanse and rectangular ground-form of the houses may have been due to imitation of the Norse houses and the quantities of large pieces of drift-wood in the sea have rendered the building of such houses possible¹). In the districts, where the long-house type now dominates, the Eskimo private house was combined with the original meeting or assembly house (*qasse*); indeed the long-house replaces or implies a whole village or fishing community. The *Taawin* coming from the north, who at Ammassalik must have adapted themselves to the communal mode of living, which came from the south, were previously only accustomed to the small huts containing but one or two families and often built near together in small groups, like fishing hamlets. Ruins at Ammassalik show, that the small

¹) According to Valtýr Guðmundsson, *Privatboligen* (1889) pp. 92—93 and 212—213, the ground-plan of the Icelandic houses in the saga period was rectangular. Walls and roof were made of sod and stone and drift-wood. There was a broad platform along the walls for the inhabitants to sit on or sleep on, and the sleeping platform was divided in several compartments, as in the Eskimo houses in South Greenland.

houses were once in use there also and I imagine, that the still occupied houses, in which the depth (from window to back wall) is greater than the length of front or back wall, belong to a transitional type from the originally small to the long-house type. Amdrup has shown¹⁾, that certain peculiarities in the houses of the north coast are found again in some house-ruins at Ammassalik, namely, a niche (store room) in the one side-wall of the house near the entrance and a side-room (workshop) in the house passage²⁾; further he discovered at the Skærgaard Peninsula in the northern part of the Ammassalik district the characteristic observed in the more northern Depot Island, that the graves were provided with a small side-room, in which the weapons or instruments of the dead were deposited. Thus we can perhaps see here traces of the dwellings of the northern immigrants in these features and in the small houses, which are now only found as ruins at Ammassalik, whereas in the long-houses we see the house-type, which has won its way in with immigrants from the south.

A feature of the long-houses, also coming from the south, is the separation of the different families on the long platform by means of suspended skins (*talin*), which in height reach the level of a sitting person, and pillar-shaped wooden supports between each place, which bear the long beams of the roof.

A rudiment of the dome-shaped snow-houses of the arctic regions may be seen in the diminutive snow-houses (*ittewinaq*), which the Ammassalikers build as shelter for their dogs in the severest time of winter.

The dogs themselves and the dog-sledges are a high-arctic feature. Between Cape Farewell and Holstensborg on the west coast we find at the present day neither dogs nor sledges, and the same applies to the southernmost part of the east coast, for in the subarctic zone the snow does not freeze so hard, that it is practicable to drive on sledges over long distances. South Greenland is subarctic, still dogs and sledges were used on the east side as far south as Tingmiarmiut (62° 32' N. lat.)³⁾. The East Greenland dogs resemble those of North-West Greenland and the harness used for them is very much the same at both places. The sledges on the other hand have some special features which distinguish them from those of the west coast.

The winter seal-hunting on the ice, the necessary types of weapons and the hunting methods distinguish the Ammassalikers from

¹⁾ Amdrup (1909) pp. 318—319 and (1902) p. 241.

²⁾ The side-room in the house passage has probably rather been a kind of kitchen or small cooking space of the kind described by Glahn in the South Greenland houses; cf. Schultz-Lorentzen (1904) p. 310.

³⁾ Holm (1883) p. 68, cf. (1888) p. 203, in this volume pp. 185—187.

the southernmost part of the coast and connect them with the north land. Their hunting methods on ice agree with those of the Eskimo at Umanak (*Oommannaq*) in the north part of West Greenland. The ice stool for sealing on the ice with the three high legs is known among the Smith Sound Eskimo in Greenland and the Point Barrow Eskimo in Alaska, but not from other districts. The lower foot-stool of a different type, of which Amdrup found two examples (inv. nos. 65—66) at Cape Tobin, is unknown at Ammassalik, but is undoubtedly of the same kind as that described by Egede from North-West Greenland¹⁾ and a similar stool was found by Sverdrup on Heiberg Land at the commencement of the more northern route of immigration (over Grinnell Land) to Greenland²⁾. — The small wound-plugs of bone for the slaughtered seals also belong to the sealing on the ice and must have come from the north. The large wooden wound-plugs on the other hand are shared in common by the Ammassalikers with the other Greenlanders.

The original kaiak-form of the Ammassalikers resembled more what we still find in the northern West Greenland at Upernivik and Smith Sound than the South Greenlanders'. It had upturned keel at the stern end and three-jointed ribs (separate bottom and side ribs) instead of straight keel and rounded ribs; the last forms have only been adopted at Ammassalik within recent times, where they mortise the keel and ribs together just as the South Greenlanders do. Southern features have thus replaced the original northern in the construction of the kaiak; similarly the Ammassalik kaiak oars originally looked more like those of the Smith Sound and Central Eskimo than the South Greenlanders'. White bleached skins are used to cover both the kaiak and umiak; this feature the Ammassalikers have in common with the South Greenlanders only, whilst the North Greenland boat covers are prepared from black skins³⁾. The kaiak stand or receptacle for the harpoon line on the kaiak was originally cross-shaped, which is also known from northern West Greenland, but now the hoop-shaped receptacle of the South Greenlanders has been adopted.

The various bone-eyelets, which hold the cross-straps in position on the kaiak deck are as on the South Greenland kaiak, but there is a local deviation in the length and position of some of the cross-straps. Further, the small bone peg or attachment, which is fixed on the kaiak deck to the right of the man-hole to bear the harpoon shaft and hold it in its place (pp. 395—396), was probably formed

¹⁾ H. Egede (1741) p. 58; fig. on Pl. to p. 58.

²⁾ Thalbitzer (1909) p. 434 (pp. 427—435; figs. 38—39).

³⁾ Cf. also Schultz-Lorentzen (1904) pp. 311 (with note) and 312.

originally more in the shape of the corresponding, horizontal peg of the Smith Sound Eskimo, whereas now the cylindrical upright bone-peg (a diminutive prop) of the South Greenland kaiak is also copied at Ammassalik.

Whilst the ice-sealing harpoons of the Ammassalikers connect them with the high-arctic culture of the coast, their kaiak harpoons are in agreement with those of the South Greenlanders. Like the latter they have their knob and feather harpoons, which in the ordinary Greenland way are thrown by means of special throwing sticks. At Ammassalik both the front end and the back end of the throwing stick for the knob harpoon and the lance have holes for the loose insertion of the corresponding bone-pegs on the under side of the harpoon shaft, whereas the throwing stick of the feather harpoon only has one hole (or two adjacent holes) in the front end and in the back end instead of hole an outstanding spur or bone peg adjusted in the space between the feathers to the butt end of the shaft (the shaft end being of bone and bevelled with a slanting surface which fits the spur). Even in this special Ammassalik feature there is an approximation to the adjustment of the throwing stick of the South Greenlanders.

The loose harpoon heads (toggles) are at Ammassalik, as elsewhere in Greenland, of different types which are used indiscriminately; the form most typical for this district now is also known from northern West Greenland, though seldom there; a second common, long and slender form with bilateral barbs towards the point is common to Ammassalik and the whole of the west coast. A third, now obsolete type resembled the diminutive whale-harpoon type known from northern East Greenland, where Amdrup found a specimen (inv. no. 5) on the Skærgaard Peninsula (and a couple nearly similar, nos. 6 and 7), and several were found earlier by Hammar (Nathorst Expedition)¹⁾ in Franz Joseph's Fjord. This relict at Ammassalik thus also bears witness of the continuity with the north. We come to the same result when we compare the characteristic, hinged toggle head used by the Ammassalikers in their ice-sealing with the North-East Greenland harpoon point of almost the same form, which Amdrup (inv. no. 10) found at the Skærgaard Peninsula.

The lateral prongs of the bird-dart and the mode by which they are attached to the shaft, on the other hand, connect Ammassalik with South Greenland²⁾.

The same is true regarding the form of the Ammassaliker's single sealing bladder, which by means of a short, fixed strap under-

¹⁾ Thalbitzer (1909) p. 359.

²⁾ Schultz-Lorentzen (1904) p. 313.

neath has its ends folded together and the middle part greatly arched when blown up. But according to Johan Petersen this feature belonged originally to Ammassalik and from there spread southwards to be adopted and imitated by the South Greenlanders.

The Ammassalikers' dip-nets or basket-scoops for the caplin (*ammassät*) fishery are apparently in agreement with those formerly used by the South Greenlanders (p. 468) and must have come from the south. A curious thing is that the use of fish-hooks had not reached so far north as Ammassalik.

The cross-bows have reached Ammassalik from the south.

The men's knives of the Ammassalikers, with a short double-edged stone blade or a short, single-edged iron blade fixed in a socket at the end of a haft, is characteristic of this locality, being a type unknown elsewhere in Greenland or indeed anywhere within the region of the East Eskimo. Those with stone-blade (figs. 204 *a—e*) can be compared with the primitive stone blade knives of the Point Barrow Eskimo¹), where the blade is fixed into a cleft in the haft with a thong lashing round it. Those with an iron blade (figs. 182 and 184) are essentially of the same type, except that the blade owing to the new kind of material is as a rule single-edged and has two special characteristic features, the curved or (owing to wear) concave cutting edge, which perhaps conceals an imitation of the position of the blade in the "crooked knife" type (in such a case this feature would be true Eskimoese and ancient knives of this type have been found further north on the coast) and the distinct tang which is sharply marked off from the outer part of the blade, a characteristic that may have come from the south as copy of European knives. — The long-blade hunting knife is presumably a specialised form, in which two original types have become fused at Ammassalik, namely, the double-edged knife with long blade (in Alaska a lanceolate stone-blade) inserted into a wooden haft and the common weapon of offence, the broad bone dagger (in Alaska made of bear's bone in one piece without special haft)²). — Both these kinds of knives (working and hunting knives) belong probably to the many relicts of an old culture among the Ammassalikers, which has long ago become extinct both in West Greenland and further north on

¹) Corresponding to the "first" and "second" classes of Murdoch (1892) pp. 152—153, figs. 99—102, cf. fig. 145, which in East Greenland seem to be mixed. Cf. also Nelson (1899) pp. 80—81, Pl. XXXVI *a* (especially figs. 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, all with iron blades).

²) These two types of knives are described by Murdoch (1892) pp. 152—153 (figs. 103—104) and pp. 191—192 (figs. 174—175). Cf. Nelson (1899) pp. 171—172, Pl. LXV, fig. 3.

the east coast, but which have persisted longer at this isolated spot. We still lack criteria by which to judge of the route along which these instruments have reached to this district.

In the sharks' teeth knives we see an ancient trait in the manner of fixing the teeth in the haft in lateral grooves (like the blade in the crooked knives). This kind of knife comes rather from the south than from the north.

The women's knives, both the two-armed with a special haft head and a separate foot-piece to hold the blade and the one-armed with a crescent-shaped iron blade, come probably in part from instruments of European make, whereas the simpler type (a narrow block of wood or bone as handle with a groove on the under side for the insertion of the stone blade) is true Eskimoese.

The wooden boxes and chests of the Ammassalikers, composed of separate boards nailed together, and their wooden tubs and pails, made of separate staves mortised into one another, are probably influenced like the above women's knives by imitation of European utensils introduced on the west coast.

The waterproof kaiak frocks of the Ammassalikers made of black unhaired skin and the combined kaiak frocks of white unhaired skin are only known elsewhere from South Greenland, from which these overcoats must have been transferred northwards as far as Ammassalik and they belong probably to an old mode characteristic of the southern coasts of Greenland.

The same holds good probably of several other peculiarities of the costume, among these the boots of the men with the hairy side outwards, the best boots of the women with white unhaired skin, their headkerchiefs and their triangular ear-pendants.

The "Dutch beads" (of coloured glass) have come naturally from South Greenland, and probably also the use of *ammassät* dorsal vertebrae as beads.

All the ethnographic features brought together here show us the Ammassalikers as participators in common elements of the Greenland culture, but we may note the fact, that the agreement is only partial and sometimes points to relationship with the people to the north, sometimes with those to the south; which naturally in some of the cases might simply be explained by saying, that the Ammassalikers live on the boundary between a high-arctic and a subarctic culture and have needed elements from both sides. Nevertheless, this explanation can only refer to those implements and activities which are dependent on the climate and natural conditions. — In addition to these there are not a few features in the Ammassalik culture, which are identical with peculiar and characteristic forms of Greenland

culture, i. e. common to all the Greenlanders (or most of them), but not known outside Greenland. With those I have already mentioned I may bring together here the principal of these typical features which characterize Greenland: (1) the sledges constructed with a couple of wooden uprights behind, (2) the kaiaks with receptacles or stands for the coiled sealing line, which are raised from the deck on three legs, (3) the harpoon and lance shafts provided with flat bone caps nailed on the front end (instead of with pear-shaped foreshafts), (4) the lances with long flexible bone head as also the "loose shaft" of the harpoon, (5) the bladder dart provided with a fixed bone-head (now iron) instead of a loose¹), (6) the feather harpoon provided with a couple of bone feathers or plates as counterpoise, (7) throwing sticks of special type used in conjunction with the kaiak harpoons (and lances), (8) the throwing stick for slinging the knob harpoon or lance with holes to fit the shaft pegs or spurs not only in the front part but also behind (instead of a peg or spur corresponding to a hole or excavation in the butt of the shaft), the last hole elliptical in outline so that the peg may more easily slip off on casting, (9) double-edged knives for hair cutting with edges of shark's teeth, (10) the combined frock of the kaiak man, consisting of a short anorak with arms and a skirt made of stiff black leather, which is bound fast round the rim of the man-hole, (11) the women's anoraks with pointed and relatively short flaps in front and behind, (12) the women's mode of hair-dressing, a single tuft wound round with a band, (13) the women's ear-drops, (14) the 8-shaped buzz (square or discoid outside Greenland), (15) series of ornamental rings carved round the hafts of bodkins, men's knives, stiletos, wound-plugs etc²).

Several more typical features could without doubt be discovered on further investigation and access to more complete material (both Greenlandic and extraneous). But the features mentioned show already, how decidedly the material culture of the Ammassalikers lies within the "domestic circle" of Greenland.

In this summary I have avoided mentioning the implements and features, which are not characteristic of the culture of Greenland but common to wider areas of the Eskimo world. It might also be of interest to discover, how far these more general features reach be-

¹) It is only at Smith Sound that the bladder dart has a flexible bone-head attached to the foreshaft.

²) Examples of such ring carving are seen in figs. 151 *b*, 168 *a* etc.; it is mentioned in connection with the knives p. 475. Bodkins with carved rings from a more northern part of the east coast are present in the Amdrup collection, Inv. nos. 33—44, see my Description (1909) fig. 18, cf. figs. 92—93.

yond the Eskimo territories to the west, but my task here is in the main simply to throw light on the position of the Ammassalikers in ethnographical regards. —

As a contrast to these common Greenlandic features it may be of use to consider the provincialisms of the Ammassalik district. These are on the one hand certain kinds of implements which are only found here, on the other peculiar forms and details of otherwise common types of implements. I may mention the principal here in the ordinary systematic order: (1) the broad uprights of the sledges and the narrow seat with closely placed cross-benches, (2) the lash of the dog-whip fastened on the side of the shaft and fitted with large ivory-beads strung over the beginning of the lash near to the handle, with the object of weighting the lash, (3) the handle itself with a pointed tooth uppermost and a pick-axe below, (4) boat hooks ("umiak cleaners"), (5) the cross-shaped kaiak stand, (6) the lance slung with the throwing stick, (7) the method of throwing the feather harpoon by means of a spur (hook) on the hind end of the throwing stick, (8) the hinged toggle head on the ice-sealing harpoon, (9) a pair of hinged toggle heads on the salmon spear, (10) wound trimmers to stop up the intestines in the killed seals, (11) double bladder floats, (12) wooden decoy whistles for ptarmigan, (13) men's finger and knee protectors for carving or cutting work, (14) thong smoothers, (15) narrow three-corded drying frames for thongs and sealing lines, (16) old-fashioned men's knives, (17) women's ulos (crescentic blade with two-armed handle), (18) seal-shaped twisting implements and sinew-guards, (19) triangular needle skins to hold the iron sewing needles, (20) bone needles for the perforation of caplins when stringing them, (21) sucking tubes of wood, separate or bored lengthways in one of the staves of the water-tub, (22) bags sewn together of the heads of dried caplins, (23) the skin caps of the men, (24) sewn embroidery on skin bags, boots etc., white streaks on a black ground (not coloured), (25) ivory relief work nailed on wood (on eye-shades etc.), (26) ivory pendants as ornaments on needle skins etc., shaped like a man or seal, (27) seal-tail ornaments on drag-line toggles, on eyelets for the cross-straps on kaiak deck, on combs, drying frames etc., (28) several other ornamental carvings, e. g. the serrated edges of buckles for the kaiak dress (p. 625), (29) the dot ornamentation on ivory implements, (30) several other designs in embroidery on skin, (31) the men's halter-like hairbands, (32) their harness-like amulet-straps, (33) the masks, (34) the large idol-like dolls, (35) the angakoq's rapping stick and skin-flapper, (36) spindle buzzes and mill-wing buzzes, (37) the toy with the nodding birds, (38) the toy with two or four movable beads, (39) the boys' slings.

These provincialisms and still other features, which might be mentioned, gave the culture of the Ammassalikers until recently a special character by contrast with the other Greenlanders'. There can hardly be any doubt, that some of them are old relicts, retained conservatively, but some also are merely local variations of more recent origin after the immigration, possibly specialisations of implements common to all the Greenlanders. Among the latter I would place the forms of the sledges and their uprights; it is from local causes that both sledges and umiaks are comparatively short and narrow at this place. To sling the lance with a throwing stick is a recent imitation of the casting of the kaiak harpoon by this means. The use of the hinged toggle heads in the salmon spear is perhaps only secondary by comparison with the hinged head on the ice sealing harpoon weapon, as its name "the small *tookaq*" suggests that it is derived from a name and object of the normal size. Likewise the double sealing bladder, the wound trimmers, decoy whistles, sucking tubes are perhaps local inventions; whereas the triangular needle skins of the women are probably an enlarged part of an old-time apparatus, which has now been lost in Greenland, namely, the Eskimo needle case made from a bone-tube with a skin-strap through it. This implement which at one time was used everywhere in Greenland and had a special national form has now ceased to be used and it is only at Ammassalik that the skin-strap has been preserved to our day in the form of these needle skins. A few more of the peculiarities mentioned as only known now from Ammassalik have certainly been used earlier on the other coast. The use of caps by the men has come presumably from the west coast within recent times. Possibly the pointed skirts of the women's anoraks have earlier been rounded at Ammassalik as further south on the coast; the pointed forms have thus perhaps been copied from West Greenland in later years. Several of the working implements of the men and women (knives, ulos, sinew twisters) have possibly also been known at one time on the other coast, though it is remarkable that the collections contain no parallels from there. In Pfaff's collection there are examples from North Greenland (fragments from graves) both of the cross-shaped kaiak stand and of the men's eye-shades. Other provincialisms of the Ammassalikers appear again on the American side west of Greenland, for example, on Baffin Land the masks carved from wood or sewn of skin, and certain ornamental patterns (seal tail carved on the edge of ivory implements; serrated edges of buckles; the dot ornamentation on carvings in ivory). Ivory relief ornaments are known outside Ammassalik only from Alaska and the Aleutian Islands. The spindle buzz is only found among

the Eskimo on an island in the Bering Strait and on the coast of Asia and among the Chukchee¹). Hinged toggles as weapon heads are known from the neighbours of the Eskimo on the Pacific. A distant connection can also be seen between the Ammassalik men's knives, which have two short, ornamental strings of beads on the end of the haft directed away from each other, and the knives with similar ornamentation, which the inland Indians of North Alaska have been accustomed from ancient times to sell to the Eskimo²). Another ancient feature is the hole (for the thumb) inside the edge of the throwing stick instead of the notch in the edge, which has become the common feature in all the newer throwing sticks of Greenland.

CONCLUSION. — The peculiarities of the Ammassalikers' culture thus witness in great part to their conservatism, also to some extent to their powers of independent invention, but most of all to their isolated position in the Eskimo world since their forefathers wandered away from the common starting point in the central regions and came to rest in the fjords where they now live. They witness perhaps in part to one thing more, the inherited contrast to their neighbours in the south. In the introduction I have emphasized this contrast which appeared both in their neighbours' hostile attitude towards them in Graah's time (see pp. 339—340) and in their own reference to the Southlanders as people with strange appearance and absurd dialect (pp. 331—332). In this attitude we can possibly see the reason, why the old-fashioned relief work and other ornamentation of the Ammassalikers has never found a footing southwards, nor the fish-hooks of the Southlanders found countenance at Ammassalik.

What connects this group of East Greenlanders with the northern culture is their true ice-sealing implements and hunting methods. In contrast to the South Greenlanders they appear with dog sledges and clothed in polar bear-skin trousers, just as their northern countrymen would have done, if we had known them, and as the Smith Sound Eskimo do to this day. The discovery far north of characteristic implements of their culture harmonizes with their almost forgotten traditions of their connection with the north (the fragments of ivory relief work found by Amdrup on Sabine Island; flat bone caps for the front end of the harpoon shaft found by the German Polar Expedition in Franz Joseph's Fjord; the throwing stick with finger hole instead of lateral spur found by Ryder in

¹) Bogoras (1904) pp. 272—273, fig. 197.

²) G. Gibbs (1867) pp. 314 and 326. Cf. Thalbitzer (1913) pp. 77 and 60—61.

Scoresby Sound; the *Uiarteq* tale, tradition of musk-oxen etc). In any case some of the forefathers of the present Ammassalikers have lived far to the north, belonging to a tribe of Eskimo who have migrated from the American side north round Greenland. Along the east coast, where the polar ice current always moves southwards, they have from summer to summer always been trying the hunting and sealing grounds which lay further south, increasing in numbers and peopling the large fjords and ice-breaking islands, where the open water most readily forms. In the interior northwards musk-ox and further south reindeer, on the sea the seals and polar bears — these were the friends they sought for. When they came to the southern boundary of the musk-ox area, they found as in the north plenty of bears and seals. On this side of Greenland the bears almost always wander towards the north, it is said they begin at the southernmost point of the coast and follow it northwards to the "land's end"; then they bend outwards to the outermost edge of the ice-belt, which the natives never go out to, and drift again with the ice southwards to their starting point, from which they repeat their migration to the north. The Eskimo may have believed, that they were journeying towards the home-region of the bears by going southwards. The bears increased in number, the reindeer increased, the large seals and the whales had their breeding places at many localities.

Ammassalik itself is a paradise in equal degree for the Eskimo, bears and gods. Here they found a broad belt of land free of glaciers, cut into by many sounds and fjords, where there was more open water than they had known previously on this coast, for the form of the coast here, first projecting then bending inwards, makes this part more than any other a shelter against the polar ice. Here on coming from the north the land changed its character, it was an enticing place to live in. On the sunny side of the deep fjords and sheltered valleys the edible herbs grew more luxuriantly than in the north, angelica, stone-crop and sorrel flourished and later in the summer the land was black with bilberries and crowberries. But even more important, in the mouths of the fjords they found the breeding places of large seals and of these there were still plenty as also of whales; further, it is still remembered, that there were herds of reindeer on the large island at Cape Dan, which they hunted with bow and arrow. The salmon are plentiful in the rivers and the caplins (*ammassät*) are found here and only here. Through the hardest times of winter the latter fish dried in the sun and wind and eaten with a little blubber constitutes the daily bread of the natives.

But immigrants from the north would not of themselves have discovered how to use the ammassât in the interior of Ammattiwik Fjord, for they knew nothing of this fish. Since the present inhabitants are engaged in this fishery from early summer and quite in the same way as the practice is in West Greenland, we may conclude that they have learnt it from the south. We can perhaps even guess at the possibility, that it was just this small fish that attracted the nearest of the south coast Eskimo up to the interesting place where this fishery is carried on. How could they resist this excellent fishery and fishing ground, which they perhaps discovered during summer visits at a time when the district lay open and unoccupied!

The immigrants from the south have perhaps first learnt to stay the winter here from their kinsmen coming from the north, who were able to teach them how to capture seals on the winter ice by methods developed in more arctic regions. In any case we should find a satisfactory explanation of the mixed culture of the Ammassalikers in the view, that the offshoots of two immigrant groups meeting here from the north and south have informed each other of the specially good and attractive points in their respective cultures. To judge from the spread southwards of certain archaic features and from linguistic criteria, the contribution from the north to the inhabitants of the Ammassalik district has been powerful and important, perhaps even the dominant influence in the beginning; on the other hand, the contributions from the south have been more frequent and constant in their influence. The memory of their origin from two sides is now almost lost or the date of this by misunderstanding is transferred to a recent period (cf. p. 346). The intermingling of the original elements must go back to a remote period; possibly the sharp contrasts existing until recently between many families within this district were an inheritance from a time, when two competing groups of settlers or descendants of these have felt a kind of national opposition to one another. Through intermarriage and social companionship these groups have fused together to one whole.

From this fusion has come Greenland's most exclusive, most complex and most artistic Eskimo community.



Fig. 394. Reindeer fence in ruins at Kulusuk near Cape Dan. (W. Thalbitzer phot. 1906.)



Fig. 395. Eskimo grave on the slope of Amitsuarsik east of Ammassalik.
(W. Thalbitzer phot. 1906.)

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¹) A German translation: "Die Ostgrönländer in ihrem Verhältnisse zu den übrigen Eskimostämmen" is found in Deutsche geographische Blätter, Bd. IX.

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¹) This paper revised and translated into English under the title of "Four Skræling words from Markland (Newfoundland) in the saga of Erik the Red (*Eiríkr rauði*) is to be found in the Bulletin of the XVIIIth International Congress of Americanists in London (1912) 1913.

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COMPLETE LIST OF THE OBJECTS found in THE AMDRUP COLLECTION.

I have in the main based the arrangement of the objects according to the finding place, going from north to south, but the objects of each local group have been arranged morphologically so that there is a parallelism in arrangement within each local group. With regard to the northernmost discoveries (First Part, nos. 1—194) I have however found it practical to make an exception, namely, by letting some of the morphological features come into the foreground (cf. pp. 322—323). The result has been, that the weapon-points found in the north district have been given the first 20 numbers; in the same way all the stone-objects (nos. 21—26) have been collected in one separate group and described in a chapter by itself. But all the other kinds of objects found within the north district of East Greenland have been arranged in groups according to their locality, each group under the heading of its finding-place; and thus arranged they have been described in the last chapters of my *Ethnological Description of the Amdrup Collection from the coast north of Ammassalik* (1909).

Hereafter follow in the Second Part the things described here from the south district, namely from Nualik (*Nooalik*) with the numbers 195 to 661 and from the more southern finding places as far as to Tasiusak (*Täseesag*), the small fjord where the colony Ammassalik (*Ammattalik*) is now found. In this part of the list I have given in parentheses to the right of each number the original inventorial numbers used by Amdrup in his private inventory (cf. p. 322).

The leading idea in my morphological division of the ethnographic material may easily be grasped from the Table of Contents at the beginning of this book. The lines have been drawn according to the following principal ideas: (1), dwelling, (2), means of conveyance, (3), hunting-weapons, (4), stone-implements, (5), men's working implements, (6), the same for women, (7), implements of common use for men and women, (8), clothes, (9), playthings etc., and are naturally most clearly seen where ample material has been at hand, e. g. in the part of the list which gives the things from the "dead house" at Nualik.

FIRST PART

comprising the objects found north of the district of Ammassalik between 74° 45' and 68° 07' N. lat. and described in "Meddelelser om Grønland" Vol. XXVIII (1909).

Inventorial Nos.	The figures and pages cited here belong to my previous description in the volume just mentioned.	Page
1 to 10	<i>Harpoon heads</i> from Cape Tobin and Skærgaardshalvø (Figs. 1 to 7 and Pl. XV)	(345 to 360)
11 - 20	<i>Longer weapon heads</i> from Cape Tobin, Dunholm and Skærgaardshalvø (Figs. 8—10 and Pl. XVI)	(361 - 376)

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21 - 26	Stone implements (fragments) from Sabineø, Dunholm and Skærgaardshalvø (Figs. 11—16)	(377 to 385)
27 - 64	Other finds from <i>Skærgaardshalvø</i> (68°07' N. lat.)	(386 - 425)
27	A child's toy sledge (Fig. 17)	(388 - 395)
28—30	Drill caps (head-pieces) of bone (Figs. 47a, b, c)	(396)
31	Bodkin-shaped wound plug of bone (Fig. 19)	(396 - 397)
32	Boot-sole creaser of bone (Fig. 20)	(397)
33—44	Bodkins (Figs. 18)	(397 - 401)
45	Bone haft of a woman's knife (Figs. 22)	(401 - 405)
46—48	Thimble guards of bone (Fig. 22)	(405 - 406)
49	A one-pronged fork of bone (Fig. 23)	(406)
50—51	Blubber hooks of wood (Fig. 24)	(406 - 407)
52	A child's urine tub (Figs. 25 and 27)	(407 - 408)
53	Whalebone dish with wooden bottom (Figs. 26 and 28)	(408 - 412)
54	Toggle button of bone (Fig. 30)	(412)
55—56	Two handles of bone with finger-rests (Figs. 29 and 33)	(412 - 417)
57	Ornamental teeth belonging to a necklace or belt (Fig. 34)	(417 - 419)
58	Bear's tooth pierced with a transverse hole (Fig. 32)	(419)
59—60	Interlinked beads of ivory (Figs. 31a, b)	(420)
61	Needle case (I) (Fig. 35)	(420 - 424)
62	Handle-like object (cross piece of a bladder float?) (Fig. 36)	(424 - 425)
63—64	Spoon-like objects of bone (Fig. 37)	(425)
65 - 98	Other finds from <i>Dunholm</i> and <i>Cape Tobin</i> (ca. 70° N. lat.)	(426 - 482)
65—66	Ice sealing stools (Figs. 38 and 39)	(427 - 435)
67—68	Sledge keels of bone (Fig. 40)	(435 - 438)
69—70	Ice knives of bone (Figs. 41 and 42)	(438 - 440)
71	Bottom-like oval piece of wood (Fig. 43)	(440 - 441)
72	Hammer-like implement (maul) made of a crooked branch (Fig. 44)	(441 - 443)
73—75	Bone foreshafts of walrus harpoons (Fig. 45)	(443 - 446)
76	Bone head of an adze (Fig. 46)	(446 - 452)
77	Drill stick with iron point (Fig. 47d)	(452 - 453)
78	Drill bow of bone (Fig. 47e)	(453 - 454)
79	Man's knife with a wooden haft and iron blade (Fig. 48)	(454 - 459)
80	Woman's knife (scraper) (Fig. 49)	(459 - 461)
81	Bodkin (Fig. 52)	(461 - 462)
82	Wooden block, part of a kindling set (Fig. 50)	(462)
83	Meat tray or vessel hollowed out of a wooden block (Fig. 51)	(462 - 463)
84	Blubber fork (?) of bone (Fig. 53)	(463 - 464)
85	Lyrate buckle of bone (Fig. 54)	(464 - 466)
86	Comb (from Dunholm) with cross ornaments (Figs. 55 and 56)	(466 - 475)
87	Needle-case (II) (Fig. 56)	(475 - 477)
88—89	Two animals carved in wood (Fig. 57)	(477 - 479)
90—95	Six animals carved in ivory (Figs. 58—60)	(479 - 480)
96	A bone split by borings (Figs. 61)	(480 - 481)

Inventorial Nos. (continued)		Page
97	Head of a wooden implement (fragment of a snow beater?) (Fig. 62)	(481)
98	A whale's vertebra with a central perforation	(482)
99 - 119	Finds from <i>Sabineø</i> and <i>Cape Borlase Warren</i> (ca. $74\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. lat.)	(483 to 499)
99	Handle-part of a wooden implement (snow-beater or blubber-beater) (Fig. 63)	(484 - 488)
100	Nozzle for inflating the sealing float (Fig. 64)	(488)
101	Toggle button of ivory (Fig. 65)	(488 - 489)
102	Eyelet or button (<i>orsseq</i>) for a dog's trace (fragment) (Fig. 66)	(489)
103	Ferrule of bone (Fig. 67)	(489 - 490)
104—105	Foreshaft-like fragments (of toy harpoons?) (Fig. 68)	(490 - 491)
106	Sewing needle of ivory (Fig. 69)	(492)
107—109	Seal-and whale-shaped carvings of ivory for relief ornaments on wooden implements (Fig. 70a, b. c)	(492 - 493)
110	Ornamental tooth (Fig. 70d)	(493)
111—112	Ivory beads for ornament (Fig. 70e, f)	(493 - 494)
113	Toy buzz (8-shaped made of wood (Fig. 71)	(494 - 495)
114	Piece of bone mounting (Fig. 72)	(495 - 496)
115—119	Fragments of wrought bone (Figs. 73—77)	(496 - 497)
120 - 194	Finds from uncertain places <i>north of Ammassalik</i>	(533 - 534)
120	End piece (forked) of a bow made of wood	
121	Polar bear carved in wood (toy) (Fig. 106)	(533 - 534)
122—194	Various nondescript objects, mostly fragments, namely 31 pieces of bone, 38 of wood, 4 of stone	

SECOND PART

comprising finds from the Ammassalik district between Nualik ($67^{\circ} 15' \text{ N. lat.}$) and Tasiusak (*Täseesaq*, $65^{\circ} 37' \text{ N. lat.}$).

Inventorial Nos.	Numbers of figures and pages refer to this volume.	Page
195 to 661	Objects from the "dead house" at <i>Nualik</i> ($67^{\circ} 15' \text{ N. lat.}$)	
195—197	(113) Three pieces of bone keels for sledge runners	
198—205	(144) Eyelets and buttons belonging to dogs' traces. Eight specimens. Figs. 76—77 and 79	374, 376
206—207	(132) Whip handles. Fig. 75	374
208—260	(145) Beads of bone for weighting the lash of the whip. 53 specimens	
261—263	(104) Swivels for dog's tether. Three specimens. Fig. 80	376
264	(64) End cap of bone of a steering oar (unfinished)	
265—268	(32) Bone mounting. Four pieces made of bear's bone for covering stem or stern of kaiak	
269—271	(35, 114) Pieces of chafing rim of bone for the kaiak side (edge). Three specimens	
272	(126) Kaiak paddle. Fig. 88	385

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273	(36, 102) End cap of bear's bone for blade of kaiak oar. Fig. 89	385
275—276	(115) Pieces of bone mounting for the repairing of rim and cap of kaiak paddles. Three specimens.	
277—304	(146) Eyelets and attachments of bone or ivory used on the kaiak deck. 28 specimens. Fig. 95	391
305—306	(149) Eyelet and button of bone for gathering the ends of a divided cross-strap on the kaiak deck. Fig. 100	393
307—308	(61) Legs of an old kaiak stand of hoop-shaped form. Figs. 98—99	393
309	(109) Bone peg on the kaiak stand. One of the four bone pieces through which the hoop is bent	
310	(18) Harpoon head made of narwhal tusk with two lateral barbs and with iron blade, provided with a wooden cap as sheath for the point. Fig. 132 . . .	427
311	(18) Harpoon head of narwhal tusk with two lateral barbs and iron blade. Fig. 135d	431
312	(17) Harpoon head of narwhal tusk with a single lateral barb and with iron blade. Fig. 135f	431
313—314	(19) Harpoon head of narwhal tusk without lateral barbs, and with iron blade inserted. Two speci- mens. Fig. 135c	431
315—317	(20) Harpoon head of bone of bearded seal without lateral barbs, and with iron blade inserted (like Fig. 135c). Three specimens	
318	(43) Harpoon head of narwhal tusk with single lat- eral barb and iron blade	
319—322	(25) Harpoon heads of bone of bearded seal without iron blades. Four specimens. Fig. 135 a, b	431
323	(26) Harpoon head of bear's bone without iron blade (like Fig. 135a,b)	431
324	(27) Harpoon head of bone of bearded seal without iron blade, unfinished	
325	(37) Harpoon head of walrus tusk without iron blade, made in two pieces, unfinished or fragmentary. Fig. 135e	431
326	(21) Harpoon head of narwhal bone for sealing on the ice with iron blade. Same form as in Fig. 135c but smaller	
327	(22) Loose shaft and toggle-head of bear's bone (with iron blade) for sealing on the ice. Cf. no. 356. Fig. 123	421
328—330	(1, 2, 4) Loose shafts of harpoon made of narwhal tusk. Three specimens	
331	(3) Loose shaft of harpoon made of walrus tusk. Fig. 119b	421
332—334	(5, 6, 7) Loose shafts of harpoon made of pieces of bear's bone riveted together (iron nails). Fig. 119a . . .	421
335	(8) Loose shaft of harpoon made of narwhal tusk for the use of a child (unfinished)	
336—337	(14, 15) Bone caps (fixed foreshafts) for harpoon shafts made of narwhal tusk. Two specimens. Fig. 109 . . .	412

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342—343	(16, 106) Harpoon knob of bear's bone with an end weight of iron stuck into a slot in the butt end. Two specimens	
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518—522	(28, 29, 30, 46, 98) Meat and blubber forks of walrus or narwhal tusk or bear's bone (are used to carry a piece of blubber when they go inland to gather black crowberries). Five. Fig. 261, 266	542, 545
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- 626 (155) Bone mounting.....
- 627 (155) Handle portion of a woman's knife (ulo)? Fig. 228. 510
- 628 (155) Bone peg or button (length 6 cm) oblong, cylindrical, with perforated hole lengthwise from top surface through median axis to the middle of the side
- 629 (107) Bone shaft.....
- 630—634 (155) Five small cone-shaped bone pegs (length from 3 to 5 cm)
- 635—641 (155) Seven nondescript pieces of bone (not wrought)
- 642 (56) Piece of narwhal tusk (not wrought).....
- 643 (112) Small tusk of a narwhal
- 644—655 (155) Twelve teeth (not wrought)
- 656—658 (156) Pieces (three) of iron, namely a wrench, a wedge and the blade of a knife (? or a piece of hoop iron)
- 659—661 Fragments of earthenware. 3 pieces, namely one shard white with a red pattern and with glazing on both sides, and two shards brown with weak traces of glazing; the former probably part of a tea-cup, the two latter of a jar
- 662 Objects from *Nordfjord* (66°19' N. lat).
- 662 (375) Miniature pot (a child's toy) made of mica-slate.
- 663 to 693 Objects from *Sarkarmiut* (66°18' N. lat.).
- 663 (400¹) Wooden box found in a grave and containing the following small objects (Nos. ²⁻²⁹). Fig. 389. 661
- 664—665 (400²⁻³) Toggles for dog's traces. Two. Fig. 389b. 661
- 666 (400⁴) Inflating nozzle for sealing bladder (miniature?) Fig. 389b..... 661
- 667—672 (400⁵⁻¹⁰) Bone buttons (in part miniature). Six. Fig. 389b..... 661
- 673—675 (400¹¹⁻¹³) Pieces of bone mounting. Three. Fig. 389b 661
- 675—680 (400¹⁴⁻¹⁸) Knuckle-bones (phalanges). Five. Fig. 389b 661
- 681—692 (400¹⁹⁻²⁹) Teeth. Twelve. Fig. 389b
- 693 (401) Soapstone pot (miniature used as toy) found in another grave. Fig. 389 b
- 694 - 701 Objects from *Depot Island* (*Depotoen*) all found by excavation of a ruined house.
- 694 (332) Drag handle (of the end of the skin cord for towing a seal after the kaiak)
- 695 (327) Knife blade of iron.....
- 696 (330) Hammer stone. Fig. 215
- 697 (329) Fragment of a urine tub.....
- 698 (326) A "Dutch bead"
- 699 (331) Fragment of a bone shaft (drum handle?)...
- 700 (328) Carved piece of whalebone
- 701 (325) Loose pieces of whalebone

Inventorial Nos.
(continued)

Page

702 - 717	Objects from <i>Tasiusak</i> (65°37' N. lat.).	
702	(357) Knife made of bear's bone of the type used in former times in default of iron	
703—705	(359) Thimble guards. Three specimens	
706	(360) Bag made of the heads of caplins (ammassät).	
707	(356) Spoon made of the scapula of a bear	
708—710	(360) Meat dishes made of wood	
711	(358) Urine tub (large). Fig. 282.	553
712	(351) Loose skin hood of a child. Fig. 313.	588
713	(353) Eye shade with relief ornaments of bone (old and fragmentary)	
714	(354) Peak of wood, ornamented. Fig. 320.	595
715	(355) Comb made of reindeer bone (the material brought from the west coast?)	
716	(352) Spindle buzz made of a piece of bear's bone with a wooden stick fixed in the centre. Bone handle and rawhide cord. Fig. 379b.	655
717	(350) Map carved in wood, representing the coast from Cape Dan along the east shore of the Ammassalik fjord	

LIST OF THE OBJECTS FOUND IN THE THALBITZER COLLECTION.

Inv. Nos.

1—5	Models of umiaks, kaiaks and a sledge.
6—10	Dog's traces and harnesses.
11	Whip.
12	Wound trimmer made of bone.
13	Skin sheath for a hunting knife.
14—17	Finger protectors of leather.
18	Drilling apparatus.
19—23	Needle skins and thimble guards.
24	Bag made of the feet of black guillemots sewn together.
25—35	Bags sewn of embroidered skin, bladder skin or caplin heads.
36—38	Wooden plates and a spoon.
39—40	Snuff horns.
41—42	Folded leather edgings of men's bearskin breeches, with running strings. Fig. 301, p. 579.
43—44	Peaks belonging to men's caps.
45	Snow goggles.
46	Man's hair-bands.
47—50	Mask sewn of black shark's skin and two masks carved of wood (cf. fig. 358), p. 638.
51	Decoy whistle for ptarmigan-hunting. Fig. 176, p. 469.
52—53	Cross-bows.
54	Sling made of leather (boy's toy).
55—67	Dolls dressed in skin clothes (toys).
68	Doll or image of a naked man found on a refuse heap. Fig. 367, p. 646.
69—70	Spindle buzzes (toys).

- 71—88 Various toys (nodding or pecking birds, puzzle with movable beads on a string, buzzes, ajagaq, tops, balls).
 89—98 Images of animals carved of wood or ivory.
 99—100 Sundry objects (plaited sinew threads, etc.).

POSTSCRIPT. Ad no. 47 (cf. p. 639). Two skin-masks from Pond's Bay (Baffin Land) much resembling the one found by me near Ammassalik are illustrated in Wissler, Notes on New Collections p. 316. Ivory relief work of the kind known from Ammassalik is seen on some implements from Holstensborg (in the Norton Collection), namely on two throwing sticks (boards) and the front leg of a kaiak stand (receptacle), likewise illustrated by Wissler, l. c. p. 319 (fig. 5a-c).

SOME REMARKS ON THE HOLM COLLECTION FROM AMMASSALIK.

The original and complete list (in Danish) of the objects belonging to the HOLM collection is to be found in "Meddelelser om Grønland" vol. X (pp. 351—358). In addition to my previous remarks on this collection (see pp. 321—322 of the present volume), I shall give here in English translation G. HOLM's own observations prefixed to the original list.

"As we know, Graah brought home with him in 1831 a small ethnographic collection from the east coast of Greenland. This collection has from time to time received accessions from Europeans on the southernmost part of the west coast, who have obtained objects from the Easterners in exchange for the tobacco, ammunition, hardware etc. for which they had come to the commercial depots. In 1881 I obtained a number of objects in this way; but, like those of which I have just spoken, they came from the inhabitants of the southernmost part of the east coast, who had already been considerably influenced by their proximity to the places of commerce. But when the East Greenland expedition came to the Angmagsalik district, its inhabitants had not come into contact with the places of commerce, and possessed only very few European objects, which they either had obtained in exchange from the Easterners living further south, or had found cast on the beach or drifting in the sea.

While the expedition was wintering at Angmagsalik 1884—85, we tried to bring together as complete a collection as possible, in order to illustrate the mode of life of the natives. But the limited room in the one boat in which the expedition returned home, did not permit of many large objects being carried. The collection was therefore supplemented by models which were executed with great skill and accuracy by the natives.

The following list comprises all the objects belonging to this collection. The numbers in brackets give the number of the objects which were presented to the Ethnographic Museum at Christiania in return for the assistance which the Norwegian H. KNUTSEN had afforded us in assembling the collection. The remainder was placed in the Royal Ethnographic Museum in Copenhagen. —

G. H."

CORRIGENDA

Page	line from above line from below		Amendment
58 & 19	Northerners	Norsemen	
13 ¹¹ & 12	Angmagsat	angmagsat	
25 ¹³	hunt	fish	
30 ¹⁶	upper frock	outer frock	
31 ¹³	51c	[to be expunged]	
32 ¹⁶	upper-frocks	outer frocks	
32 ¹³	309	308	
33 ¹²	(figs. 24, 34)	(figs. 28, 37, cf. 17, 19, 24)	
33 ¹⁰	(fig. 327)	(vol. X, Pl. XXII)	
34 ⁵	(fig. 349)	(figs. 324, 325, 349)	
34 ¹⁶ & 17	(figs. 223—228)	(fig. 229, cf. vol. X, Pl. XIX _c).	
35 ¹⁸	bird	seal or bird	
35 ¹⁸	(figs. 242 _a , _b , _c)	(figs. 242 _a , _b , 244, 249, 250).	
40 ¹⁰	(fig. 289 _e)	(fig. 289 _d)	
40 ¹²	(figs. 289 _a , _b)	(figs. 289 _a , _c and 290)	
40 ¹⁵	(figs. 204 _a — _e)	(figs. 204 _a — _c)	
40 ⁷	(figs. 192, 193)	(figs. 193, 194)	
40 ⁵	toe	foot part	
48 ¹¹	(fig. 95)	(fig. 95 _c)	
49 ¹¹	had never been out hunting	had never harpooned a seal	
50 ²⁰ & 21	bearskin boots or sandals are worn on top of the other boots	bearskin overshoes are worn on the feet or sandals under the soles of the boots	
54 ²	(fig. 140)	(figs. 139 _b and 141 _a)	
55 ¹⁰	mussels a mussle	mussels a mussel	
86 ³	prop	knag	
88 ³	(nos. 53—54)	(no. 53 ¹ & 2)	
89 ³	1895	1875	
111 ²⁰	<i>Tugtulik</i>	<i>Tugtulik</i>	
117 ⁴	fig. 260 _a	(a better view in vol. X, Pl. XXIV)	
120 ¹⁸	fig. 281 _b	(cf. vol. X, Pl. XXXI)	
122 ¹⁵	(figs. 28, 29)	(pp. 28—29 and figs. 11 to 13 and 302)	
236 ¹²	a tree	a piece of wood	
325 ¹⁸	fishing harpoons	sealing harpoons	
337 ⁸	cloth	frock	
339 ¹⁷	18 miles	ca. 10 miles	
353 ²³	11 by 10 m	11 by 4 m	
355 ¹⁴	plalforms	platforms	
357 ¹¹	become	becomes	

Page	line from above line from below	Amendment
358 ¹⁴	quare	square
367 ¹⁹	slodge	sledge
367 ⁵	straps	lashings
406 ¹⁵	land birds	reindeer and hares
406 ¹	Glahn (1771) p. 230 ¹)	Fabricius (1818) pp. 235—239
443 ²	(1805)	(1905)
457 ³	³)	²)
459 ¹²	midrib	ridge
478 ¹⁶	(<i>ilageen</i>)	(<i>parpaleen</i>)
481 ⁸	treads	threads
497 ¹⁹	beatifully	beautifully
504 ¹¹	(<i>torte^wruat</i>)	(<i>torte^wrnät</i>)
507 ²⁰	(figs. 223 <i>a</i> and <i>b</i>)	(figs. 223 <i>g</i> and 227 <i>b</i>)
507 ²⁵	(figs. 225 <i>a—f</i>)	(figs. 223 <i>a—f</i>)
511 ²	(1292)	(1892)
517 ¹	guard	guard. (Holm coll.) ¹ / ₂ .
518 ¹⁹	ivory	wood
520 ²	(figs. 379—381)	(figs. 379—380)
551 ¹	and 553	and 552—557
570 ¹⁴	women	women ²)
570 ¹⁶	border ²)	border
579 ⁹	hips (<i>a</i>) and legs (<i>b</i>)	hips (<i>b</i>) and legs (<i>a</i>)
590 ⁴	spirit	soul
590 ³	comical	conical
602 ¹⁴	strings	strips
606 ⁵	(1901)	(1909)
616 ²⁰	³)	⁴)
616 ¹⁷	⁴)	⁵)
629 ⁸	⁴)	³)
633 ²⁰	in seen in	in

In several of the objects illustrated in the paper on the collections from East Greenland which have been designated (in the titles under the figures) as belonging to the Holm collection, doubts may be raised whether they really belong to this collection, or originate from Graah's journey, or have been added on later occasions, e. g. sent by J. Petersen from Ammassalik to the Museum. In this respect I feel some uncertainty regarding the barbed stone sinker fig. 172 *b* (p. 465), two whetting irons (drills?) fig. 190 (p. 478), the water bottle of wood fig. 273 (p. 547) the woman's dress from the southern part of East Greenland fig. 309 (p. 585), the bird-skin cap and bear-skin sandal in fig. 314, *c* and *d* (p. 589), the cloth caps with skin peaks in fig. 315*b* and *c* (p. 591), the woman's kerchief of skin fig. 327 *b* (p. 602), the back scratcher (lice scraper) fig. 334 (p. 607) etc., all of which are specified here as items belonging to "Holm coll.". On the other hand, the nondescript objects shown in fig. 241 (p. 517), surely belong to the Holm collection.

¹) The bows mentioned by Glahn on p. 230 are probably cross-bows.



Fig. 396. The dead house at Nualik. (Amdrup phot. 1899.)



Fig. 397. House-ruin on the Skærgaard Peninsula. (Amdrup phot. 1899.)

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Fig. 398. The interior of the dead house at Nualik. (Kruuse phot. 1899.)

The platform is to the right of the roof supports, the floor and entrance to the left. A part of the space under the platform has been excavated. Various utensils (boxes, dishes, dippers, lamps) are seen on the floor.



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KOMMISSIONEN FOR
LEDELSEN AF DE GEOLOGISKE OG GEOGRAFISKE
UNDERSØGELSER I GRØNLAND

BIND XXXIX

MED 41 FIGURBLADE OG 1 KORT



KØBENHAVN
I KOMMISSION HOS C. A. REITZEL

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1914

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XXXVII. Ikke udkommen.

XXXVIII. Geology of the Country around Julianehaab by N. V. Ussing. Beretning om den geologiske Ekspedition til Julianehaab Distrikt i Sommeren 1900 af N. V. Ussing. Med 19 Tavler. 1912. Kr. 12.

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XL. The Ammassalik Eskimo. Second part. 1. On the Eskimo Music in Greenland by Hjalmar Thuren. 2. Melodies from East Greenland by W. Thalbitzer and Hj. Thuren. 1911. Kr. 2,50. Ikke sluttet.

XLI. Danmark-Expeditionen til Grønlands Nordøstkyst 1906—1908. 1. Report by G. Amdrup. 2. Hydrographical observations by Alf Trolle. 3. Tidal observations by H. A. Ø. Bistrup. 4. Health conditions by J. Lindhard. 5. Mylius-Erichsen's Report on the non-existence of the Peary Channel by G. C. Amdrup. Med 4 Portrætter og 24 Tavler. 1913. Kr. 12.

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